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Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 4.03.02/02

TIRРАНANGKU

(last edited: 26.11.2016)

SEE ALSO: PNS 4.03.02/03 Ruwuru.

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This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.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, 21/7/2017.

Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 4.03.02/02

TIRРАНАНГКУ

(last edited: 26.11.2016)

Abstract

Tirranangko (or in KWP's New Spelling *Tirranangku*) is the Kaurna name for the freshwater springs under the sea at Port Willunga off the coast of Section 391, running parallel to the beach southwest from the jetty ruins. The springs were remembered by Aboriginal people from the Encounter Bay and Lakes region from their travels to Adelaide in the late 19th century; and they had probably obtained the name originally from Kaurna-speaking people, either locals or (probably) wives and other relatives by intermarriage on Fleurieu Peninsula. It was recorded sometime in the late 19th century by one of the Thomas Martin family of Port Willunga, whose note was preserved by Tindale in his unpublished papers and maps as "*Terenangu: spring below tide level*".

Tirranangku means 'back from the barrier (the hiding or hidden thing)'. 'Hiding' or 'hidden' probably refers to the fact that this fresh water was accessible only by diving into the sea. There was a beach spring nearby but it was accessible only at low tide.

The form of the name is very unusual for a Kaurna place-name; usually it would be *Tirrangga*, 'place of the barrier or hiding thing', using the Locative suffix rather than the Ablative as in Martin. But in times of first contact the word in its Locative form was recorded only as a common adjective meaning 'hidden'. Probably at some time in the later 19th century the Ngarrindjeri-speaking visitors from the south had adopted the mistaken form *Tirranangku* because they misunderstood the grammar of conversations in Kaurna (which in the late 19th century was spoken by small and rapidly decreasing numbers on the land).

It is possible that the place-name "Tiirungga", recorded at first contact from Ramindjeri informants, may be a slightly garbled version of *Tirrangga* and may have referred to the same place.

The springs at Port Willunga served at least two Aboriginal campsites nearby, which were occupied especially in summer when mulloway (butterfish) were present.

Other speakers of Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri language remembered their own name for the beach spring *Ruwuru* or *Ruwarung* (Tjirbuki's tears: see PNS 4.03.02.03).

Both names may perhaps have been used, in their respective times and cultures, to refer also to the whole area including the beach spring, the underwater springs and the campsites.

<i>Coordinates</i>	Latitude -35.262414°, Longitude 138.458387° [nominal centre of undersea springs]
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Language Information

<i>Meaning</i>	'back from the barrier (hiding thing or hidden thing)'
<i>Etymology</i>	<i>Tirra</i> 'barrier, thing which hides, covers or protects' + <i>nangku</i> 'away from, back from'
<i>Notes</i>	This Ablative form ('away from') is very unusual for a Kaurna place-name, and probably arises from a misunderstanding by Ngarrindjeri speakers of conversations with Kaurna speakers. The standard Locative form would be <i>Tirrangga</i> ('place of the thing which hides or is hidden'); but this was never recorded as a place-name, only as an adjective meaning 'hidden'. However, it is possible that the place-name "Tiirungga", recorded by Meyer in 1843 from Ramindjeri informants, was an adaptation of <i>Tirrangga</i> and referred to the same place.
<i>Language Family</i>	Thura-Yura: 'Kaurna'
<i>KWP Former Spelling</i>	Tirranangko
<i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i>	Tirranangku
<i>Phonemic Spelling</i>	/thirranangku/
<i>Syllabification</i>	"Tirra-nangku":
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress the first syllable. Secondary stress on the third syllable. a as in Maori 'haka'.

Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	1843
<i>Original source text</i>	"NAMES OF PLACES... Tāinbari-angk, Ngangkipariñgga, Tiiruñgga , Horse-Shoe... <i>Note.</i> Several of these names, especially of those in the vicinity of Adelaide, belong to the Adelaide language, as their terminations show; and, indeed, are known only to a few individuals who have been in the habit of visiting the Adelaide tribe, and who can speak both languages."
<i>Reference</i>	HAE Meyer 1843, <i>Vocabulary of the... Aborigines of the Southern and Eastern portions of... South Australia</i> , Adelaide, James Allen: 49-50.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Ramindjeri informants at Encounter Bay 1840-3

<i>Date</i>	probably Dec 1935
<i>Original source text</i>	- "fish spearing place / kill butterfish here" [arrow to coast of Section 396] - "'Ru:waruŋ / 'salty springs'" [arrow to coast of Section 402 a little east of Snapper Point]
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale annotated map Hundred of Willunga, AA 338/24/97, SA Museum.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Albert Karlowan (Dec 1935, March 1939, 1941)
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	



<i>Date</i>	1956
<i>Original source text</i>	- “ Terenangu (spring below tide level; native fide Thomas Martin)” [<i>arrow to coast on boundary of Sections 391 & 396, south of Port Willunga jetty</i>] - [<i>notes at bottom right</i>] “data from Thomas Martin thru A. Pridmore 28[?] Sept '56 & 27 Oct 56 / `Jandarpulin...`Rekarnu...”
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale annotated map Hundred of Willunga, AA 338/24/97, SA Museum.
<i>Informants credited</i>	One of the Thomas Martins of Port Willunga: either #2 (1841-1916) or #3 (1873-1948).
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Aboriginal visitors to Port Willunga between about 1850 (or 1880?) and about 1910.

<i>Date</i>	1936
<i>Original source text</i>	[<i>Tji:rbuki</i>] “then walked to [<i>Ru:waruŋ</i>] (a few hundred yards south of Port Willunga jetty). The tide was out. He sat down on the beach and cried some more. The [<i>lu:ki</i>] (tears) dropped on the sand, causing a spring to appear. At high tide the sea covered it, but when the sea went down again water could be obtained by scratching in the sand. It remains so today. The old man then carried his nephew’s body to the beach at Sellick’s Hill...”
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale 1936, ‘Story of [<i>Tji:rbuki</i>], a legend of the people of Rapid Bay’, in Tindale and Mountford 1936, ‘Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave’, <i>Records of SA Museum</i> Vol. 5 (4): 501.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Albert Karlowan
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	[c.1940] / 1993
<i>Original source text</i>	- [<i>Tjirbuki</i>] “went on... to Putatang (Red Ochre Cove) where he cried... He continued on to Luki (Luki, place of tears, Port Willunga), and yet another spring was formed. Then he went on to Ruwuru (near Aldinga), wailing. He picked up his sister’s son again and went on walking to a cave (<i>peki</i>) near Sellicks Beach...” [<i>p234</i>] - [<i>map</i>] “9 spring” [<i>marked north of Pt Willunga</i>] – [<i>legend</i>] “9 Luki spring” [<i>p330-1</i>]. - [<i>plus other texts: see Discussion</i>]
<i>Reference</i>	Berndt & Berndt 1993, <i>A World That Was</i> .
<i>Informants credited</i>	Albert Karlowan
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	



Date	n.d. [1960s-80s?]
Original source text	<p>“Tiranaŋko Kurna Tr. / Adelaide / S. Aust South of Port Willunga at Section 396, Hundred of Willunga on seashore. A spring of water below tide level recorded by Thomas Martin as Terenangu. Lit. ‘Water in hiding’ Deriv: [ˈtira] obstacle + [ˈnaŋko] [ˈtir:anɡa] hidden or concealed. Terenangu Thomas Martin through A. Pridmore.”</p>
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card in AA 338/7/1/12.
Informants credited	Thomas Martin
Informants uncredited	

Date	1987
Original source text	<p>- “Then Tjirbruki left, following the track of his <i>kari</i> along the coast to [Ka`reilduŋ] (Hallett Cove) and on to [ˈTainba`raŋ], now Port Noarlunga, to [ˈRu:waruŋ] (Port Willunga), and to [ˈWitawali] where the tracks turned inland...” [p.7a]</p> <p>- “Carrying his burden {<i>Kulultuwi’s corpse</i>}, now a dry compact parcel, Tjirbruki said, ‘I go back now!’ He departed, walking along the coast to [Ka`reilduŋ], now called Hallett Cove... He went on to... [ˈRuwaruŋ] (several hundred metres south of Port Willunga jetty). The tide was out. He sat down on the beach and cried once more. The [ˈlu:ki] (tears) dropped on the sand, causing a spring to appear. At high tide the sea covered it, but when the tide fell again the fresh water could be obtained by scraping in the sand. It remains so today. The old man then carried the body to [ˈWitawali] on the beach north of Sellicks Hill.” [p.8b]</p>
Reference	Tindale 1987, ‘The Wanderings Of Tjirbruki: a tale of the Kurna people of Adelaide’, <i>Records of SA Museum</i> , No. 20: 7-8.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Discussion: THE HIDDEN SPRING:

