



The writing of this essay was funded by the Commonwealth of Australia Ministry for the Arts through its Indigenous Languages and Arts (Languages) program, as part of The Kurna Project 2018-9 (coordinator Rob Amery, and supported by Kurna Warra Pintyanthi).

*This and other essays may be downloaded free of charge from
<https://www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp/placenames/research-publ/>*

Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.02.02/02

'Anacotilla'

(last edited: 22.7.2019)

SEE ALSO

PNS 5.02.02.04 Yarnauwingga, 5.02.02/03 'Congeratinga', 5.02.02/01 Wirrina.

NOTE AND DISCLAIMER:

This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.

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

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

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

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

Chester Schultz, [date].



Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.02.02/02

‘ANACOTILLA’

(last edited: 22.7.2019)

Abstract

The earliest record of this name was ‘River Anacotilla’ marked on the first maps based on the work of the first surveyors of District D (around Yankalilla) in June-August 1840. The ‘Yankalilla Surveys’ used Aboriginal guides (probably hired in Adelaide), who no doubt gave the name.

Since Aboriginal naming practices do not use one name for the whole length of a river (as in European tradition), ‘Anacotilla’ must have referred originally to a site, probably a campsite; and this would have been somewhere on or near that part of the river which had been surveyed at the time it was obtained. The surveyors’ first two maps mark the name along the gorge and flood plain at Wirrina (on Sections 1588, 1589, 1590 and 1595), and along the eastern branch (east of ‘Anacotilla’ homestead, on 1594 and to the map limit on 1597-1598) – but not on the southern branch, which now bears the name at the ‘Anacotilla Bridge’ (on 1592) and in headwaters at ‘Anacotilla Sanctuary’ in the high range (on 230).¹ The flood plain, gorge and surrounding bald hills seem to have been known by the general name *Yarnauwingga*.² It is therefore likely that ‘Anacotilla’ referred to a more specific area, probably the whole vicinity of the eastern branch or a site within it. The surveyors would have automatically applied the site name to the whole length of ‘the river’ as they perceived it at the time.

The name is probably in Kurna language, since it appears to end with the common Kurna Locative suffix *illa* (‘at, place of’). Since Kurna words do not normally begin with *a*, it is very likely that there was an initial *ng* which surveyor did not identify. The implied root noun *nganakatV* or *nganakutV* (V= unknown vowel) is unknown in any local language as it stands. It is not possible to reconstruct the remaining etymology with any certainty.

But among several very uncertain etymologies, two are possible and more likely than the others (see Discussion):

1. *Ngarna-kurtirla*, ‘two quandong sisters’.
2. *Ngarrkatilla*, ‘place of Ngarrkata [the great hunter]’.

Each would probably refer to an unrecorded Dreaming. But neither is certain.

In the area now called ‘Wirrina’ (an imported name), the ambiguous provenances of the real local names ‘Congeratinga’ and *Yarnauwingga* appear to overlap that of ‘Anacotilla’. More research would be needed to establish (if possible) the exact area and extent where each original name applied.

¹ For the Sections, see Map 1 ‘River Anacotilla’ in this essay p.16, and Map 1 in PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga p.31.

² See PNS 5.02.02/04.



Coordinates	Lat. -35.507601, Long. 138.271943 [nominal centre of Eastern Branch area]
-------------	---

Language Information

Meaning	Unknown; POSSIBLY 1. 'two quandong sisters'; OR POSSIBLY 2. 'place of <i>Ngarrkata</i> [the great hunter]'
Etymology	Unknown; POSSIBLY 1. <i>ngarna</i> 'female relative, sister' + <i>kurti</i> 'quandong' + <i>irla</i> 'two' (Dual) > <i>Ngarna-kurtirla</i> 'two quandongs and sisters'; OR POSSIBLY 2. <i>Ngarrkata</i> [name of a famous hunter] + <i>illa</i> 'at, place of' (Locative) > <i>Ngarrkatilla</i> 'place of <i>Ngarrkata</i> '
Notes	
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'
KWP Former Spelling	1. <i>ngarnna-kurtirla</i> 2. <i>Ngarkattilla</i>
KWP New Spelling 2010	1. <i>ngarna-kurtirla</i> 2. <i>Ngarrkatilla</i>
Phonemic Spelling	POSSIBLY 1. /ngarnakurtirla/ or 2. /ngarrkatila/
Syllabification	1. "Ngarna-kurtirla": 2. "Ngarrka-tilla":
Pronunciation tips	Every a as in Maori 'haka'. For the initial <i>Ng</i> , don't use tongue; say English 'singer' > 'singa', then drop the 'si' to produce <i>Nga</i> . 1. Stress on 1 st syllable; secondary stress on 3 rd syllable <i>ku</i> . <i>rt</i> and <i>rl</i> are Retroflex <i>t</i> and <i>l</i> respectively (tongue curled back; sounds not used in English). <i>u</i> as in 'full' (don't read 'ur' as in 'fur'). <i>i</i> as in 'pin' (don't read 'ir' as in 'firm'). 2. Stress on 1 st syllable; secondary stress on 3 rd syllable <i>ti</i> . <i>rr</i> rolled as in Scottish.

