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Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 8/18

KADLITIYA and KADLITIPARI

(last edited: 30.9.20)

with some analysis of Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack') and the 'Northern' tribe.

and **PART 2** of the 1839 Police expedition:

SEE ALSO: PNS 8/14 Muna (**Part 1**); 9/04 Karrawadlungga (**Part 3**); 8/17 Mudliakki (**Part 4**); and 8/39 Mitiwarti; 8/20 'Para'.

PREFACE:

My analysis of this and other names north of Adelaide is incomplete, and may be clarified or modified by others later from better knowledge of this part of the land, and from sources not yet consulted. In particular, I did not cover these areas when I searched the records left by the first surveyors (i.e. Field Books and maps held in the SA Geographical Names Unit). The Southern Kurna Place Names Project was originally confined to the region from Adelaide southward.

NOTE AND DISCLAIMER:

This essay has not been peer-reviewed.

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: i.e. Aboriginal researchers who are linking their oral traditions with other up-to-date and best available knowledge, and associated archaeologists, geographers, ecologists, anthropologists and historians.

Chester Schultz, 4 August 2020.

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and some analysis of Kadlitpinna (Captain Jack) and the 'Northern' tribe.**
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Abstract

1. *Kadlitia* (New Spelling *Kadlitiya*) was the Kurna name of a site somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Gawler town, probably near to or the same place as

2. *Kadlitiparri* (New Spelling *Kadlitipari*), which was probably located at the campsite and waterhole near the ford on the South Para River at Dead Man's Pass Reserve.

Kadlitia could be abridged to *Kadlia* (New Spelling *Kadliya*).

These names mean 1. 'dingo tooth' and 2. 'dingo-tooth river'.

They were recorded by 1. Protector of Aborigines William and 2. interpreter William Williams, probably both in 1839 during investigations into the murder of shepherds near Adelaide and on the Gawler River.

It is likely that the names referred to an unknown Dingo Dreaming site in the neighbourhood.

An accumulation of historical and linguistic evidence makes it likely that Kadlitpinna (= 'father of the dingo', i.e. 'Captain Jack') was involved in communicating these names; that he had personal totemic connections with the site(s); and that he had belonged to a "Koubanda (northern) tribe" based in this general area.

Some writers have speculated that the Kurna name recorded by Wyatt as 'Kaleeya' was based on the English name 'Gawler'; or that the town was named 'Gawler' because the Governor's name resembled the Kurna name. Both of these theories are very unlikely on both historical and linguistic grounds.

<i>Coordinates</i>	Latitude -34.610385°, Longitude 138.751971° (approximate location of waterhole in Dead Man's Pass Reserve: on Section 4, Hd of Nuriootpa)
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Language Information

Meaning	1. 'dingo-tooth' 2. 'dingo-tooth river'
Etymology	1. <i>kadli</i> 'dingo, dog' + <i>tiiya</i> 'tooth' > <i>Kadli-tiiya</i> (or contracted <i>Kadli-'iiya</i>) 'dog-tooth' 2. + <i>pari</i> 'river, creek' > (contracted) <i>Kadli-tii'-pari</i> 'dog-tooth river'
Notes	Wyatt also recorded another version "Kaleeya" which probably represents <i>Kadliiia</i> , a slurred or abbreviated form of <i>Kadli-tiiya</i> .
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'
KWP Former Spelling	1. Kadlitia, Kadlia 2. Kadlitiparri
KWP New Spelling 2010	1. Kadlitiya, Kadliya 2. Kadlitiipari
Phonemic Spelling	1. /kadlitiya/, /kadliya/ 2. /kadlitiipari/
Syllabification	1. "Kadli - tiiya", "Kadli' - 'ii-a" 2. "Kadli - tii' - pa-ri"
Pronunciation tips	Stress the first syllable. Secondary stresses on 'tii' or its abbreviation 'ii', and on first syllable of <i>pari</i> . Every <i>a</i> as in Maori 'haka'. <i>ii</i> in <i>tiiya</i> (and abbreviations) represents a long 'ee' as in 'bean'. ¹ Every other <i>i</i> short as in 'bin'.

Main source evidence

Date	1839
Original source text	" Cud-lie-tie-par-rey: Parra River ". "Cur-ra-ud-lon-ga: Lyndoch Valley". "Moon-na: the second creek on the north of Adelaide"
Reference	William Williams 1839, <i>A Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines of the Adelaide District and other friendly tribes of the Province of South Australia</i> , by William Williams of the Colonial Store Department, Adelaide, A MacDougall.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Probably Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack'), 'Bob', 'Williamy' and other "Adelaide and Onkaparinga tribe" men who were hired on 22 April 1839 to track the murderers of Duffield in company with Williams and Inspector Inman.

¹ Strictly speaking, we don't know whether the *i* in *tiiya* should be classified as short or long; but I use the long form here to distinguish a stressed vowel *ii* (which is likely to be pronounced longer) from the unstressed *i*.



<i>Date</i>	[May 1839] / 1879
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>“Weera districts north of Adelaide: Boora wongoarto Mikka wummungga Pootpa, pootpóbbëre Pootpou weera and weerungga Punggára...</p> <p>Moole yerke perre – The Gawler river. Kaleeya, kaleteeya – Gawler town... ? In the Weera districts: Weereecha Weertootpe...</p> <p>MEN’S NAMES: ... Nawálte – Tom of Weerawulla. Wongoocha – Charley of Weerungga.”</p>
<i>Reference</i>	W Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879, ‘Vocabulary of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes’, in JD Woods 1879, <i>Native Tribes of SA</i> : 179-180.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Probably one or more of trackers Kadlitpinna, ‘Bob’ and ‘Williamy’; and/or prisoners Bakkabarti Yarraitya (‘George’), Paitya Kudnuitya (= Muliakkiburka = ‘Tam O’Shanter’), ‘Yumbena’ (‘Peter’), ‘Parloobooka’ (‘Williamy’), Parutiya Wangutya (‘Tommy Roundhead’ ?= ‘Tom of Weerawulla?’), and Tipa Warritya (‘Bob’).

<i>Date</i>	April 1839
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>“On arriving at the water hole, we found ourselves in Lyndoch Valley; but, much to our disappointment, found that the blacks we were in search of had not been there. The natives then state that the men we wanted, on leaving the other water hole, had proceeded to the Para River, and I immediately requested them to take us there, which they did. On the banks of this river we found Mr. Jacobs' tent; we enquired of the man in charge of it if he had seen any natives; he stated that he had seen two native men and two dogs the day before. They came to the tent and remained for about half an hour, and left for the other river, and would most likely remain at Mr. Reid's, about a mile from thence.”</p>
<i>Reference</i>	William Williams, ‘Apprehension of the Native Murderers’, <i>South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register</i> 11/5/1839: 2c.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	[1839+] / 1898
<i>Original source text</i>	“The blacks we were very much afraid of at first, though they were very quiet. There were about 250 in the Para tribe . We tried to get them to work for us, and to wear clothes. After a time they did some work for us, but would never wear the clothes we gave them. A corroboree (war dance) was a wonderful sight. I remember them having a great fight with the Port Gawler tribe. Some were speared...”
<i>Reference</i>	Eliza Mahony (nee Reid) 1898 (AA Lendon, ed. 1927), ‘The First Settlers At Gawler (February 1839)’, <i>Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, SA Branch, Proceedings</i> Vol. 28: 70.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	Jan 1840
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>“Our numbers at present, as correctly as ascertained, are 540. This number includes the five tribes with which Europeans are in contact, viz.–</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inhabiting Muliakki (Milner Estate), and containing only 20. 2. The Wirra tribe, or those inhabiting the borders of the Para River, containing 120. 3. The Adelaide, or those inhabiting a district of 10 miles north of Adelaide to the foot of Mount Terrible – 80. 4. The Patpunga, or those inhabiting the southern coast from Mt Terrible to Rapid Bay, containing 90. <p>These four tribes speak nearly the same language. It was evidently the same originally, but the extent of country belonging to them is so great that it apparently caused them to be separated when in search of food, and allowed slight modifications to be introduced into the language. These modifications are not more than obtain in contiguous counties of England...”</p>
<i>Reference</i>	M Moorhouse Protector’s Report 14/1/1840, ‘Papers Relative to SA... 1843’, <i>BPP Australia</i> 7: 354.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	July 1840
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>“Occasionally one family will barter their territory for a district belonging to another family, as in the case of King John, who formerly belonged to the districts of Adelaide, Glenelg, Sturt River, and Hurtle Vale [<i>Field River valley through Reynella</i>] and he exchanged them for Ugaldinga” [<i>mis-transcription of ‘Ngaldinga’ = Aldinga</i>] “and Maitpunga Plains [<i>Myponga</i>] Captain Jack, a few years back, belonged to the Koubanda (northern) tribe, and possessed no land; King John received him into his family and made him co-partner with the whole in the district just mentioned.”</p>
<i>Reference</i>	M Moorhouse Protector’s Report 27/7/1840, ‘Papers Relative to SA... 1843’, <i>BPP Australia</i> 7: 355.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

DOG-TOOTH COUNTRY: Discussion:

THE PLACE-NAMES:

We begin with the primary data which survive from times of first contact about these place-names themselves.