In PNS 4.03.02/03 I give an account of the familiar and gazetted name ‘Ruwarung’: the place of Tjirbuki’s beach spring at Port Willunga, created from his tears as he wept over the dead body of his beloved nephew. ‘Ruwuru’ or ‘Ruwarung’ is a Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri name recorded from Ramindjeri and Ngarrindjeri people Albert Karlowan and Reuben Walker. The two generations before these men (and others such as Milerum (Clarence Long)), had visited this area much more frequently in the decades after first contact, while their Kurna-speaking relatives and other original occupants of the Gulf coast largely disappeared, decimated by disease, deported to Poonindie

near Port Lincoln in 1850, others existing as fringe dwellers or absorbed into the southern majority culture.

THE PLACE AND ITS SPRINGS:

In summer surface water was scarce on the Aldinga plain south of Port Willunga. In order to drink, you usually had to dig down to the subsurface water which drains towards the outlet of the Washpool near Sellicks Beach. For north-bound families following the Salmon and Mulloway up the Gulf coast in summer, Port Willunga was an important site, good for both fish and water. Thus it was a regular summer fishing place for Ngarrindjeri-speaking travellers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In an interview with one of the Thomas Martin family who lived at their Port Willunga farm (now commemorated by the ruins of the 'Harbour Master's Cottage' and 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'), Steve Hemming recorded memories which dated from the decade 1900-1910:¹

They came from Port Elliot when the weather was too rough for fishing and they knew that the fishing was better at Port Willunga. He particularly mentions that they were after the mulloway... the group he knew came to the area predominately [sic] to catch fish.

Tindale, probably recording the memories of Karlowan in the late 1930s, mapped a "fish spearing place – kill butterfish here".² It is marked in the sea off the southwestern end of Section 396,³ by my measurement about 600 metres southwest of the ruins of the old Port Willunga jetty; i.e. east of Snapper Point and near the northeast end of Aldinga Reef. From here, extending 400 metres further southwest right next to the beach, today's GoogleEarth images show large patches of clear sandy bottom surrounded by reef: the only such spots in the immediate area. Subject to clarification by Aboriginal fishermen, these probably are or were ideal places to see the fish from the beach as well as from the low cliffs above, and to trap and spear them.

According to Martin there were two regular camp areas at Port Willunga: one in the fore-dunes on the site of the former caravan park (immediately south of the mouth of Willunga Creek), the other on a nearby hill which these visitors called "Dulil".⁴ The people followed the mulloway (butterfish) up the coast, and might head further north when they heard news from the "Watching place on

¹ Steve Hemming 1985, 'Aborigines of Port Willunga: Reminiscences of Thomas Martin', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of SA* 23(9): 24-28.

² 'Butterfish' and 'Kingfish' are common alternative names for Mulloway, a large fish which was an important source of food from the Coorong and Lakes to Yorke Peninsula and the West Coast of SA.

³ Tindale annotated map Hundred of Willunga, AA 338/24/97. Section 396 is now separated from the sea by the narrow strip of newer Section 802; Tindale's location is approximately that of the currently gazetted 'Ruwarung Spring / Wirruwarrungga', almost opposite Zephyr Tce.