Main source evidence

Date	[June & Aug 1840] / 1844
Original source text	" River Anacotilla " [marked along river from Section 1588 to border of 1598-9.]
Reference	Henry Ide 1844, 'Plan of sections in Districts D & F Yankalilla & Rapid Bay, surveyed by Messrs Kentish Pool & Bryant, June & August 1840', Plan 6/15, Geographical Names Unit (now SA Land Services Group).
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kurna-speaking survey guides



Date	Aug 1840
Original source text	“ River Anacotilla ” [marked along the river: from Section 1588 to border of 1598-9.]
Reference	W Smith n.d., ‘Plan of Sections, in Districts D & F near Rapid Bay / Surveyed by Messrs Poole & Bryant / Augt 31, 1840’, Plan 6/16A, Geographical Names Unit (now SA Land Services Group).
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kurna-speaking survey guides

Date	1841
Original source text	“ An[o?]cotilla River ”
Reference	Sergeant William Forrest 1841, ‘Hundred of Encounter Bay – Roads’, Field Book 63: [20], GNU (now SA Land Services Group).
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	previous surveyors

Date	1862
Original source text	“I, THE undersigned, Charles Dinham, of Cotilla Farm , near Rapid Bay, in the Province of South Australia, farmer, do hereby declare that I am unable to meet my engagements with my creditors.”
Reference	SA Govt Gazette 27/3/1862: 270, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1862/15.pdf .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1863
Original source text	“Finniss Vale. September 17. On Thursday last the pretty little bridge which spans the Anacotilla Creek , on the road to Yankalilla, was formally opened to the public by Miss Randall in the presence of Mr. Hargrave (the superintending surveyor), Mr. Delisser, and a number of residents in the neighbourhood. The bridge was named after the creek over which it is built “ Anacotilla Bridge. ”
Reference	Adelaide Observer 19/9/1863: 4b, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/159520195/18804199 .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	



Date	1870
Original source text	<p>“TENDERS will be received by the undersigned up to noon of Monday, February 7, 1870, from persons willing to RENT (for grazing purposes only) for a term of One, Two, or Three Years, the COTILLA FARM, Yankalilla, lately in the occupation of Mr. Charles Dinham. The Farm comprises Sections 1109, 1598, 1599, 99, 1600, 83, 86, and 89, contains in all 792 Acres of first-class grazing land, with plenty of surface water. There is also a House, Yards, and other conveniences on the property, which is partly fenced.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">WM. EVERARD, Exchange, Adelaide.”</p>
Reference	<i>The Express and Telegraph</i> (Adelaide) 25/1/1870: 1g, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/207718478/22778705 .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1883
Original source text	<p>“BIRTHS... KELLY.—On the 12th July, at Anacotilla, Second Valley, the wife of E. C. Kelly, of a son.”</p>
Reference	<i>The Express and Telegraph</i> (Adelaide) 19/7/1883: 2a, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/210513750/23140195 .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [?Dec 1935]
Original source text	“ Anaka`ti:la ” [<i>semi-legible; above printed ‘Anacotilla’ along the river</i>]
Reference	Tindale annotated map Hundred of Yankalilla AA 338/24/101, SA Museum.
Informants credited	<p>“Notes from Milerum 28.3.34 “ “ Karlowan Dec.1935. Notes transferred from ms from Milerum 11.1941”</p>
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [1935 / 1980s]
Original source text	<p>“Anaka`ti:la Name of a creek flowing north from Water Reserve no. 5, H of Yankalilla. On maps as Anacotilla. On the H of Yankalilla Hundred map. Name as spoken during discussion with Karlowan.”</p>
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name index card [#480] in AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Discussion: ENIGMATICALLY-NAMED 'ANACOTILLA':

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

THE FIRST SURVEYORS: 'RIVER ANACOTILLA' 1840:

In June and August 1840 the first survey of the Wirrina area was carried out under the leadership of Nat Kentish, James Poole and G Bryan or Bryant. The first two maps from their work marked "River Anacotilla" along the creek which still bears that name.⁴ They no doubt obtained it from an Aboriginal guide; for these were part of the Yankalilla Surveys which in that year were employing such men on equal pay with the European labourers.⁵

In view of curious excursions into Spanish language (to be tackled later),⁶ we should note here that in October 1839, with the Yankalilla surveys already beginning, Governor Gawler – himself an amateur surveyor and explorer – requested the assistance of the colonists in "discovering, and carefully and precisely retaining" native names "in all possible cases, as most consistent with propriety and beauty of appellation".⁷ As his public servants, the surveyors had to regard this as an instruction. And they obeyed it, for a while. During these surveys south of Adelaide in 1839-40 they did not add to their maps even one new European place-name; but they did add at least 50 newly- and often uniquely-obtained Aboriginal names. We owe Gawler and these little-known men some gratitude for the preservation of these nuggets of the ancient cultural map. There is no case for 'Anacotilla' being other than a genuine Aboriginal place-name.