The early colony's Deputy Storekeeper, William Williams, took an active interest in the local people and their language from his first days in the colony in December 1836. When one of the Adelaide printers published his wordlist 3½ years later, it contained eight place-names from around the city (as we would expect), and three from the Para regions to the north including the following entry: "Cud-lie-tie-par-rey: Parra River".²

Forty years later a compilation volume about the "native tribes" was published, and incorporated a wordlist by the second Interim Protector of Aborigines, Dr William Wyatt. He had held office from August 1837 to June 1839, and we can be fairly certain that most or all of his wordlist was obtained in that period. It included a separate list of place-names located from Gawler in the north to Encounter Bay and the Lakes in the south. Among them were seven unlocalized names from somewhere in what he called the "Weera districts north of Adelaide", and two from the vicinity of Gawler, including "Kaleeya, kaleteeya, Gawler town".³

As usual in KWP's Place Names Project, we will try to get as close as possible to the original Kurna informants, and identify (if we can) how the names were obtained, when, from whom, and under what circumstances.

It is my argument here that these two records are versions of the same name, refer to much the same place, and were both almost certainly obtained during the same set of events in 1839, and possibly from the same Aboriginal informants.

However, this is not self-evident, and we must examine the historical context with some care.

ORIGINS AND CONFUSIONS AROUND THE NAME 'PARRA':

While Wyatt's "Gawler Town" *appears* to be fairly specific, it is not at all obvious what Williams meant by "Parra River".

² William Williams 1839, *A Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines of the Adelaide District and other friendly tribes of the Province of South Australia*, by William Williams of the Colonial Store Department, Adelaide, A MacDougall.

³ W Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879, 'Vocabulary of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes', in JD Woods 1879, *Native Tribes of SA*: 179.

Elsewhere I have examined in some detail the origins of 'Para / Parra / Parry' as a place-name.⁴ As used by the colonists, it began life in mid-1837 when very few of the newcomers had travelled north, referring to a rather remote river in a vague area a day or two's journey 'north of Adelaide'. Colonel Light visited the area in December of that year, reported "beautiful country" around the Lynedoch Valley, and used the name 'Para' in his diary to refer to the *South Para River*, seeing it as the upstream continuation of the plains river.⁵ At this stage the North Para was almost unknown and had no name.⁶

The new Governor George Gawler was installed in October 1838. In November – before 'Para' could be attached clearly to a specific watercourse in the public mind – explorers Strangways and Blunden independently gave the name "Gawler" to one of the same obscurely-reported 'northern' streams.⁷

At the end of 1838 one of the Governor's first moves in rescuing the colony's disastrous financial position was to open up Special Surveys for purchase in this newly-'discovered' region. Capitalists and would-be landowners scrambled for land.

Light visited the region again in January 1839 to produce data for a Special Survey at Lynedoch Valley on behalf of the South Australian Company. When he returned he advised settlers to move onto the land there. First up were Murray and Reid in February on their Murray Pass Special Survey at the "Junction of the N. & S. Gawler or Parra R".⁸ Next was George Milner Stephen, who explored the Port Gawler region himself in late February and immediately laid claim to the 'Milner Estate' there.⁹

⁴ See PNS 8/20 'Para'.

⁵ In fact he had scarcely investigated the North Para at all during this trip, and did not give it a name either then or on his two subsequent visits in January and May 1839.

⁶ Heading overland from the South Para to Lyndoch Vale in 1837, Light came cross the North Para but had to deduce (not observe) that it could only flow "*into the stream we had just left*" (Light's Lynedoch Diary Dec 1837, Elder 1984: 132). The North Para had no name for a year, and for another six months or more after that, only on unpublished maps. Light's diaries and first sketch map (Feb 1839, 'Map of Districts North of Adelaide', in Elder 1984: 31), and the other earliest white travellers including Williams, appear to have seen the main stream as the combination Gawler + *South Para* (whose valley was also called 'Murray Pass'), with the North Para as its tributary. But on his plan of Gawler Town (July 1839, in SMEC Urban, *Gawler Urban Rivers Master Plan* <http://www.gawler.sa.gov.au/page.aspx?u=641&c=38510> [30/11/15]) Light – or perhaps his draftsman RG Thomas – reversed the categories: the combination Gawler + *North Para* is now a unity called the "*Parra or Gawler River*", and the "*South Parra*" is given its separate name. Maps followed this for a year or so, until at last the word 'North' began to be added in 1840.

⁷ *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 1/12/1838: 3c. Heritage historian Adrian Shackley says that Strangways and Blunden "*would have crossed the North Para somewhere in the Barossa Valley*" (p.c. email 12/6/2011); but this fact was not at all clear to them, let alone their readers

⁸ No.2 on Arrowsmith 1841, 'Map shewing the Special Surveys in South Australia', London. 'Murray Pass' was a name then used for the South Para River and its ford used by Light at 'Para Pass'. However, the Special Survey covered not only the junction but its surroundings a few km up both the North and South Paras and down the Gawler River. The wordy location given here illustrates the confusion surrounding the names at this time.

⁹ On the map the Milner Estate is shown as No.1 and is said (rather irrationally!) to be on the "*Banks of the Gawler or N. Parra R*" ('N.' = North; my emphasis).

As a spinoff Light had also recommended a site for a town, for which his company then agreed to produce a plan. By mid-April 1839 Light had finished planning the town,¹⁰ and his surveyor William Jacob immediately proceeded to lay it out.¹¹

For several years there was much confusion about the names. At the same time the first maps of the area were being produced by Light, Finniss & Co. These all agreed that the “Little Parra R” was the stream which still bears that name. But they applied the name “Parra or Gawler R” sometimes to a combination of today’s Gawler and *South* Para rivers, sometimes to a combination of the Gawler and *North* Para, and sometimes to *both*.¹² The name “Gawler River” (on its own) usually had the same referent as today, i.e. below the junction, although this was not where Strangways had originally applied the name.

In these years of the initial land grab, the names in public discourse were even less consistent. The ‘Para District(s)’ often (but not always) included the Little Para as well. Some people referred to an ‘Upper Para’ and a ‘Lower Para’. The names ‘South Para’ and ‘North Para’ were not clear publicly until after 1840.

It therefore becomes important to establish what Williams himself meant by ‘Parra River’ *at the date when he wrote it*.

WILLIAMS ON THE NORTHERN TRAIL:

It is very unlikely that Williams obtained his three Para names from a distance in Adelaide. It is almost certain that he obtained them from Aboriginal companions on the one occasion when he visited the north, as interpreter for a police expedition under Inspector Henry Inman in late April 1839.¹³ The story of the first part of this expedition, from Adelaide and northeast across the Little Para, is given in PNS 8/14 Muna, and I continue it here:

¹⁰ Light to Palmer, 16 April 1839 (Whitlock 1989: 31). Light, Finniss & Co. produced the plan officially on 1st July ([Plan of Gawler Town], Light, Finniss & Co, 1 July 1839; reproduced in SMEC Urban, April 2013, *Gawler Urban Rivers Master Plan*: 30 (<http://www.gawler.sa.gov.au/page.aspx?u=641&c=38510> [30/11/15]).

¹¹ Jacob wrote later: “*Light gave me the plan of Gawler and I pegged it out, and afterwards laid out the adjoining allotments*” (*The Bunyip* [Gawler newspaper] 26/8/1892 :3a).

¹² See PNS 8/20 ‘Para’.

¹³ There are two main accounts of this expedition: Williams’s, ‘Apprehension of the Native Murderers’, *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 11/5/1839: 2b-d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31750582>; and the diary of Arthur Hardy (a survey labourer who joined the expedition), 21-29 April 1839, PRG 101/1/1, SLSA, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/prg/PRG101_1_1_Hardy_diary_1838-40_transcript.pdf. Extra details emerged in the court evidence: *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4d-5a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31750623>; *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 29/5/1839: 1e, 2a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/71685317>.

As far as we know Williams did not travel north before then, when his book was already in the hands of the publishers. But the publication was delayed until at least the end of July, and we may deduce that he added the three northern place-names to his wordlist in early May, along with an addition to his Preface (see Williams 1839: vii, quoted in PNS 8/20 ‘Para’).

Williams had brought a number of his Adelaide Aboriginal contacts as trackers, including Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack'), 'Bob' and 'Williamy'. These men (and others of the Adelaide tribe) had identified three visiting members of the northeastern 'We-re' or 'Wirra' tribe as the killers of shepherd Duffield on the banks of the Torrens.¹⁴ Now they were pursuing these foreigners, enthusiastically "determined to find the murderers and take them back to Adelaide for the white men to hang them".¹⁵

From Fisher and Handcock's sheep station on the upper reaches of the Little Para, they continued northeast on the 25th and 26th of April across the foothills as far as Lyndoch Valley, but then lost the trail.¹⁶ While camped for the night somewhere in or near Lyndoch Valley, "when the moon rose we saw 3 natives at a distance walking up & down in the moonlight our blacks were dreadfully frightened".¹⁷ It seems likely that some of the Lyndoch locals had decided to scare off the Adelaide pursuers, who from the northern viewpoint were not only trespassing but engaged in an act of war against three who were probably their kinsmen; or perhaps it was the fugitives themselves.