⁴ Hemming 1985: 24. For 'Dulil' see PNS 4.03.02/07.

cliffs for shoals of Mulloway” which Milerum knew 6 km to the north,⁵ near the big and ancient campsites on the southern approach to Pedler Creek.⁶

Martin “also emphasizes the ease with which they obtained water”:

*When the Willunga Creek dried up or became too brackish the Aborigines used fresh water springs on the beach... He describes a fresh water spring that was not far south of the jetty and during very high tides the salt water would wash over it. The Aborigines would dig down into the sand until the fresh water bubbled up, he goes on to say, “that’s all they used for water”.*⁷

From these details we can become very specific about the place where Tjirbuki wept and created his life-giving beach spring, as told by Karlowan in conversations with Berndt and Tindale.⁸ It was called ‘Ruwuru’ or ‘Ruwarung’ and was located “a few hundred yards” south of the jetty, at the extreme northeast end of Aldinga Reef, and within a few hundred yards of the ‘fish spearing place’. Karlowan said, “At high tide the sea covered it, but when the sea went down again water could be obtained by scratching in the sand. It remains so today”.⁹

In times of need – say, in a dry summer –not only were springs essential (as Hemming points out) but the ones here were ‘all they used for water’;¹⁰ and it seems this was because there were other springs where water was accessible even at high tide. Darrell Kraehenbuehl told me there are “several springs”.¹¹ Some decades ago a young Aboriginal man told Grant Pinnington that fresh water is available in the sea “just beyond” the jetty ruins, ten feet under the sea; “you could dive down and swallow a mouthful of it”. Pinnington says there are “several [springs] along a line from the edge of the ruin of the jetty in a line parallel to the beach but also aiming at where the reef meets the beach” (i.e. ‘aiming at’ the site of Ruwuru beach spring); and that fresh water was “collected in bladders made of hide where the bubbles can be seen... they tried to get water from the beach if possible but they used both”.¹² It seems there is a whole system of springs here, some available in the sea at any time, others on the beach with less effort but only at low tide.¹³

⁵ Tindale map AA 338/16/6. The same information is marked at Section 353 on the County Adelaide map AA 338/24/107.

⁶ This ancient campsite area is now part of the Moana Sands Conservation Park.

⁷ Hemming 1985: 25.

⁸ See PNS 4.03.02/03 Ruwuru.

⁹ Tindale 1936, ‘Story of [Tji:rbuki], a legend of the people of Rapid Bay’, in Tindale and Mountford 1936, ‘Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave’, *Records of SA Museum* Vol. 5 (4): 501.

¹⁰ Hemming 1985: 25.

¹¹ Darrell Kraehenbuehl p.c. 1990s.

¹² Grant Pinnington p.c. 9 Sep 2013, emails 22 & 23 Nov 2016.

¹³ The signage at Towilla Yerta Reserve (at the carpark a short distance south of the creek mouth) contains a new interpretation of Karlowan’s Tjirbuki spring. It reads: “*Tjirbruki walked the length of the coast with his nephew Kulutuwi*



During my family's visits to the beach at low tide in 1988 and 2001, we photographed fresh water bubbling up through several small holes in the sand, including one which was visible under a couple of inches of seawater. They were at the eastern edge of the rock shelf at the north-eastern extremity of the Aldinga Reef, about 350 metres from the jetty ruins. At other high-tide visits in 2012 and 2016 they were all under water and invisible. This experience coincides with Karlowan's and Martin's descriptions of bubbling through sand and scraping or digging. Its location is the one I give for Tjirbuki's spring and for *Ruwuru-Ruwarung*.¹⁴ It is likely that the southern travellers used this name also as a reference for the whole surrounding area including the campsites.

A KAURNA NAME FROM NGARRINDJERI SOURCES: 'TERENANGU', THE SPRINGS 'BELOW TIDE LEVEL':

There is no serious doubt that at the beginning of first contact the resident inhabitants of this area were Kurna speakers; but it chanced that the first European surveyors and landowners either did not ask about place-names or stories around Port Willunga, or did not publicize them. But Hemming (rightly but perhaps over-cautiously) extrapolates back in time: "It may even have been possible that the people Martin observed were following seasonal patterns in existence before the arrival of the Europeans". The economic bottom line of water and fish is more than 'possible', it is as certain as ecology can make it. We would expect that this spring (or springs) once had a Kurna name; and intriguingly, in this case we know it not from very early records but because it was recorded from Ramindjeri and Ngarrindjeri families who visited Port Willunga in the late 19th or early 20th centuries.