Aboriginal naming practices do not traditionally identify a watercourse as a single entity from headwaters to mouth, nor give any such 'river' a single name. Instead, they identify many

³ See PNS 5.02.02/01 Wirrina.

⁴ Henry Ide 1844, 'Plan of sections in Districts D & F Yankalilla & Rapid Bay, surveyed by Messrs Kentish Pool & Bryant, June & August 1840', Plan 6/15; W Smith n.d., 'Plan of sections, in Districts D & F near Rapid Bay / Surveyed by Messrs Poole & Bryant / Augt 31, 1840', Plan 6/16A; both in Geographical Names Unit (now SA Land Services Group). Another very early survey note possibly spells the second vowel as 'o' "*An[o?]cotilla River*" (William Forrest 1841, Field Book 63 'Hd of Encounter Bay: Roads': [19], Geographical names Unit [now Land Services Group]); but this is doubtful, since this character is hastily-written and it is very hard to distinguish whether it is 'a' or 'o'. After this all records agree on the standard spelling.

⁵ SA Register 10/8/1839: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27440703/2049497>.

⁶ See Appendix 2b 'Spanish Americans and ships'.

⁷ SA Gazette No.93, 31 October 1839: 1, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1839/93.pdf.

differently-named sites along its course and on any significant tributaries.⁸ 'Anacotilla' must have originated as the name of such a site.

Where then was the place 'Anacotilla' as given by the Aboriginal guides?

Probably it was a campsite. Perhaps it was somewhere that the surveyors camped, allowing time for conversations around the campfire when their guide might pass on the name of the place where they were sitting.⁹ And it is certain that it was in the lower reaches of the river – because this was the area first surveyed, and the first two plans on which the name appeared did not map *anything* more than about 1.5 km uphill from the main road.

In principle the name could belong anywhere at Wirrina Resort among the ideal camping places in those well-watered, sheltered flats of the River Anacotilla flood plain (which settlers called 'Third Valley'). But that area comes under another known Kaurna name, *Yarnauwingga*, which probably refers to a larger area including the adjacent bald hills above 'Anacotilla' homestead.¹⁰

Then was 'Anacotilla' a smaller site within the larger *Yarnauwingga*? Quite likely; and there is another and more specific clue to this from the surveyors.

'THE RIVER' IN 1840, AND 'THE RIVER' IN LATER TIMES:

Both of the first maps show the name 'River Anacotilla' marked along the river from its junction with the Congeratinga near the mouth, upstream to the border of Sections 1598-1599.¹¹ When we study these maps carefully and compare them with later maps, one feature becomes rather surprising. Immediately above the Wirrina lowland, the river divides into substantial tributaries. The surveyors' label follows a relatively short branch (let's call it 'E') which comes down from the ridge just north of the 'Anacotilla' homestead, after rising in the hills due east.¹² This was the 'River Anacotilla' as perceived by those who got the name from their Aboriginal guide(s).

Today's perception of 'the river' is different. Another much longer branch ('S') comes from the south and joins 'E' at the old ford just off Paradise Drive, about 100m south of the old flat bridge and 300m north of 'Anacotilla' homestead. In thinking of 'the river' above the amphitheatre of Wirrina Recreation Area), settlers later identified this southern branch S, not E. On S they

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

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

¹⁰ See PNS 5.02.02/04.

¹¹ For the location and boundaries of the original Sections in this area, and the local watercourses, see Map 1 on p.16 of this essay; also Map 1 in PNS 5.02.02/04 *Yarnauwingga*, p.31.

¹² For the eastern branch see Map 2 in this essay, p.17.

constructed and named the 'Anacotilla Bridge' in 1863.¹³ This crossing is still signposted as 'River Anacotilla' on the Main South Rd. Compared with the crossing of two branches of E on the same road a km further northeast, very shallow and scantily-treed, the F crossing *looks* more like a 'river', with a small but much more obvious reedy river flat north of the road, and a much more obvious gully south of it, lined sparsely with medium-sized trees.

Why then did Kentish, Poole and Bryant mark the name along the minor branch E, and not along S which they were surveying at the same time and which looks more ecologically significant?¹⁴ A likely answer is that somewhere in one of the gullies of E was the original 'Anacotilla' which the guides identified; or perhaps it was the whole immediate vicinity of E.¹⁵ Though not large or sheltered enough for a full family camp, were there places here which were good as temporary camps for hunters?¹⁶

Having obtained one site name on 'the river', the surveyors would then have applied it automatically downstream to the mouth and upstream on 'the whole river' as they perceived it. In this case, their 'real river' *on this branch E* had its headwaters only 1.6 km upstream from the main road, and they had already surveyed most of it.¹⁷

Settler uses of the name later in the 19th century¹⁸ are irrelevant to the main argument of this essay, as they do not arise from any Aboriginal knowledge of the site or the name.