Whether from fear, insight or convenient guess, on the 27th "the natives then stated that the men we wanted... had proceeded to the Para River". So Williams called it, and "immediately requested them to take us there, which they did";¹⁸ and "on the banks of this river we found Mr. Jacobs' tent". Arthur Hardy called their destination "the 'great river' the Upper Para";¹⁹ but fortunately he clarified where they actually arrived: "at the Murray pass", i.e. the Special Survey at Gawler. Jacob was laying out the town site.²⁰

Here they found that Jacob's tent-keeper had seen two of the fugitives the day before; they had "left for the other river and would most likely remain at Mr. Reid's, about a mile from thence". John Reid's homestead (later to be called 'Clonlea') was at today's Willaston on the banks of the North Para,

¹⁴ Williams had begun his investigation on the 21st by consulting local Adelaide Aborigines, who "told me who the men were, their names, and gave me a full and satisfactory description of the fugitives", amplified by "two friendly natives" who accompanied him to the scene of the crime and told him the culprits had headed "to the north to join their tribe", 4-5 days' journey away (Williams, 'Apprehension': 2b). One of these two informants was almost certainly Captain Jack.

¹⁵ Williams 'Apprehension': 2d. The identification of these three men as 'Wirra' is perhaps debatable, and I discuss it later.

¹⁶ The exact route is unclear; but we must assume it followed the low western hills, because they were looking for the station of GA Anstey (on Tenafeate Creek, which runs south from the South Para), but failed to find it (Hardy diary 25 April). It was presumably during this part of the expedition that Williams obtained the place-name "*Cur-ra-ud-Ion-ga: Lyndoch Valley*" (see PNS 9/04 Karrawadlangga).

¹⁷ Hardy diary 26 April.

¹⁸ Williams 'Apprehension': 2c.

¹⁹ Hardy diary 27th April. For Hardy as for Milner Stephen in February, 'Upper Para' seems to mean the South Para, distinguished from the 'Lower' or 'Little Para' on one hand, and on the other the 'Gawler', which seems to include the North Para (cp. G Milner Stephen in *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 28/2/1839: 8b).

²⁰ The Murray Pass Survey (Gawler Special Survey No.2) included the town site, donated by the buyers. The expedition visited Jacob's camp only a fortnight after Light had written that his plan of Gawler was 'just' finished (see my note above).

which must be Williams's 'other river'.²¹ The exact position of Jacob's camp on 'the Para river' now becomes clear: for Clonlea was one mile away from Light's favourite camping place which he called 'Para Pass', at the ford on the South Para River in today's Gawler South.²² Light had no doubt recommended the site to Jacob.

When the expedition met Reid, he told them the wanted men and their dogs had headed further west along the Gawler River. The party "made no doubt but that they were gone to Milner estate", 18 miles away at Port Gawler. They "immediately returned to Mr. Jacobs' tent, took the horse out of the cart, and mounted two natives on horseback", probably Kadlitpinna and either Bob or Williamy.²³ A smaller party including these two with Inman and Williams "lost no time in proceeding to Milner estate" to capture their quarry. It was now the colony's first *de facto* Mounted Police excursion, a tactic which would later be amplified into full violence on the Coorong, the Rufus and near Port Lincoln.

However, the Wirra men had given them the slip after all. When Inman's flying squad rejoined Hardy at Jacob's camp next day, they brought not the Wirra fugitives but three prisoners from the Milner tribe, accused of murdering another shepherd Thompson on the Gawler River while Inman's party had been at Lyndoch. Inman now called it quits and they all returned to Adelaide on the 29th, with prisoners for the new crime but "without having obtained any trace of the three men [originally] suspected or of the tribe which they belonged".²⁴ It fell to others to bring in three suspects for Duffield's murder, on the grounds that their appearance and dogs matched the descriptions in the newspapers. On the evening of Inman's return two ('Monichi Yumbena' or 'Peter', and 'Parloobooka' or 'Williamy') were arrested at North Adelaide not far from the Native Location.²⁵ Next morning another one ('Yarricha' or 'George') was arrested by survey labourer William Baker "at Mr. Jacob's tent on the Para river" and brought back to Adelaide by a Captain Walker.²⁶

During the following three weeks the six prisoners were interviewed in jail and the cases against them were prepared, leading up to their courtroom trials on May 22nd and 23rd.²⁷

²¹ The site of 'Clonlea' is now occupied by a playground in Clonlea Park (SMEC Urban, April 2013, *Gawler Urban Rivers Master Plan*: 31, <http://www.gawler.sa.gov.au/page.aspx?u=641&c=38510> [30/11/15]).

²² Now known as Dead Mans Pass Reserve.

²³ "Our brave-hearted Captain Jack, Bob, and Williamy" were particularly enthusiastic and trusted, having volunteered to be part of a special small advance force earlier in the expedition (Williams 'Apprehension': 2c).

²⁴ *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 4/5/1839: 1d.

²⁵ *Ibid.*: 1d; *Southern Australian* 29/5/1839: 1d. It is quite unlikely that these two had anything to do with the murder at all, and even less likely that they were 'Wirra' men. They were acquitted in the end. See my document 'BACKGROUND5murders1839expedition.doc'.

²⁶ For all three arrests see the evidence of William Baker and Captain Walker, *Southern Australian* 29/5/1839: 1d; cp. *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4b.

²⁷ For the rest of the saga of Inman's expedition and the aftermath, see PNS 8/17 Mudliakki.

WILLIAMS'S 'PARRA RIVER':

Does our geographical analysis of Inman's expedition allow us to identify what *Williams* meant by 'Parra River' during these events?

The newspaper and court reports offer very little help.²⁸ Turning to Williams's own written account of the expedition, we find that he is very sparing of river names. Perhaps he is unsure what most of them were called, even after several days of travel there. We can eliminate the North Para: at this date it has no name, and to him is merely 'the other river'. Neither does he use the name 'Gawler River' at all; for the plains he refers only to 'Milner' (the station) and 'the river'.

But he does write "the Para river", once only, referring to a specific destination which, when his informants take him there, turns out to be Dead Man's Reserve on the South Para. It is a base camp for the party for two days, as well as for Jacob, and very likely to be remembered and named. This or its near vicinity is the most probable referent for the name he recorded as "Cud-lie-tie-par-rey: Parra River".²⁹ We may be sure that he got it from his Aboriginal trackers (Kadlitpinna, Bob and Williamy), either on the spot or later, or both; and perhaps also from the prisoners.³⁰

THE JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION: WYATT AND THE INTERPRETERS IN ADELAIDE:

The scene shifts to Adelaide. Where was Wyatt during all this, and under what circumstances did he obtain 'Kaleeya'?

There is no known record of him visiting the Para at all during his two years in office, let alone in Aboriginal company searching for names or other language data. But we may be sure that he was

²⁸ In trying to elucidate what is meant by 'the Para River' in any given item, we get very little enlightenment from most of the published newspaper and court reports. In them Williams and others are cited as using 'Para river' for the location of three sites which we know were on the Gawler River 8 to 10 miles west of the town: the place of Thompson's murder, the hut of Hallett's shepherd, and Tam O'Shanter's wurley where Thompson's accused were arrested (*SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4d, 5a; *Southern Australian* 29/5/1839: 2a). For these sites and their place in the expedition, see PNS 8/17 Mudliakki). We cannot build too much on these second-hand accounts in vague city usage. 'The Gawler' [river] is named only once, in a reference to "Mr. Hallett's station on the Gawler" by Daniel Cox, who was the hut-keeper there (*Southern Australian* 29/5/1839: 2a). This was quite precise then, although now (for lack of easily available records) we have to deduce where the station was. Men who had been working in the area for weeks or months had a clearer geography and probably used names more precisely: cp. William Baker who said he arrested Yarraitya "on the Para river" but clarified this for city ears as "at Mr. Jacob's tent".

²⁹ The location at Jacob's camp is confirmed in Hardy's diary, though he calls the place "the 'great river'", "the Upper Para" and "the Murray pass" (Hardy diary 27 April).

³⁰ Williams referred once more to "the Para river". In evidence he said that when he interviewed Yarraitya in jail on May 2nd, the prisoner told him that at the time of Duffield's murder he was "at the Para River" (*SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4b; *Southern Australian* 29/5/1839: 1e). This was apparently a lie or a misunderstood question, since George later confessed to Cronk that he was at the murder scene. But our point is the location and the word: probably George said 'Cud-lie-tie-par-rey', and Williams knew where he meant.

present at many of the examinations and deliberations in Adelaide during May after the arrests. Although there is no direct evidence, it is extremely likely that he obtained his Para place-names then.