The name is fairly certain, in spite of several complications around the available records of it.

In 1955 or 1956 Tindale received from Adele Pridmore some notes written by a Thomas Martin. This man was the father of another Thomas Martin who was interviewed in 1983 by Steve Hemming and Philip Jones.¹⁵ There were four men of that name in the same Port Willunga family, and it seems likely that the notes were written by Number Three (1873-1948). According to the interview with Thomas #4, his father (#3) was a J.P. and "often sorted out fights in the Aboriginal

tracking Kari (Emu). On his travels he sat north of this location and created a fresh water spring called Ruwaring [sic]. Tjirbruki created a second fresh water spring where he sat and cried on the beach when his nephew died. This spring is just out to sea at Port Willunga". I have no information about any spring north of this point. This error may have arisen by taking literally one of the records which place it at the mouth of the creek by way of the generalization 'at Port Willunga'. The 'second spring' is presumably the underwater one referred to by Pinnington. "Tjirbruki" is the spelling Tindale used in his 1987 essay.

¹⁴ My location for *Ruwuru* does not quite agree with the one gazetted in 1978 for 'Ruwarung Spring' about 260 metres further southwest: see the Report for Ruwarung at <http://maps.sa.gov.au/plb/> (25/5/2015). This spot coincides with Tindale's mapped 'fish spearing place'.

¹⁵ Hemming 1985: 24. Hemming says '1955'; Tindale's map note says '1956'.

camp... It was Mr. Martin's father's job to go down to the camp to sort the situation out".¹⁶ Probably Thomas #3 was the man who wrote the notes, and these probably included the name and description which Tindale preserved on his map: "Terengau (spring below tide level)", marked at Port Willunga beach.¹⁷

If this was the man, he could have heard the name at any time between about 1880 and 1910 when the regular Aboriginal visits came to an end (according to Hemming).

Tindale's map marks 'Terengau' at 200m southwest of the jetty ruins, between them and the bubble-holes I saw.¹⁸ This location coincides with the middle of the underwater springs as described by Pinnington. It may be a serendipitous accident; or perhaps Tindale had found a specific location in Martin's notes (or been told it by someone else), and took care to map it accurately. Either way, we may safely conclude that these undersea springs were the same as Martin's "spring below tide level", 'Terengau'.

THE WORD:

Until the SA Museum re-discovers Martin's notes among its archives, the only sources we have for this name are an annotated map and a place-name index card among Tindale's papers. On the map the spelling looks rather like "Terenanyu";¹⁹ but twice on the card the last consonant is clearly a 'g'. Lacking Martin's manuscript, but finding no support for *nanyu* in known Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri language, we may conclude that the balance of probabilities solidly favours the *g*.²⁰

¹⁶ Hemming 1985: 27.

¹⁷ "Terengau (spring below tide level; name fide Thomas Martin)" (Tindale annotated map Hundred of Willunga, AA 338/24/97). This map also contains a separate note recording two other place-names as "data from Thomas Martin thru A. Pridmore 28 {29?} Sept '56 & 27 Oct 56".

THE PORT WILLUNGA MARTINS: The Thomas Martin whom Hemming interviewed in 1983 I shall label as #4 (1895-?). The 'notes' referred to by Hemming are said to have been written by this man's "father", who is unnamed in the essay but was probably the Thomas Martin #3 (1873-1948) who died in the year Pridmore was preparing her book of McLaren Vale history and reminiscences, *The Rich Valley*, eight years before she gave Tindale the notes. This #3 was a son of another Thomas Martin #2 (1841-1916) who was harbour-master at Port Willunga for a few years, and later raised the alarm for the wreck of the *Star of Greece* in 1888. He in turn was a son of the original 1840 immigrant Thomas #1 (1797-1862). See http://freepages.family.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~moadfamily/Family3/PS02/PS02_447.HTM, and http://freepages.family.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~moadfamily/Family3/PS62/PS62_353.HTM (9/11/16). Hemming describes #1 (incompatibly) as #4's grandfather. All of these men must be distinguished from another unrelated Thomas Martin who arrived in 1847 and co-owned the Bastian & Martin slate quarry near Willunga (see <http://oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/martin-thomas-22842> [9/11/16]).