THE WORD:

The word recorded as 'Anacotilla', in five syllables, does not yield its etymology with any certainty. Unfortunately the analysis cannot avoid being rather technical.

1. The original was almost certainly in Kurna language, since it appears to end with the familiar Kurna Locative suffix *illa*, 'at, place of'; and we note that the other names obtained at first-contact times in the same area were all certainly or probably Kurna.¹⁹

¹³ *Adelaide Observer* 19/9/1863: 4b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/159520195/18804199>.

¹⁴ Interestingly, GoogleMaps, in their street view, still have the name marked on E and not on S (25/6/2019).

¹⁵ The same two early maps provide another very similar mapping clue to the location of 'Congeratinga' with their counter-intuitive placement of the river name along a smaller branch on higher ground (see PNS 5.02.02/03 'Congeratinga'). However, the case of 'Anacotilla' is stronger because the two branches are even more markedly different in volume and tree cover (today at least).

¹⁶ The catchments of 'E' cover only a small area and feature only a few small lines of trees on some of their gullies. However, there are today a few small dams, which may signify old waterholes, and one tiny wetland alongside the main road near the hilltop. Was there perhaps a useful temporary camp for hunters among these hilltop gullies? They would have available nearby a very good view of emus or kangaroos in 'bald' country in all directions, and a very well-resourced main camp down in Third Valley a little over one km away. Such a place might also be a strategic lookout for enemies. We don't know; but further work on the detailed historical ecology of the area might provide more clues.

¹⁷ Two tiny tributaries of E extend into Section 86, only 0.7 km beyond the limit of the first two maps at Section 1599.

¹⁸ See Appendix 2a 'Cotilla Farm and Anacotilla homestead'.



2. In English we intuitively pronounce it '**Anaco-tilla**' (stress pattern like '**circumlo-cution**' or '**eating va-nilla**', $-\wedge-\wedge$),²⁰ but this is not necessarily correct in Kurna,²¹ nor probably how it was pronounced by the surveyors who had heard it in person from a Kurna authority.²² In fact all the possible etymologies will require stress patterns different from this one.

3. The surveyor's English 'o' could represent either the sound *a* (as in Maori 'haka') or *u* (as in 'full').²³

4. Our first problem is that **Kurna words never begin with the sound a**. Therefore the surveyor may have missed an initial sound – almost certainly *ng*, a common phoneme at the beginning of Aboriginal words. English does not use it in this way, and untrained English speakers rarely heard it as meaningful in this position.²⁴ The original might therefore have been *Nganakutilla* or *Nganakatilla*.

5. Our second issue arises from **the relationship of illa to the rest of the word**.

There are two standard Kurna Locatives, and under the internal language rules *illa* is reserved for root words with *three* syllables. But the root here appears to have *four*, something like *(Ng)anakutV*, in which the 'V' represents an unknown Vowel.²⁵

Since Kurna words usually contain only two or three syllables, **the root is probably a Compound noun (Ng)ana-kutV** (stresses $-\wedge-\wedge$, like '**avocado**'); the stress pattern of the complete word would be '**Ana-cotilla**' ($-\wedge-\wedge$, like '**eating chocolate**'). But this is not possible; it would make the second morpheme a two-syllable word, and would require the other Locative *ngga*; it would have to be *kutVngga*.²⁶

This puzzle might be resolved in three ways:

¹⁹ 'Congeratinga', 'Yarnouinga', 'Yankalilla', 'Ichicouinga', 'Yattagolunga', etc; see PNSs whose title numbers begin with 5.02 or 5.04. Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri words almost never end in *illa*.

²⁰ Think of these hieroglyphics as Morse Code: in this case, **dah**-dit-dit **dah**-dit.

²¹ Likewise we tend to pronounce 'Congeratinga' intuitively in the same pattern '**Congera-tinga**'; but this is certainly incorrect in Kurna pronunciation (see PNS 5.02.02/03).

²² No doubt it was pronounced in the English style by *readers* as soon as it was published in maps or literature; and as the surveyors passed out of common circulation, this soon meant everybody.

²³ cp. '**koko**' = *kuku*; 'Myponga' = *Maitpangga*; 'Onkapinga' = *Ngangkiparingga*; 'Yattagolunga' = *Yartakurlangga*.

²⁴ cp. *Ngangkiparingga* > 'Onkapinga'. English speakers easily say 'singing', but even trained singers who often work with other languages may have trouble with 'nging' on its own, and any initial *ng*.

²⁵ The Locative *illa* replaces the last vowel of the root word with its own *i*; cp. *Yarnkalya* > *Yarnkalyilla*.

²⁶ The Locative *ngga* requires a two-syllable root (cp. *witu* > *Witungga*; stress pattern $-\wedge-\wedge$, not $\wedge-\wedge$ in English style), and retains the final vowel of the root word.

6a. Perhaps we could pronounce it *(ng)a-nakutilla*, treating the first syllable as a separate morpheme and restoring the correct stress pattern to the second morpheme. This is *conceivable*; but *nga* on its own is not a known Kurna morpheme, let alone a one-syllable word in its own right. Nor is there any known word *nakatV* or *nakutV* in Kurna.