He was under a dark shadow. Early in May he was accused – at a large and heated public meeting held in his absence – of being responsible for the murders because he had “neglected his duties” as Protector, had never travelled around with the natives since September 1837, was out of town now, etc.³¹ This public blame was grossly unfair, as he had never been properly funded for his ‘Interim’ role and had to earn his living as a medical doctor, while few colonists had previously shown any interest in what he was doing. At the court hearings he was certainly present, already aware that his job was on the line and he would very soon lose it. Rubbing salt in the wound during the sentencing, the judge addressed the Protector personally, admonishing him to explain to the natives the exemplary “warning” of these two hangings and the good “rules of the law” on which they were based.³²

There is no direct evidence of what Wyatt was doing between his return to town (soon after May 7th) and the trials on the 22nd and 23rd. Only Williams and ‘Sub-Protector’ Cronk are recorded as interpreters at the jail interviews.³³ Yet Wyatt also knew the language, and (in his own estimation) could “converse with... the Adelaide natives, freely”.³⁴ There is indirect evidence that he was involved in the investigations. He published his wordlist 40 years later, but had almost certainly compiled it largely or entirely during his term of office. It includes not only the names of “Gawler Town” and “Gawler River”,³⁵ but also a small and significant collection of place-names and personal names associated with the trials, and especially with what he calls the “Weera districts north of Adelaide”.³⁶ This heading must surely relate to the “Wirra-meyunna” (‘forest people’)

³¹ *Southern Australian* 10/5/1839, 1st Edition: 3-4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/71685268>.

³² *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4c, 5a.

³³ Teichelmann and Schürmann, very busy trying to establish a bare self-subsisting livelihood, were still in the early stages of learning the language. Schürmann had kept no diary since shortly after their arrival, and resumed it only in May 1839.

³⁴ Wyatt evidence, ‘Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon The Aborigines...’, *SA Parliamentary Papers* No. 165 of 1860, Adelaide: WC Cox: 32. He had translated Gawler’s inaugural speech to the Aborigines in 1838 (*SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 3/11/1838: 4c; for linguistic commentary see Amery 2000: 98).

³⁵ See PNS 8/17 Mudliakki.

³⁶ Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879, in Woods 1879: 179-180. Apart from the inherent probability, there is significant evidence for Wyatt’s involvement in the investigations: -

In his list of place-names is a special category called “Weera districts north of Adelaide”, which includes unlocalized places called “Pootpa” (*putpa* ‘fertile’) and “Punggára” (probably *pangkarra*).

His list of “Men’s Names” includes 15 in Kurna. Three of these men were clearly associated with the 1839 crisis, and four others may have been. He lists Captain Jack and two of the six accused: “Yerraicha”, who was George, an associate or possibly a member of the Wirra men (cp. Williams “*Eu-rer-cha*”), and “Tippa Warreecha”, who was Bob, one of Tam O’Shanter’s associates (while Williams has no version of *Waritya*). Four more men in Wyatt’s list may have come from the ‘Weera districts’: “Meeno Kertámero: James of Pootpa”; “Kooyeeta Kertámero: Richard of Punggara”; “Nawálte: Tom of Weerawulla”; and “Wongoocha: Charley of Weerungga”. Perhaps James and Richard were the Wirra men whom Inman and Kadlitpinna failed to track down, and whose names were known to the Adelaide people (Williams ‘Apprehension’: 2b).

mentioned sometimes in Schürmann's 1839 diary; and to the men from "away to the north", "over a long way", to whom the newspapers alluded in passing as "the We-re tribe", "the Weree tribe", or simply "Wiera" and "Wiierie".³⁷ Three of these people allegedly had connections with the murder of Duffield, and one of the prisoners may have been a member of the group.³⁸ Wyatt's list of 'Weera' names suggests very strongly that he had spent some time in May 1839 investigating this matter, though inconclusively.

WYATT'S 'GAWLER TOWN':

If so, then he as well as Cronk and Williams was interrogating the prisoners, the trackers and others. The key places in the story would certainly have cropped up often. Vague English terms like 'Para River', 'Gawler River' and 'Gawler Town' (which at this date was little more than pegs in the ground) could not serve in conversation with Aboriginal people. Legal exactitude was required now. Real place-names would have been elicited and to some extent defined in terms understandable by the colonists. Items would arise such as the place (Jacob's camp) where Baker arrested Yarraitya: perhaps the prisoner said 'Kaleeya', somebody else clarified it to 'Kaleteeya', and either Baker or Williams explained this as 'Gawler Town' for Wyatt's benefit. Or perhaps Wyatt was present at similar conversations between Williams and Kadlitpinna about the base they had used at Gawler (Jacob's camp again), and about Clonlea a mile away where Inman consulted Reid.

Wyatt must have been at least as confused about names as Williams, but he was more careful in his choice. He avoided using the term 'Para' altogether.³⁹ For an Adelaide city-dweller, 'Gawler Town' was more specific, a referent good enough for this remote location – 30 miles north but a much-discussed part of the new Murray Pass Special Survey – without bothering himself with anything more precise which neither he nor his readers knew by experience.

In this light, 'Gawler Town' fits the same general vicinity as Williams's referent 'Parra River' at the Pass less than a km away.

"William of Tardarnyungga" was probably the very old blind local identity "Williamy" mentioned in newspaper reports of the trials (*SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4b; *Southern Australian* 12/6/1839: 3d); though he could perhaps have been Inman's tracker "Williamy", or the accused "Parloobooka =Williamy".

Several other spellings in the newspapers suggest Wyatt (notably "Yumbena", which in Wyatt's wordlist is "Yumbeena" but "Um-bee-ner" in Williams's), while others do suggest Williams. See my document 'BACKGROUND5murders1839expedition.doc'.

³⁷ *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 11/5/1839: 2c; 25/5/1839: 3b, 4b; *Southern Australian* 29/5/1839: 1e.

³⁸ i.e. Bakkabarti Yarraitya ('George'). Cp. *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 27/4/1839: 2a; 11/5/1839: 2b; Schürmann Diary 31 May 1839. Duffield's killers were known by description to Williams's local men such as Kadlitpinna, but two or perhaps all three of were never captured, and we don't know the names of a least two of them. We don't know what Kadlitpinna might have said about this. No Aboriginal witnesses were produced at the trials to testify who was who, because the colonial government had still not worked out a way of accepting native evidence under British law.

³⁹ The word 'Para' does not occur in Wyatt's wordlist, his accompanying essay, or his official reports, and 'Gawler River' is found only in his list of place-names.

THE NAMES: 'DOG-TOOTH':

The language of all three names is Kurna, and dictionary meanings are not hard to find.

Wyatt heard two versions of his 'Gawler Town' name and recorded them as "Kaleeya" and "kaleteeya". From the spellings and the absence of *parri* it is obvious that he recorded them independently of Williams.

The placing of the double 'ee' in 'kaleteeya' seems to indicate that in 'Kaleeya' too it belongs to the second morpheme ('tee-ya'), not to the first ('Kal-[e]'); and so we can re-spell them as *Kal'-iya* and *Kali-tiya* (stressing the underlined syllables).⁴⁰ The first form seems to be a vernacular condensation or slurring of the second.⁴¹

Since there is no known Kurna morpheme *kali*, we try other possibilities. Far the most likely explanations are either that Wyatt had not heard the pre-stopped *dl* in *kadli*, or that his informant used a dialect variation of this word which did not have the pre-stop. As a result he did not recognize that it was the same word that he had recorded as "Kadle: native dog".⁴²

So we have *Kadl'-iya* and *Kadli-tiya*. While the first version abridges the second morpheme, the second version 'Kaleteeya' gives it to us in full, and it has a lexical meaning: *tiya* ('tooth, edge, row of teeth').⁴³

Thus Wyatt's record represents *Kadli-tiya*, 'dingo-tooth', for 'Gawler Town' or its immediate vicinity.

⁴⁰ The syllables containing the double 'ee' are stressed. These might be a long vowel *ii*.

⁴¹ Wyatt recorded another similar contraction: "Parrangoeka" (*Parng'ka*), which he describes as a "vulgo" version (Latin: 'common, vernacular') of "Parrungka ungka" (*Parngka-angka*), a name for "Land near the Goolwa" (Wyatt in JD Woods 1879, *Native Tribes of SA*: 179). In this word the *r* is sounded, and the following vowel 'a' was imagined by Wyatt (a 'liminal vowel'). *Parngka-angka* in turn is probably abbreviated from a Reduplicative *Parngka-parngka*, 'many lagoons', or it is possibly a Locative *Parngkangga*, 'lagoon place'. "One of the greatest impediments to becoming acquainted with an aboriginal dialect is... their slovenly habit of clipping, or contracting the words in ordinary use, and of substituting different vowels, and hard for soft consonants, or vice versa" (Wyatt 1879, 'Some Account of the Manners and Superstitions of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes', in Woods 1879: 160). For the elided initial *t* of *tiya*, cp. *tammi-tammi* > *tammi'ammi* and *yuri-tirka* > *yur'irka*; also *tarnta* + *kanya* > *Tarnt'anya* ('Tandanya').