So far (2016) the Museum has been unable to find Tindale's relevant notes and correspondence, so that I cannot check these inferences. It remains unproven *which* of the two possible Thomases recorded 'Terengau' (#2 or #3), and therefore which generation this memory belongs to.

¹⁸ Tindale map AA 338/24/97.

¹⁹ – and was transcribed as such by Rob Linn in his book *Cradle of Adversity*, map p.4.

²⁰ 'G' OR 'Y'?

In Tindale's annotation of this name, the 'g' looks very like a 'y'. But Tindale clearly believed it was a 'g' when he reiterated the spelling "Terengau" twice on his card 'Tirananko' (Tindale Kaurna place-name card [625] in AA 338/7/1/12).



The suffix “-nangu” identifies the language as Kaurna: *-nangku*, ‘away from. back from’. No credible fit for these syllables is known in Ngarrindjeri vocabulary or grammar.²¹ This inference is confirmed when we note that there is no Ngarrindjeri word anything like *tiri* or *tira*. In Kaurna there is no *tiri*, but there is the common word *tirra*, glossed as ‘obstacle, hindrance’. The second vowel is different (*a* instead of Martin’s sound *i*), but it is unstressed and therefore easier for an untrained listener to mistake.

There is only one other example of a Kaurna place-name which (as recorded) uses this Ablative suffix *-nangku*, and it too comes from a Ngarrindjeri source. This is Karlowan’s “Wangkondanangko” (‘back from the *wangkondV*’),²² which is backed up by another record of the standard Locative form “Waccondilla” (*Wakondilla* or *Wangkondilla*, ‘place of the *wangkondV*’). How did this twist of grammar come about? It seems likely that in both cases some Ngarrindjeri speakers had married into Kaurna-speaking families from Southern Fleurieu Peninsula, and remembered visiting their land and hearing the locals (or their own Kaurna-speaking spouses) use the local place-name; they understood the function of Locative suffixes because their own language also uses them. But as their perception of Kaurna language faded along with the need for it, their next generation, no longer fully bi-lingual, mistook the ‘return’ suffix for the ‘place’ suffix. Language history is full of incorrect usages becoming entrenched when there are few mother-tongue speakers on the scene to challenge them; and of course the survivors are usually quite unaware of the mistake.²³

Tirra seems to have a core meaning something like ‘barrier’, with a common application to ‘hiding’. In compounds it produces expressions like *tirrangga* ‘hidden; concealed’; *tirrangga wandendi*, ‘to lie hidden or in ambush’; *tirra-appendi*, ‘to screen, protect, hide, shelter’; *tirrarti*, ‘don’t hide yourself, come forth’; *yerlurlo tindo tirra tartandi*, ‘the sea covers or hides the sun’ (when the sun sets).²⁴ It is easy to see how this would apply to the submarine springs at Port Willunga, ‘covered’ and ‘hidden’ by a couple of metres of seawater, and why this unusual feature would be enshrined in the

It is theoretically possible that Martin wrote a ‘y’, and that Tindale wrote ‘y’ on the map but mis-read it as ‘g’ when transferring the data to his card, probably 30 years later.

But the ‘y’ is unlikely on linguistic grounds. In Kaurna there are a few words ending with *nyu*, and *nya* is a common suffix; but no known vocabulary fits *nanyu* or *nanya*. In Ngarrindjeri there is no known *nanya* or *nanyu*, and *nyu* never occurs at the end of a word.

Motivated by these considerations, we find signs that Tindale’s ‘y’ is probably a ‘g’ after all. Compare his other annotations on the same map, written in various styles at various times. While his ‘g’ and ‘y’ are usually well differentiated, an undisputed ‘g’ does occasionally look rather like a ‘y’ in the particular block style used for ‘Terenangu’: cp. ‘Dingabaldingga’, ‘Turungga’ and ‘Tarangga’. But ‘y’ never looks like ‘g’ (cp. ‘Bonython’. ‘found by’ and ‘wallaby’).