6b. Kurna language has a Dual suffix *rla*, ‘two’;²⁷ if preceded by *i*, this sounds very similar to the Locative *illa*. There are a few other Kurna place-names which were recorded likewise in five syllables ending with a recorded ‘illa’, but which did not fit the rule. Some of these can be resolved by considering the Dual suffix.²⁸

Only one solution along the Dual line is culturally credible in principle:²⁹ *ngarnna* (New Spelling *ngarna*), ‘a female relative, sister’ + *kurti* ‘quandong’, giving ***Ngarna-kutirla*, ‘the two quandong sisters’**.³⁰ the sisters would have or be the two quandongs. Could they be another unrecorded Dreaming? But we would need to check with historical ecologists whether the River Anacotilla could have been notable quandong country before settlement.³¹

6c. ‘Anacotilla’ could be a contraction of two morphemes, like *Tarnd’anya* (from *Tarndakanya*).³² If so it would be pronounced “***Ngan’-acotilla***” (– –^–^, like ‘**one avocado**’). The second word would begin with an unknown consonant. The only examples of such contraction that we know use *k*. But there is no likely vocabulary to match *kakatV* or *kakutV*.

7. Another possible solution could be that the first recorded syllable ‘A-’ did not exist but was a misunderstanding. This is more possible than we might think. Perhaps the guide actually said a four-syllable word *Ngakatilla* or *Ngakutilla* (stresses –^–^, like ‘**avocado**’). Perhaps the surveyor in 1840 puzzled over the unfamiliar initial nasal, which sounded to him more like a grunt or stammer, but noticed something was there and asked about it. The guide, keen to teach, lengthened and emphasized it: “(h)ng-**Ngaka-tilla**”. The Englishman then interpreted the first sound as an indeterminate vowel, and represented it by ‘A’ (the default letter in English for indeterminate

²⁷ The Dual is derived from the word *purla* ‘two’; as a suffix the initial *p* is dropped, and the first vowel is more often retained (*-urla*), but sometimes assimilated to the final vowel of the root word (e.g. *tia* > *tiarla* ‘two teeth’). A dialect variant has *pirla* ‘two’ (e.g. in ‘Yurrebilla’). The *rl* is a Retroflex *l* (with tongue curled back), a sound not used in English.

²⁸ ‘Cowiemanilla’, probably from Dual *Kauwi-marn’irla* ‘two good waters’ (see PNS 4.01.01/03) and ‘Kanyanyapilla’, possibly either Dual *Kanyanya-pirla* ‘two crowds or heaps’, or contracted from Dual *Kanya-kanya-pirla* ‘two lots of rocks’ (see PNS 4.03.03/03).

²⁹ Another conceivable etymology might be *Ngarna-kurt(i)-irla*, ‘the great Creator being Ngarna + two quandongs’; but this seems rather improbable culturally and linguistically. *Ngarna* with a final *a* is a Dreaming ancestor in the related language of Yorke Peninsula (see Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association 2006, *Nharangga Warra: Narungga Dictionary*: 66), while the Kurna form – if indeed this is the same Being – is *Nganu* (N.Sp.); we would have to suppose the second vowel was mis-heard by the surveyor. “*Nganno, a fabulous person said to have given names to different parts of the country (which they at present retain), and after that to have been transformed into a sea monster*” (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840).

³⁰ Both *rn* and *rl* are Retroflex (with tongue curled back).

³¹ Or we might take the alternative third vowel and guess *Ngarnna-kartirla*, ‘two sisters-+–*karti* (human blood)’. This might relate it to the other local possibility *Kangka-kartingga*; but it all seems a far stretch.

³² See also my hypothesis of *Kangkarr’artingga* from *Kangkarri-kartingga* (PNS 5.02.02/03 ‘Congeratinga’).

vowels).³³ Predictably, he also mistook the *ng* itself for the English nasal glide, *n*.³⁴ What he *thought* he heard, he then wrote down, and would have pronounced it as ‘A-naco-tilla’ (stresses ^-^-^, like ‘An avocado’).

If so, then what his informant actually said could have been **Ngarkattilla – ‘place of Ngarkatta (the great hunter)’ (N.Sp. Ngarrkatilla, Ngarrkata).**³⁵ We know nothing about Ngarkatta except the bare mention of him in German linguists’s wordlist, “*Ngarkatta*, a famous hunter”, together with the item “*ngarkatta palti*, hunter’s song”.³⁶ But the combination of his fame with a song (his?), under the one head, suggests that he was a Dreaming ancestor.³⁷

This is of course a rather thinly-stretched case to argue for an etymology; but in the context of the hunting landscape there, it seems to be one of the more likely interpretations, along with the ‘two quandong sisters’, amid the extremely unlikely dead-ends.

8. The word is not in the other local language, since all these possible lines produce no credible result with any known Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri morpheme.