⁴² Wyatt did often omit the pre-stop *d* before an *l*, in words which do have it in T&S; cp. his 'Kallote' (*kadluti*), 'Malloorta' (*madlurta*), 'Meeleende' (*midlindi*), and 'Moola' (*mudlha*). These are valid variant forms of the words; but there is no known record of *kali* as a variant of *kadli* (Amery p.c. 7/8/20). The dialect variation (or was it the 'slovenly' pronunciation of which Wyatt complained?) was also recorded for *gardla* (*gadla* or *garla*, 'fire, firewood'), which Wyatt gave as 'Kerla'; and (*wardli*, *wodli* ('wurley, hut') which he gave as 'Werle'. And of course pronunciations could vary a lot (see his comments in the footnote above). He does not seem to have noticed the connection between the Proper Noun and the Common Noun.

⁴³ Wyatt also recorded "*Teeàla, teeána – teeth, dual and plural*", but missed the singular. The 'y' in 'Kaleeya' and 'Kaleteeya' (and in KWP's spelling) recognizes the expanded consonantal form of the phonetic transition from *l* to *a*.

Williams's "Cud-lie-tie-par-rey" poses few problems in analysis. It is clearly a Kurna compound *Kadli-ti-parri*. In the light of Wyatt's 'Kaleteeya' = *Kadli-tiya*, we need not hesitate to say that this uses an abbreviated *tiya*, this time with the final unstressed *a* omitted.⁴⁴ Note that the pronunciation requires three stresses, *Kadli-ti'-parri*.

Thus Williams's record represents *Kadli-ti'-parri*, 'dingo-tooth river', for a site on the 'Parra River' as he understood it at the time, probably the vicinity of Dead Man's Pass Reserve.

THE PLACE:

Both place identifications can be subsumed under a single area which is still fairly specific: in today's town of Gawler from the river junction to the Pass on the South Para. This is as near as we can get to the original Kurna location for this pair of names.⁴⁵

Several other Kurna place-names occur in pairs of this kind, where versions were recorded both with and without the addition of *parri* ('river').⁴⁶ In each case they may have been alternative names for the same site; or they may have named two sites, one on the river and one off it nearby. With the *kadli* names, the river site was probably on the lowest reach of the South Para, and the campsite by the ford is a prime candidate. Among other advantages, there is still a permanent waterhole less than half a km upstream from the ford.⁴⁷ Archaeological and other historical work may confirm this location more precisely or suggest others.

Light recognized that this junction area was a prime site via which would become (in a later phrase) "the gateway to the north", leading to the Murray in one direction and to the Mid-North in another. He was re-discovering what had been an Aboriginal fact for thousands of years.

The particular topography of the Para Pass ford makes it the only place for miles around at which a bullock wagon could easily cross the river. Steep gullies east and west made it far the easiest place even for light-footed Aboriginal travellers. *Kadlitiparri* was the *Ngangkiparringga*

⁴⁴ In Williams's wordlist, 'tie' is always pronounced *ti* ('tee'): e.g. in "Me-poot-tie, eye lash" (*miputti*), "Youl-tie, stringy bark wood" (*yulti*), and "Tie-year-la, teeth" (*tiyarla*). For the elided final vowel within a compound word (*tiya- > ti*), cp. e.g. *ipila-ipila > ipil'ipila*.

⁴⁵ We noted earlier that newspapers reported Williams as using 'Para River' loosely at times during the trials, applying it to locations downstream on the Gawler River. But this westward broadening of the possible sites – apart from being second-hand – is unlikely because, firstly, we have two independently-recorded names which apply with a high likelihood to the area just *upstream* from the junction; and secondly, we have Light's quite unrelated name "Mete Watte" applied only a couple of km *downstream* from the junction (see PNS 8/39 Miti-warti).

⁴⁶ Cp. *Karrawirra / Karrawirra-parri* (PNS 2/05); *Parnka / Parnka-parri* (PNS 7/03/10); *Muliakki / Muliakki-parri* (PNS 8/17).

⁴⁷ See the onsite signage for the Tapa Pariara Walking Trail: "This is the site of the last permanent waterhole on the South Para before it join the North Para to form the Gawler River. Upstream the waterholes all have stony bases, which hold water, Downstream from here the ground becomes more porous and doesn't hold water for very long". For photographs and information see the website 'Gawler Rivers Path... Georama Virtual Tours', <http://georama.com.au/gawler/> (15/1/16).

(Onkaparinga) of the north:⁴⁸ situated on a north-south track which was an unavoidable landmark in a well-established network of long-distance Aboriginal trade routes, not only north to the Flinders Ranges and northeast along the Murray River but southward to the important ochre and ceremonial site Ochre Cove near Moana.⁴⁹ Here at Kadlitipari there was plentiful water in an otherwise dry area, and many flat and sheltered camping places. Pioneer Eliza Mahony (nee Reid) of 'Clonlea' remembered large numbers of Aboriginal people camping there.⁵⁰ It is said that there was a ceremonial ground on the South Para "just downstream" from Whitelaw Terrace.⁵¹ Along the three rivers within about 2 km of the Gawler Institute Hall there are "several registered sites, including a number of culturally modified (scarred) River Red Gums, and an artefact scatter site".⁵²

Around here was the junction of several language groups. Kurna-speaking tribes lived to the northwest, west and southwest, and (in today's terms) the Peramangk to the east and southeast, the Ngadjuri to the north and northeast. This combination of circumstances would probably have made Gawler an important meeting place, perhaps neutral ground.⁵³

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAMES:

It is unlikely that the 'Dingo' names are ecologically based in any obvious way. There is no evidence that wild dogs were any more numerous around Gawler than anywhere else; and there are other *kadli* place-names elsewhere, such as 'Cudlee Creek' in the Adelaide Hills.⁵⁴ A more likely explanation would be that there was a Dingo Dreaming site somewhere at Gawler (and perhaps another at Cudlee Creek). The specific addition of 'tooth' enhances this possibility at Gawler: perhaps a Dreaming story or episode was located here, perhaps a natural feature which was the 'tooth' or 'teeth'. But about all this we know nothing.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ See PNS 4.02/04 Ngangkiparringga.

⁴⁹ See e.g. the map of Aboriginal trade routes in Griffiths & McCarthy 1986, *Atlas of SA*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 3.

⁵⁰ "The rivers of Gawler... were obviously attractive to the Kurna... Eliza Reid, daughter of the pioneer John Reid at 'Clonlea' on the North Para, wrote of 200 or so Aborigines camping there, peaceful but distressingly, to her, nude... Eliza Reid mentions Aborigines camping in large numbers by the confluence of the Paras in the early days" (Derek Whitelock 1989, *Gawler: Colonel Light's Country Town*, Corporation of Town of Gawler: 12, 16; on p.290 Whitelock cites Eliza Reid (Mahony) 1898 'First settlers at Gawler', *Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA)* 28, 1928).

⁵¹ e.g. Riverside Historic Gawler Walking Trail sign (1980s) at Whitelaw Terrace.

⁵² SMEC Urban 2013, *Gawler Urban Rivers Master Plan*: 31, <http://www.gawler.sa.gov.au/page.aspx?u=641&c=38510> [30/11/15].

⁵³ This is inherently likely from its position and landscape. However, I do not know any direct historical or oral evidence to confirm that Kadlitipari was definitely an intertribal meeting place.

⁵⁴ See PNS 8/09.

⁵⁵ Perhaps several body parts were 'read' in the landscape around Gawler. *Miti-warti* (which might mean 'in the middle of the hip or thigh') seems to have been obtained a short distance downstream from the river junction. Jack Kanya Buckskin wonders whether that name might be based on the layout of the rivers here (see PNS 8/39). If so, was it perhaps a *dingo's* thigh, one or two km away from its 'tooth'?

KADLITPINNA ('CAPTAIN JACK'), THE 'NORTHERN' TRIBE, THE 'WIRRA' TRIBE, AND GAWLER:⁵⁶

One or more of Williams's guides had a mental map of the area between (roughly) One Tree Hill and Tanunda far up the North Para. Around here he knew the locations of at least four waterholes and the Para Pass site.⁵⁷

Was it Captain Jack? His usual name, Kadli-[i]tpinna, means 'father of the dingo' and refers to the name of one of his sons or daughters. It might refer also to a personal Dingo totem shared by him and his child.⁵⁸ As we have seen, the names Kadli-tiya and Kadli-ti-parri probably signify that the vicinity of Gawler Town was associated with a Dingo Dreaming.

From the history above we can wonder whether Captain Jack may have been the sole source of all the records of *kadli* place-names near Gawler.

Thus we cannot avoid asking whether Kadliti-parri was Kadlitpinna's country.

On this matter the records are paradoxical.

It was common knowledge among settlers that Kadlitpinna came originally from somewhere north of Adelaide.⁵⁹ When this fact was originally reported (July 1840), the area referred to could not have been very much further off than the Para region. Moorhouse wrote (rather obscurely) that Kadlitpinna had belonged to "the Koubanda (northern) tribe", until he made an obscure deal with 'King John' (Mullawirraburka) involving land south of Adelaide.⁶⁰ In combination, these facts make it very likely that Kadlitpinna had deep personal connections with the Gawler sites. However, he was not named as the landowner there, not the *Kadli-burka*, 'senior man of the Dingo' (or not yet: perhaps there some older man was still fulfilling that role); for Moorhouse added that when Captain Jack was still a 'Koubanda' man he "possessed no land".⁶¹

When Mullawirraburka "received him into his family and made him co-partner with the whole" of this southerly land – Aldinga and Myponga Plains are mentioned – Kadlitpinna presumably

⁵⁶ For a general introduction to Kadlitpinna, see Tom Gara 1998, 'The Life and Times of Mullawirraburka', in Simpson & Hercus 1998, *History In Portraits*, Aboriginal History Monograph 6: 96-131 *passim*.