²¹ The nearest fit in Ngarrindjeri is the adverb *nankur*, ‘first, before’: an unlikely word for use in a place-name.

²² See PNS 4.04.01/03 *Wakondilla*. The capital ‘V’ means ‘an unknown vowel’. The meaning of *wangkondV* is unknown.

²³ e.g. Within my lifetime the plural noun ‘media’ (“Newsprint is one medium; other media include telephone and TV”) has become entrenched as a collective singular, usually confined to digital forms (“Mobile phone is my usual media”, “Does your media have this app?”), even among journalists who ought to know better. In the ears and mouths of the pre-colonial Kangaroo Island ‘sealers’, *Yarnkalyilla* became ‘Yanky-lily’.

²⁴ In these examples from the early literature I use Old Spelling. A less common application is *tirra-mankondi*, ‘to interfere at a fight... by throwing the arms round the waist of the aggressing party’; which leads to the extended meaning ‘to mediate’.

identifying name of the place.²⁵ Tindale was on the right trail when he glossed it on a place-name card as “water in hiding”.²⁶

If this reasoning is correct, then the standard ‘place’ form of the name was almost certainly *Tirangga*: a word which was explicitly glossed by the missionary linguists as ‘hidden’, and whose meaning as a place-name would be ‘place of the thing which hides something’ or ‘the thing which is hidden’. But because this form was never recorded, I refrain from concluding upon it as though it were a fact rather than a deduction.²⁷

Place-names can be flexible in the size of the area to which they are applied. The line of undersea springs (as described by Pinnington)²⁸ is positioned at an angle which strongly suggests that they are part of the same hydrological microsystem as the beach spring, the latter marking a surface outlet of the subterranean drainage which feeds them all. Coupled with natural extensions of meaning, this makes it likely that both names *Tirranangku* and *Ruwuru* would be used from afar to refer to this whole notable area of springs and campsites. However, the records do distinguish their referents from each other, and I have retained that distinction.

I now offer a controversial opinion which is simply my own and has no endorsement from any group. There is no inherent reason why the public should not see at Port Willunga two different Aboriginal names from different languages.²⁹ The beach spring could revert from the currently gazetted ‘Wirruwarrunga’³⁰ to ‘Ruwuru’ (Ngarrindjeri), alongside ‘Tirranangku’ (Kurna) for the underwater springs. Both could be acknowledged as names for Port Willunga, on condition that there be public information which makes clear that these were used by different language groups in different eras, each with true stories to tell, and explains their different historical, social and political circumstances. The names need not be a source of conflict.

But these must be decisions for Aboriginal people to make.

²⁵ In previous draft writings about this name I hypothesized that it might refer to the ‘obstacle’ of the Tortachilla cliffs immediately north of the creek mouth, where the beach ends and travellers must go inland to pass. But this is not much of an obstacle for seasoned walkers – certainly nothing like Milerum’s ‘turn-back place’ “*Yanawing*” at the impassable cliffs north of Cape Jervis (see PNS 5.04.02/01) – and unlikely to be considered worthy of commemorating in a place-name.

²⁶ Tindale found the noun “[*tira*] obstacle”, picked the connection with *tirangga* ‘hidden’, and glossed the name as “*water in hiding*” (Tindale Kurna place-name card [625] “Tirranangko”). ‘Water’ is of course a description, not a translation. He seems to have been unaware of the suffix *nanngko* and does not refer to it in his notes on either ‘Terenang’ or ‘Wangkondanangko’.

²⁷ But *Tirangga* does introduce another fascinating speculation. Granted some considerable looseness in the perception of place by outsiders who did not actually visit and use the sites, could *Tirangga* be the Kurna original of Meyer’s “*Tiirungga*” (1843) and/or Karlowan’s “*Tjirungga*” (1935)? – though both were allegedly located 9 km away near the ‘Horseshoe’ loop of the Onkaparinga River, both recorded from Ngarrindjeri speakers, and both otherwise unrecorded (Meyer 1843: 50; Tindale map Hundred of Noarlunga AA 338/24/73: see PNS 4.02/09 Tiirungga).

²⁸ See above.