WHERE AND WHAT WAS ABORIGINAL ‘ANACOTILLA’?

Do any of the possible etymologies above give us a confirmation or clue where it might have been located?

Ngarrkatilla? – Ngarrkata the Huntsman might suggest the ridge-top reaches of the eastern branch (see above). The idea is amplified by the counter-intuitive placement of the name on this branch on the first two maps, presumably under the influence of the Aboriginal guides who identified the place and name ‘Anacotilla’.

Ngarna-kurtirla? – It is hard to know what place the Quandong Sisters might suggest, and I leave that tangent for others to follow up.

³³ As an imperfect analogy, consider how a mono-lingual English speaker might interpret a Greek person who was trying hard to teach him to pronounce the four-syllable word *mnemonikos* (‘of memory’) in Greek, where the *m* and *n* are both sounded. With heavy emphasis on the initial cluster, the Greek says “**MmNne-monikos**”. The Englishman, having registered that the initial *m* is not a stammer but part of the word, would be likely to ‘hear’ five syllables, “Mm-ne-**monikos**”; he might even write it down as “amnemonicos”. This analogy is imperfect because it uses a consonant cluster *mn* rather than a single unvoiced nasal sound *ng*, and the stress pattern is different. The English word ‘mnemonic’ anglicizes the word by omitting the initial *m* sound.

³⁴ i.e. the difference between ‘sin’ and ‘sing’.

³⁵ KWP have interpreted the recorded ‘r’ as representing a rolled *rr*. This pronunciation – **Nga-rr-ka-tilla** – might argue against my etymology for ‘Anacotilla’: would the surveyor have missed something so obvious?

³⁶ Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840: 31. Teichelmann’s 1857 MS adds nothing except an unglossed word *ngarka*, perhaps implying that the name may have been related to it.

³⁷ His song and his fame together imply that *Ngarkatta* was a mythological figure, a Dreaming ancestor, not a historical man. As a great huntsman, did he perhaps become a star associated with the group of youthful hunters, the *Tiniyaranna* (N.Sp. *Tiniyaranna*, ‘many youths’) who were the constellation we know as Orion, hunting on the celestial plain, and whose father was the star *Parnakkoyerli* (N.Sp. *Parnakuyarli*, ‘autumn-star father’)? We don’t know.

It is very likely that ‘Anacotilla’ was a more specific site within *Yarnauwingga*. The latter name, ‘bald water place’, seems to be an ecological generalization, locating it at and around the notable sheltered waterholes of a larger ‘bald’ or treeless area, and they were spread over an area from the mouth of the Congeratinga and the whole of ‘Third Valley’ (the flood plain); probably *Yarnauwingga* also included any useful waterholes in the nearby tributaries.³⁸

My guess is that, rather than such landscape terms, ‘Anacotilla’ had a different kind of reference: perhaps in human activity (hunting or gathering), perhaps mythological, perhaps both.

But we don’t know for certain. We can be sure that it was somewhere in or near the lowest 3.5 km of ‘the river’ (understood as including Third Valley and the eastern branch, but probably *not* the southern branch). There is little in the known language, history or landscape of ‘Anacotilla’ to pin it down with any more certainty than that.

.....

APPENDIX 1: ‘ANACOTILLA SPRINGS’:

Gavin Malone writes: “Anacotilla Springs, Second Valley, a beef production and ecological regeneration project by Rob Malone and Pamela Wright. The property straddles the Anacotilla River and after a difficult and expensive fencing and watering program, cattle have been excluded from the riparian zone for the first time in 150 years. Natural regeneration of the River Redgums is fantastic”.³⁹

This property is located on the southern branch S, Sections 1592 and 1593, immediately southeast of the ‘Anacotilla’ homestead and the Wirrina turnoff.⁴⁰

.....

APPENDIX 2: SOME RED HERRINGS:

2a. ‘COTILLA FARM’ AND ‘ANACOTILLA’ HOMESTEAD:

A large area in this vicinity – 320 hectares 792 acres – was known for many decades as ‘Cotilla Farm’. On hilly land south, east and north of ‘Anacotilla’ homestead, it stretched from past Baker Nob in the south, and beyond the ridge above the eastern branch of the Anacotilla River in the north. It was owned by one Charles

³⁸ For an account of these local landscape features see PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga.

³⁹ <https://lot50kanyanyapilla.com/ecological-regeneration/> [27/5/19].

⁴⁰ Sophie Green p.c. email 30/5/2019.



Dinham for an unknown period before he became insolvent in 1862;⁴¹ 'Cotilla Farm' was put up for sale in 1870, "Sections 1109, 1598, 1599, 99, 1600, 83, 86, and 89... 792 Acres of first-class grazing land, with plenty of surface water".⁴² Sections 1109 and 1600 continued to be known as 'Cotilla' until at least 1959.⁴³

How and why did Dinham decide to name his property 'Cotilla' before 1862? Perhaps it was a combination of its proximity to the river⁴⁴ and other colonial usages of the Spanish word 'cotilla'. This word means either 'a gossip, busybody' or 'corset, bodice';⁴⁵ the latter term was used in colonial advertisements for fashionable women's clothing.