⁵⁷ See Williams 'Apprehension of the Native Murderers', *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 11/5/1839: 2b-d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31750582>.

⁵⁸ Gara 1998: 97 n43; Jane Simpson 1998, 'Personal Names'; both found in Simpson & Hercus 1998, *History In Portraits*, Aboriginal History Monograph 6: 223, 227-8.

⁵⁹ Finnis's late 'Recollections' refer to him as "*Captain Jack of northern celebrity*" (BT Finnis 1892, *Some Early Recollections*, MS in Flinders University Library, typescript p.13).

⁶⁰ Moorhouse, half-yearly Protector's Report 27 July 1840, 'Papers Relative to SA... 1843', *BPP Australia* 7: 354). 'Koubanda' probably represents either the common Kurna word *Kawanda* (if the 'b' is a misprint), or *Kaupanda* (a dialect variation of it): in either case, the word means 'north'. Cp. Wyatt's "*Kobandilla*" and "*Kouandilla*", two of the "*Districts of the Adelaide tribe*" (Wyatt in Woods 1879: 179).

⁶¹ Moorhouse's text reads: "*Captain Jack, a few years back, belonged to the Koubanda (northern) tribe, and possessed no land; King John received him into his family and made him co-partner with the whole in the district just mentioned*". For commentary on this deal, see Gara 1998, in Simpson & Hercus 1998: 110; cp. Amery, same volume p.85-6.

became an adopted member of the Mulla Wirraburka's 'Adelaide tribe'.⁶² Clearly by April 1839 he had thoroughly identified himself with the Adelaide people, and took his stand with them against northern rivals from two different regions: the Port Gawler country of Muliakkiburka (Tam O'Shanter) and the 'Wirra' country of Duffield's killers.

However, a fortnight after the hangings, payback time arrived and "the much feared relatives and fellow tribal members of the two executed men really did arrive in Piltawodlinga", ready to use sorcery and poison the river. However, Kadlitpinna was able to negotiate a way out, while also telling Schürmann not to ask questions.⁶³ Probably it was only his kin connections as a 'northern' man that made this possible. Teichelmann and Schürmann clearly identified these northern sorcerers as "the Wirra tribe".⁶⁴

If this influential man brought his relatives with him into the Adelaide alliance (as is likely), we may have an explanation why several later records put the northern boundary of the Adelaide tribe at Gawler or the Gawler River, even though Moorhouse believed in January 1840 that it was "ten miles north of Adelaide", i.e. at the Little Para River.⁶⁵ It seems likely that soon after the events of 1839, and perhaps partly as a result of them, the 'Koubanda (northern)' tribe of Captain Jack lost its separate identity and merged with the Adelaide tribe.

What was this 'Koubanda' group, or what had it been?

The names and boundaries of several 'tribes' in the 30 or 40 miles north of Adelaide during the time of first contact are poorly understood so far, and deserve a more extended study for which there is no space in these place-name essays. However, I will venture upon a brief introduction:

In that period three groups were identified by Moorhouse: a small "Muliakki" group of 20 people at "Milner Estate" (Port Gawler); a large "Wirra" tribe of 120 people inhabiting an area obscurely described as "the borders of the Para River"; and an even more vaguely-located "Koubanda (northern)" group, with no numbers.⁶⁶ The first and second are confirmed independently in the

⁶² Already in November 1838 at Gawler's feast Kadlitpinna had been identified as "*Little Captain Jack of the Adelaide tribe*" (annotation on Martha Berkeley's painting of the feast, quoted in Gara 1998: 103; my emphasis).

⁶³ Schürmann Diary 16 and 18 June 1839; cp. Gara 1998: 106. The diary does not tell us which of the northern tribes this deputation represented; but later entries identify the Wirra-meyunna as notable sorcerers making new threats (3 Jan, 6 March 1840).

⁶⁴ The German linguists quote following sentences verbatim in Kurna and then translate them: "*No charm; it is now enough. The white man has, and distributes, food. Enough, that those two men have been hanged — we are other men*". These words were probably uttered by Kadlitpinna during his negotiations. If so, they tell us plainly that he identified himself with the Adelaide tribe ('we'), despite his 'northern' origin. They also give a core reason why he and they supported the whitefellas in Adelaide against both of the 'northern' tribes: the rations. The authors' footnote names the sorcerers explicitly: "*This was the charge of the Adelaide to the Wirra tribe, who came to town with the intention of charming the river, to revenge themselves of their countrymen, who were hanged*" (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 67. Several other sentences in pp.67-71 were almost certainly obtained during interviews with the prisoners and during the sorcery scare).

⁶⁵ See PNS 8/14 Muna for more on this conundrum.

⁶⁶ The first two are listed formally in Moorhouse's Protector's Report on 14 Jan 1840, and the last one six months later in his Report on 27 July 1840 (see 'Papers Relative to SA... 1843', *BPP Australia* 7: 352, 354). Moorhouse may perhaps have included the 'Koubanda' group in his first and only count of the 'Wirra', especially if at that stage he believed that

newspaper and court reports of 1839 under the names “Para” (or “Lower Para”)⁶⁷ and “Weree”,⁶⁸ so are the second and third in the records of the German missionaries from 1839 to 1844, which mention two distinct groups, the “*Wirra-meyunna* = the wood people” and the “*Kawanda Meyunna* = the North-men”.⁶⁹

Previous writers (including me) have tended to lump these all together as ‘Para tribes’ or ‘tribes north of Adelaide’.⁷⁰ But with closer attention to the 1839 expedition, and to the newly-available translations of the journals, letters and reports of Schürmann, Klose and Teichelmann, it now emerges that while all three spoke versions of the Kurna language,⁷¹ nevertheless each had a distinct territory and a different relationship with the ‘Adelaide tribe’.

Where was the boundary between the two tribes on the eastern sector of the Para region, the “Koubanda (northern)” and the “Wirra”?⁷²

the ‘Adelaide’ tribe’s territory ended ten miles north of the city (see PNS 8/14 Muna). It is doubtful that he ever seriously re-visited these data, since the social organization of the tribes was breaking down very rapidly.

⁶⁷ SA Gazette and Colonial Register 4/5/1839: 1d.

⁶⁸ See my footnote above on ‘We-re’ etc.

⁶⁹ Klose letter 13 Sep 1844, in Klose 2002, tr. E Meier, M Krieg, & L Zweck, *Missionary to the Kurna: the Klose letters*, Occasional Publication No. 2, Adelaide: Friends of Lutheran Archives: 35; cp. Schürmann 1839 diary, which mentions them both a number of times and tells of their quarrels with each other and the locals. These names were probably what the Adelaide people called them, not necessarily what they called themselves.

⁷⁰ e.g. Gara 1998; Schultz 1999 in Schultz, Varcoe & Amery 2000, *Kurna Paltinna: a Kurna Song Book*, Kurna Plains School: 95.

⁷¹ The Wirra tribe is the only one whose language is in any doubt. The names of the ‘Wirra’ men suspected of the murder of Duffield and tracked by Inman’s party would help the analysis – though (like *Wirrameyunna*) some of them could be names used by Adelaide people for the northerners rather than by the northerners for themselves. Of these we have only the prisoner *Bakkabarti Yarraitya* (‘George’) who *may* have been Wirra. Both of his names are in Kurna: *Bakka-barti* = ‘dry-bark OR skin/peel OR dog-bark, + grub/insect’ (thanks to Rob Amery for ‘dog-bark’); but *Yarraitya* appears to be a northern dialect equivalent of southern *Warritya* (cp. northern *Kartiato* = southern *Kartanya*, ‘first-born daughter’).

Seven months later, Moorhouse believed that the Wirra tribe was one of the four who “*speak nearly the same language*” and that the “*modifications are not more than obtain in contiguous counties of England*” (Moorhouse Report 14/1/1840). Wyatt’s wordlist includes a “*Charley of Weerunga*” (= *Wirrangga*), which might signify that he was a ‘Weera’ man. Perhaps he was the Charley whom Williams met on the Gawler River in company with those accused of Thompson’s murder, whom they said was the main killer, but who appears to have escaped the roundup; he was a “*Wongoocha*” = Kurna *Wangutya* (a common birth-order name).

Wyatt also listed a “*Tom of Weerawulla*”. He might perhaps have been ‘Tommy Roundhead’ (= *Paru-tiya Wangutya* [Schürmann Diary 31 May 1839]), who was executed for Thompson’s murder on the Gawler River. If so, a ‘Weera’ identity is one possible explanation for his other name recorded by Wyatt, “*Nawálte*”, which has no known Kurna meaning but might have existed unrecorded in a dialect. However, all his other morphemes are known in Kurna. In Wyatt’s list, other Wirra names might include ‘James of Pootpa’ and ‘Richard of Punggara’ (see earlier footnote). Some of these possibilities would complicate the 1839 politics of the “*We-re*”, Gawler River and Adelaide peoples. Clearly there was plenty of contact between them, despite their different identities. For more on the people of the Gawler River see PNS 8/17 Murlayakki, and Williams ‘Apprehension’, SA Gazette and Colonial Register 11/5/1839: 2c.