²⁹ Two Ngarrindjeri names have already been publicized there for some decades, and the addition of an old Kurna name need not be too confusing. After all, an international map may acceptably show a place as “Deutschland / Germany” or “Hellas / Greece”.

³⁰ See PNS 4.03.02/03 Ruwuru.



‘TIIRUNGGA’:

Perhaps *Tirrangga* was recorded at first contact after all, though in a slightly garbled form.

In 1843 Meyer published the Ramindjeri vocabulary which he had collected over the three previous years at Encounter Bay from informants such as Tammuruwi (‘Encounter Bay Bob’). It included two lists of place-names, the second of which he had not yet been able to analyse fully. Of this second list he says,

Several of these names, especially of those in the vicinity of Adelaide, belong to the Adelaide language, as their terminations show; and, indeed, are known only to a few individuals who have been in the habit of visiting the Adelaide tribe, and who can speak both languages.

One of these ‘few individuals’ was certainly Tammuruwi, his main informant; and one such entry is the following:

*Tāinbari-angk, Ngangkipariŋga, Tiiruŋga, Horse-Shoe.*³¹

The ‘Horse-Shoe’ here is the loop of the Onkaparinga River at Old Noarlunga, site of the ford which was essential for all foot travellers along the plains south of Adelaide, and which was identified in Kurna language as *Ngangkiparringga* in many early sources. Meyer certainly knew the Horse-shoe from his own travels between Encounter Bay and Adelaide; but it is very unlikely that he ever visited the other two sites named here, or had any specific idea of where they were.

While we do know about several different names not far from the ford which are superficially similar to “Tiirungga” – *Tarangga, Turungga*, possibly *Taringga*³² – none of them have *i* as the stressed first vowel; and this is a feature unlikely to be mistaken. There is no other record of any such local name beginning *Ti* – except *Tirranangku*.

If Tindale and Karlowan were right that “Tainbarang” was at Port Noarlunga, then “Tāinbari-angk” is about 4 km from Old Noarlunga in a straight line, on the same river. Port Willunga is about 9 km

³¹ HAE Meyer 1843, *Vocabulary of the... Aborigines of the Southern and Eastern portions of... South Australia*, Adelaide, James Allen: 50.

³² In the McLaren Vale area: see their respective PNSs.



away, and on the far side of three other creeks.³³ But the fact that “*Tāinbari-angk*” and “*Tiiruñgga*” are bracketed under the heading ‘Horse-Shoe’ merely means that somebody such as Tammuruwi had told Meyer – probably from a great distance at Encounter Bay – that they were somewhere in that general area.³⁴ And we can be sure that they were mentioned because they were important to travellers, most likely as water sources.

Ramindjeri language is quite different from Kaurna, with a different sound system, many different grammatical rules and little matching vocabulary. The Locative suffix *ngga*, used correctly, shows that “*Tiirungga*” is certainly a Kaurna word. But the second vowel *u* does not match *Tirrangga*, and Meyer is a reliable source, a trained linguist. Was this a Ramindjeri version of the same word, with an unwitting error in the unstressed second vowel?³⁵ We have supposed (above) that later generations of Ramindjeri speakers made a different error in the same vowel, giving *i* where Meyer’s informants gave *u*. But because 1843 was an era when Kaurna speakers were still living on their land and holding dialogue with bilingual Ramindjeri neighbours, the neighbours did better than their descendants at retaining the correct grammatical form of the name.

This interpretation is in my view quite probable; but there is enough space between the dots to prevent the picture from being conclusive.

.....

End of Summary

³³ It is very likely that “*Tāinbari-angk*” was a Ramindjeri adaptation of a Kaurna place-name *Tayin-paringga*, substituting the standard Ngarrindjeri Locative *angk* after the common Kaurna word *pari*, ‘river’ (see PNS 4.02/02).

³⁴ Meyer’s first list includes a Ramindjeri name “*Kulkamāiwar*” which means ‘place of scorching wind’ and whose location is given as “*Adelaide*” (:49). From an Aboriginal informant at Encounter Bay this is clearly a very vague and loose location, not a specific site name like many others in Meyer’s lists.

³⁵ In the first vowel, Meyer’s “*ii*” is not an error; it means simply a long *i*.