Pioneer Robert Kelly, established by about 1850 in 'Cornhill' homestead at Bald Hills, bought Section 1594 on the River Anacotilla in 1861.⁴⁶ His son Edgar C Kelly married in 1882⁴⁷ and moved with his wife onto his father's property on that Section. Within a year they announced the birth of their first child at "Anacotilla, Second Valley";⁴⁸ presumably Edgar had named his homestead after the river and the 'Anacotilla Bridge' which had been built less than half a km from his house in 1863. As a result of all these settler decisions, the name Anacotilla remained well-known in public consciousness, unlike 'Congeratinga'. But they tell us nothing about the original Kaurna place-name.

2b. SPANISH-AMERICANS AND SHIPS:

Somebody "has heard that the river was named after a Spanish ship".⁴⁹

'Ana' is a common Spanish female first name. There was a real woman named Ana Cotilla. According to Mr Google, she was "born on March 19, 1894... died in September 1985 at 91 years of age", and "had been residing in Miami, Miami-Dade County, Florida".⁵⁰

There is a municipality in the southeast of Spain called 'Las Torres de Cotillas'.⁵¹

But it would be irrelevant to go any further with Mr Google!

⁴¹ SA Government Gazette 27/3/1862: 270, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1862/15.pdf.

⁴² *The Express and Telegraph* (Adelaide) 25/1/1870: 1g, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/207718478/22778705>.

⁴³ SA Govt Gazette 14 May 1959: 1044, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1959/19.pdf.

⁴⁴ The 'Anacotilla' homestead and bridge had not been named in 1862, as far as we know.

⁴⁵ See <http://www.spanishdict.com/translate/tia%20ana>; and <https://www.wordreference.com/es/translation.asp?tranword=corset> [6/3/18].

⁴⁶ RF Williams 1986/1991, *To Find the Way: Yankalilla and District 1836-1986* (3rd printing with update 1991), Yankalilla & District Historical Society Inc: 251; Certificate of Title 25/86.

⁴⁷ RF Williams 1986/1991: 251.

⁴⁸ *The Express and Telegraph* (Adelaide) 19/7/1883: 2a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/210513750/23140195>.

⁴⁹ Gavin Malone p.c., email 23/2/2014.

⁵⁰ <https://www.ancientfaces.com/person/ana-cotilla/43567311> [6/3/18]

⁵¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Las_Torres_de_Cotillas [27/6/19]

2c. TINDALE AND KARLOWAN:

Unfortunately, in this case we must include among the red herrings NB Tindale and even Albert Karlowan, the knowledgeable Ngarrindjeri informant of the 1930s, whose country was the Lower Murray and Lakes.

On one of his index cards of Kurna vocabulary and place-names, probably in the 1980s, Tindale wrote:⁵²

`Anaka`ti:la

Name of a creek flowing north from Water Reserve no. 5, H of Yankalilla. On maps as Anacotilla.

On the H of Yankalilla Hundred map.

Name as spoken during discussion with Karlowan.

His source was a map which he had annotated 50 years earlier, marking “Anaka`ti:la” above the name ‘Anacotilla’ which was printed along the river on the base map.⁵³ He had obtained this pronunciation from Albert Karlowan during sessions in December 1935 when they used large-scale maps for Karlowan to add new place-names and interpret old ones.⁵⁴

Tindale’s diacritics indicate that Karlowan pronounced the word as “**A**naca-**tee**la” – almost the same as our standard English version “**A**naco-**tilla**”, with the identical stress pattern -^^-^ (‘**circumlo-cution**’), but rendering the unstressed ‘o’ as a, and lengthening the sound *i*.⁵⁵

This tells us only how Karlowan pronounced it, and not necessarily whether he had known it before 1935 from his own tradition. Tindale sometimes read names from a published map, then asked his informant for his version of the ‘real name’.⁵⁶ It adds nothing to our knowledge of the original Kurna name.

.....
MAPS ON NEXT 3 PAGES.

End of Summary

⁵² Tindale Kurna place-name index card [#480] in AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.

⁵³ Tindale annotated map Hundred of Yankalilla AA 338/24/101, SA Museum.

⁵⁴ “Dec. 19th to 27th 1935. Worked at odd times on several days with Karlowan... We ~~placed~~ put numbers of new place names on the map including a series along the coast from Cape Jervis to Adelaide” (Tindale ‘Murray River notes’: 197, AA 338/1/31/1 SA Museum). These were some of his maps of Hundreds, primary sources for much of his information on Fleurieu place-names.

⁵⁵ I represent Tindale’s stress marks here as “ ` ”; and “:.” = ‘ee’.