⁷² In PNS 8/17 Mudliakki, I look at on the relationship between the ‘northern’ group and its neighbour Mudliakki to the west.

Williams's Adelaide informants believed that the country of the three 'We-re' suspects "would take us four or five days to reach";⁷³ this would seem to be at least as far as the Barossa. Klose wrote that the name Wirra Meyunna was indeed derived from their territory: it was "a particular region in the north which is thickly overgrown with trees".⁷⁴ It is unlikely that this could include Gawler. In 1839, "in Gawler, there was little timber, except on the banks of the rivers".⁷⁵ But, according to local heritage historian Adrian Shackley, there were "areas of dense woodland around Sandy Creek, Altona, Cockatoo Valley, Para Wirra, Mt Gawler, Kersbrook, Golden Grove etc", which had readily available surface water whereas the scrub areas on the plains did not.⁷⁶ These are the Wirra places which might be expected to sustain and identify a resident 'tribe'. This analysis is supported by a new reading of Moorhouse's only definition: "on the borders of the Para River".⁷⁷ In its historical context I take this to mean 'on the eastern borders of what we are calling the Para districts': i.e. the hillier country east and southeast of Gawler (*on the borders of Peramangk country*) and/or northeast towards Lyndoch (*on the borders of Ngadjuri country*).⁷⁸

Gawler itself, therefore, was located neither in Wirra nor Mudliakki territory. Kadlitpinna's story peeps out from Moorhouse's records to suggest that Gawler was once in the territory of the 'Koubanda (northern)' tribe, and that this was once a separate identity from the Adelaide tribe but merged with them during the time of first contact.

Gawler pioneer Eliza Mahony (daughter of Clonlea's John Reid) in her old age remembered what she called 'the Para tribe':

The blacks we were very much afraid of at first, though they were very quiet. There were about 250 in the Para tribe. We tried to get them to work for us, and to wear clothes. After a time they did some work for us, but would never wear the clothes we gave them. A corroboree (war

⁷³ Williams 'Apprehension', *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 11/5/1839: 2b.

⁷⁴ This fact (so obvious now) did not surface during the whole saga of the murder investigations. Wyatt, Williams and Cronk apparently did not realize that 'Weera' meant 'forest', for the word does not occur as such in their wordlists. (They did have the word for 'scrub', *karta*: "" in Williams, "" in Wyatt). Teichelmann and Schürmann probably could have told them, but they were not yet in the circle of public interpreters.

⁷⁵ Ross Reid interview 1909, describing the area as it was when the Reid family first arrived in February 1839: (SMEC Urban 2013, *Gawler Urban Rivers Master Plan*: 31, <http://www.gawler.sa.gov.au/page.aspx?u=641&c=38510> [30/11/15]).

⁷⁶ Adrian Shackley p.c. email 13/6/2011.

⁷⁷ If Moorhouse meant 'on the *banks* of the Para River', surely he would have said that. And as we have seen, the expression 'Para River' always needs individual interpretation in this period. When he came into office Moorhouse was as vague about the name as anyone, and also wrote then of "*the Para tribe*" as though there were only one (Moorhouse Report 9/10/1839, 'Papers Relative to SA', *BPP: Australia* 7: 350).

⁷⁸ If the Wirra people actually were Ngadjuri or Peramangk in *identity*, their language would not have been a version of Kurna as Moorhouse claimed (Report 14/1/1840). I leave it to others to debate how this might relate to the official borders of Kurna, Ngadjuri and Peramangk Native Title claims in modern times. All three *names* are of course modern constructs heavily dependent on Tindale, and do not occur with this significance in the early literature – but this does not invalidate the history of these languages and territories recorded under other names.

*dance) was a wonderful sight. I remember them having a great fight with the Port Gawler tribe. Some were speared.*⁷⁹

We don't know the date of this 'fight'; but the Reids arrived in February 1839, and it could well have been part of the aftermath of the perceived acts of war by Adelaide Aborigines with their white allies in April and May. Eliza's population numbers are double Moorhouse's 'Wirra', and it is possible that her 'Para' people were a mixture of both Wirra and 'Koubanda'. As we have noted, by the end of 1839 the boundaries were already blurring.

These conclusions about Kadlitpinna and his relationship with Gawler cannot be regarded as facts, only as probabilities. We are sure of some other facts, e.g. that Mullawirra-burka was the *burka* (senior man, proprietor) of Mullawirra (the 'dry forest' near Sellick's Hill): because Teichelmann and Schürmann recorded the fact explicitly and spelled out what it meant.⁸⁰ But in Kadlitpinna's case, we cannot be *certain* that Gawler was his country. It is probable, but most of what I have presented is deduction, and the picture might in principle change with new information or better interpretation.

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⁷⁹ Eliza Mahony (nee Reid) 1898 (ed. AA Lendon 1927), 'The First Settlers At Gawler', *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, SA Branch*, Proceedings 28: 70.

⁸⁰ Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 2:5 under 'Burka'.

POSTSCRIPT 1: DID THE KAURNA NAME 'KALEEYA' AFTER 'GAWLER'? OR *vice versa*, DID THE COLONISTS NAME 'GAWLER' AFTER 'KALEEYA'?

Some have noted a similarity between 'Gawler' and 'Kaleeya', and wondered whether one is based on the other. However, the perceived similarity is less than we might think.⁸¹

1. Was Wyatt's 'Kaleeya' a 'contact word', a Kurna adaptation of the name 'Gawler'? Tindale considered the idea,⁸² and Amery made the same speculation later.⁸³ But this derivation is unlikely on three counts. Firstly, it does not explain the undeniable extra syllables: the *-ii-* in 'Kaleeya' (and the probable stress pattern 'Kal-eeya' which emphasizes it); and the *-itii-* in 'Kaleteeya'.⁸⁴ Secondly, it assumes a much later and less likely date when Wyatt obtained the name, a time when Gawler Town had become familiar to local Aborigines under its European name. This could not be before the mid-1840s; but by that time Wyatt was no longer involved with Aboriginal people. The 1839 events are a more likely scenario. And thirdly, it ignores the almost undeniable linguistic connections with Williams's 'Cud-lie-tie-par-rey' in the same area. Tindale eventually rejected this theory⁸⁵ – though on the spurious ground of a similar-looking Pitjantjatjara word: "kalaia > `alia is a very old term for emu (not at Adelaide). Formerly they were a very abundant bird on the Gawler plains".⁸⁶

2. Alternatively, did the colonists bestow the name 'Gawler' on the town because it resembled the original Kurna name 'Kaleeya'? Certainly it is possible the survey party may have heard 'Kaleeya' or something like it before Wyatt did. But it is hard to believe this could be the motive for using 'Gawler' when we consider the well-known history (outlined above) of the new Governor, his personal push for Special Surveys, and the immediate plans for a Town in the Murray Pass Special Survey. Nor does this theory help us to explain the Kurna name itself.

The historical context in which the names 'Gawler' and 'Kaleeya' came together in Wyatt, as described in this essay, makes the argument from similarity – in either direction – an unnecessary speculation.

⁸¹ The perceived similarity depends on ignoring "kaleteeya", and assuming that in "Kaleeya" the second syllable 'ee' is unstressed, i.e. *Kaliya*, pronounced something like 'dahlia'. But this is unlikely when one considers (1) the other version 'Kaleteeya', and (2) the double 'ee', which almost certainly means in both cases that Wyatt was signalling a long stressed vowel: *Kalitiya* and *Kaliya*. If the name really was based on 'Gawler', why was the adaptation not simply *Kala* or *Kula*? 'Gawler' and 'Kaleeya' are about as similar as 'bawler' and 'bar leer'.

⁸² Tindale Kurna card 517/1 'Kaletia' (in AA 338/7/1/12).

⁸³ Amery 2002, 'Weeding Out Spurious Toponyms...', in Hercus et al, *The Land Is a Map*: 170. This process – adapting a word in one's own language so that it resembles the sound of a word in a different language (or *vice versa*) – is called 'phonosemantic matching'. Amery wrote, "The close resemblance is probably not a matter of sheer coincidence. It could also be that the recorded Kurna names were a Kurna pronunciation or corruption of Gawler"; but he has since "moved away from this position", though still inclined to consider the second alternative possible (p.c. 7/8/20).

⁸⁴ Wyatt's 'y' expands the transition between vowels, emphasizing the fact that *-i-a* is two syllables.

⁸⁵ Tindale Kurna card 517/2 'Kali:a'. He used the same spelling in his famous 1987 essay 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruiki' (*Records of SA Museum* 20: 8a). This apparently authoritative way of presenting the name does *not* mean that he had been told anything new; he was simply transcribing Wyatt's 'Kaleeya' into his own spelling system, in which 'i:' means a long *ii* (= 'ee'), and the redundant 'y' is removed. He has not analysed the name at all. Cp. card 517/3 "Kali:ja > 'Kali:a".

⁸⁶ Tindale 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 96. *Kalaya* is Pitjantjatjara for 'emu'.

POSTSCRIPT 2: 'KADLITPI-YARTA':

On 24th April 2014 a meeting of KWP bestowed on Gawler town the name *Kadlitpi-yarta*, meaning 'Kadlitpina's country'.⁸⁷ It was recognized that "this name, as an eponym, is not traditional"⁸⁸ – an eponym being a name which commemorates a historical person, e.g. 'Gawler', 'Adelaide', 'Bennelong Point'. The meeting also agreed that *Kadlitpiyarta* should be described as a 'New Name'.⁸⁹

This decision might require no more comment, except that it arose from a request by Gawler Town Council to confirm that Wyatt's early record "Kaleeya, kaleteeya" was "the correct Kurna name for Gawler", and to "confirm the correct spelling" of it⁹⁰ – i.e. they were asking for the ancient traditional name, if known.

Discussing Wyatt's originals and also Williams's 'Cud-lie-tie-par-rey', the meeting came up with two new hypothetical compounds, *Kadlitpi-pari* ('Kadlitpina's river') and *Kadlitpi-yarta* ('Kadlitpina's land'), and derived the old records from them in the following way:

Williams:

kadlitpi-ku > ***kadlitpi'*** + ***pari*** > ***kadlit'i'-pari*** (= 'Cud-lie-tie-par-rey').

Capt-Jack of river

Wyatt:

kadlitpi' + ***yarta*** > *kadlitpi' + ya'* > ***kadlit'i'-ya'*** (= 'Kaleteeya').

Capt-Jack [of] land

kadlitpi'-ya' > ***kadli'-ya'*** (= 'Kaleeya').

But *Kadlitpi-pari* and *Kadlitpi-yarta* have several major problems:

⁸⁷ In the more common form *Kadlitpinna*, the final *na* is probably an "empty morpheme", i.e. added to the root *Kadlitpi* to make the word sound better (Amery p.c. 7/8/20). When there is a final suffix, *na* is omitted; e.g. the Ergative *Kadlitpi-dlo* 'Kadlitpinna [as agent, did something]' (Teichelmann MS 1857 under 'karranonondi'). Likewise, *Kadlitpi-ku* is a recorded Genitive, 'of Kadlitpinna' (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 2:73; Teichelmann MS 1857 under 'binna'). *Yarta* = 'land, earth, country'. *Pina* is N.Sp. of *pinna*.

⁸⁸ KWP Minutes 24/4/2014.

⁸⁹ However, this point is recorded in the Minutes only in a footnote added by me.

⁹⁰ Steven Harrison for Town of Gawler 24/3/2014, response to Kurna_Requests_Questionnaire (in KWP files).

1. Firstly and above all, these are eponyms. We know that traditional people at first contact sometimes named people after places,⁹¹ but we can be sure that they did *not* name places after living individual people.⁹² Moreover, names of geographical features are not seen as recent inventions nor about contemporary people, but are bestowed from the eternal Dreaming and imprinted by the Dreaming on that piece of land, along with that language in general; the people are seen as coming from the Dreaming and its named places, not the other way round.⁹³ A change in naming practice radical enough to include eponyms might theoretically happen as people adapt their language and aspects of their worldview to the changing society in which they live; but I have never heard of any ancient eponyms from Aboriginal Australia.⁹⁴

KWP accepted this distinction in principle when they agreed to describe *Kadlitpiyarta* as a 'New Name'. A New Name is by definition not 'the correct name' for a place (i.e. from the Dreaming). And a serious interpretation of a recorded *ancient* name cannot also be a *New Name*.

2. There are a couple of linguistic problems:

2a. There is no known precedent for abbreviating *tpi* to *ti* by omitting the *p* (*kadlitpi* > *kadliti*), let alone further abbreviating it to *i* alone (*kadlitpi-ya* > *kadli-ya*). Did both Williams and Wyatt not hear the *p*? This too seems unlikely; they would be more likely to miss the preceding *t*.⁹⁵ Among recorded dialect variants, we have one example of the *t* being omitted,⁹⁶ but none of the *p* as far as I know.

⁹¹ e.g. Mullawirra-burka, Muliakki-burka, Karrawirra-burka; named after the places *Mullawirra*, *Muliakki* and *Karrawirra*.

⁹² Cp. the discussion of 'commemoration strategies' in Hercus & Simpson 2002, *The Land Is a Map*, Pandanus Books, Intro: 14; and McConvell, same book: 57; also Simpson 1998 in Simpson & Hercus 1998, *History In Portraits*: 227.

⁹³ See Peter Sutton's work on 'Language Country' and place-names in the Wik area; e.g. Chapter 7 of Austin, Koch & Simpson 2016, *Language, Land & Song: studies in honour of Luise Hercus*; his presentation 'The mapping of Aboriginal language countries', Language Keepers conference, National Library of Australia, Feb 2019; also p.c. 2019.

⁹⁴ McConvell's discussion of 'commemoration strategies' in the Gurindji area mentions only "a few places" (not specified) which "take their name from where a person of that name was initiated in living memory; or from... someone who died at a place"; but these names "clearly have been changed in recent times" (Austin, Koch & Simpson: 57). The only eponym actually quoted in this book is a Dreaming site *Tyimama* in Arrernte country which belonged to a person 'Jemima' (Chapter 1 by Hercus and Simpson, p.14). But this is not very convincing, as Jemima could have chosen her English name because it matched the site name (the same process by which Mullawirraburka ['King John'] named himself after the site *Mullawirra*). The authors confuse the issue by including both types of naming under the single category 'commemoration strategies'.

⁹⁵ Wyatt missed the *t* in *Maitpangga*, which he recorded as 'Mipunga' and 'Maippunga' (see PNS 5.01/05 *Maitpangga*). Other colonists missed it in *Waitpangga* > 'Wipinga' and 'Wypinga'. Amery notes that "*tp* is a foreign cluster for English speakers", points out the frequent mispronunciation of Nuriootpa as 'Nurioopta', and says that "omission of the *p* in these circumstances is plausible" (p.c. 7/8/20). But there is no recorded example of it, and some examples of the other.

⁹⁶ *karpa* > *kartpa* and *katpa* (Teichelmann MS 1857).

2b. The KWP meeting “recognized that there are no precedents for the abridgement of *yarta* to *ya*”.⁹⁷ There is no phonetic motive to omit *rta* here at the end of the compound with nothing to follow it. The opposite abbreviation *yarta* > *'arta* (omitting the initial consonant) is on record several times.⁹⁸ I would add that even if *ya*' were somehow to represent *yarta*, then 'Kaleeya' (*kadli-ya*' = *kadli-yarta*) would simply mean 'dingo land', with no reference to Kadlitpinna.

These etymologies are less likely than *kadli-tiya* 'dog tooth', which fully accounts for all the old records, straightforwardly in 'kaleteeya', and in the others requiring only two common forms of abbreviation: in Williams, *tiya* > *ti*' (or perhaps Williams simply did not hear the unstressed *a*); and in Wyatt's 'Kaleeya', *kadli-tiya* > *kadl'-iya*, where *i-t* is omitted to avoid repetition of the vowel *i*.⁹⁹

3. Finally, this eponym assumes too much certainty about Kadlitpinna's *country*. In 1999 I was probably the first¹⁰⁰ to publish the tentative guess that the word *kadli* might link Kadlitpinna with Gawler Town via the dingo totem. But this would not necessarily mean that Gawler Town was 'his country', i.e. part of his personal *pangkara*, owned and inherited from his father; in fact, the little we know suggests that this is unlikely.¹⁰¹ Nor does this possible connection make the eponym or the etymologies any more credible. There are other ways for us to commemorate the man Kadlitpinna.

At their meeting on 19/8/2020, “in order to reduce confusion for council and public”, KWP made a decision to “stay with Kadlitiya as name for Gawler itself and to insert minute into public essay to indicate this”.¹⁰²

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References to background documents

See also my document
 'BACKGROUND5police1839.doc',
 accessible to researchers through Management of this website (contact KWP).

End of Summary

⁹⁷ KWP Minutes 24/4/14.

⁹⁸ Full *yarta* occurs at the end in *Putpa-yarta* 'fertile land', etc. It is abbreviated to *'arta* in *marr'arta* 'east country', *wongg'arta* 'in the west', *patp'arta* 'in the south'. The phonetic motive here is to abridge the middle of the compound by omitting the equivalent of a whole syllable (*i-y* in the first and *a-y* in the other two). But it is never abridged to *ya*'.

⁹⁹ This is common: cp. *Pitjantjatjara* > *Pitjantj'ara*; and in Kurna, *tartta-kanya* > *Tartt'-anya* ('Tandanya').

¹⁰⁰ See my essay about Kadlitpinna and Mullawirraburka in Schultz, Varcoe & Amery 1999, *Kurna Paltinna: a Kurna Song Book*, Kurna Plains School: 95.

¹⁰¹ See above in this essay, the section 'Kadlitpinna, the Northern tribe... and Gawler'.

¹⁰² KWP-KWK Minutes 19/8/20.