⁵⁶ Tindale admitted to doing exactly this with Milerum (who could not read) for place-names on Peramangk country (Tindale, ‘Place Names: Drafts for text’, SA Museum AA338/10/2: 114). Occasionally this could produce a ‘howler’, such as ‘*Wiljauar*’, Milerum’s take on the printed ‘Willyaroo’, which had been put on the map in 1916 by the new Nomenclature Committee, using a Diyari word (see PNS 7.03/07 Willyaroo). Tindale included this name as ‘traditional fact’ in his 1987 ‘Tjirbruki’ essay. Karlowan could read, and may have read the printed name ‘Anacotilla’ himself.



MAPS ON NEXT INTERPOLATED PAGES 16-17:

p.16: MAP 1: 'River Anacotilla' as labelled in 1840, plus all tributaries (map).

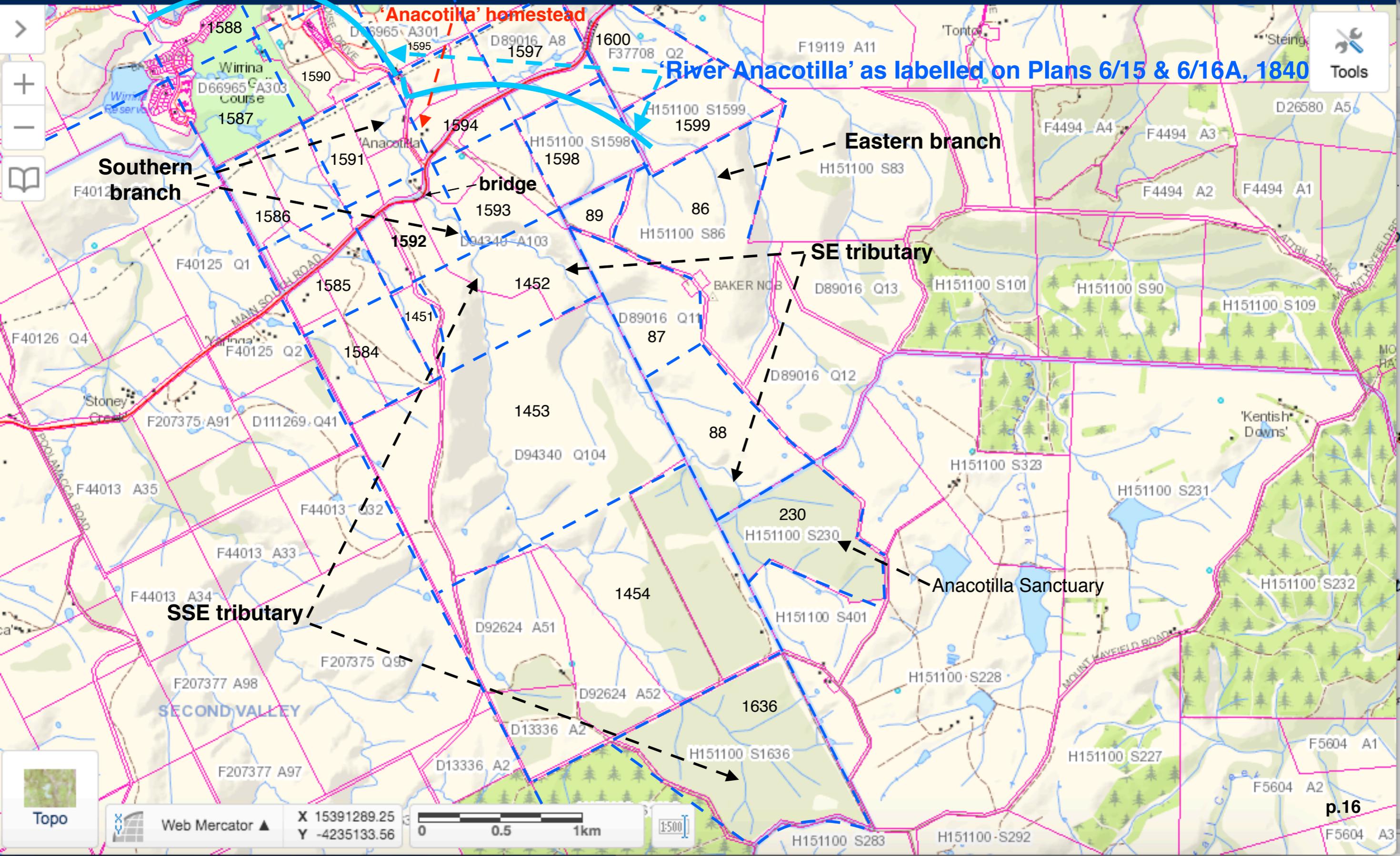
Red lines and grey lettering on base map = today's Lots.

Blue broken lines = old Section boundaries (approximate).

p.17: MAP 2: The Eastern Branch (image), with contour lines.

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

.....



Tools

'River Anacotilla' as labelled on Plans 6/15 & 6/16A, 1840

'Anacotilla' homestead

Southern branch

Eastern branch

SE tributary

SSE tributary

bridge

Anacotilla Sanctuary

Topo

Web Mercator

X 15391289.25
Y -4235133.56

0 0.5 1km

1:500

