

## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 2/22

### WITU-WATTINGGA

#### (1. Brighton. 2. Somerton Park)

(last edited: 21/2/13)

#### Abstract

*Witu-wattingga* is a Kurna name recorded in the forms 'Wituwatuŋ' & 'Wituwataŋ' by Tindale from his Ramindjeri informant Reuben Walker in 1934 as the name of 'Brighton'. However, there is no likely meaning for *witu-watti* in Ramindjeri or Ngarrindjeri, though there is a ready and plausible Kurna meaning, 'reeds in the middle'.

There is no early evidence that this name was used by the Kurna anywhere at the time of colonization (1836-50). It probably arose from Tindale mishearing (or Reuben Walker misremembering) the attested Kurna name *Wita-wattingga* at Seacliff Park (see PNS 2/21).

However, since the name has acquired some currency in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, & since its *meaning* has historical application to sites in the vicinity of coastal Brighton, it can now be accepted as a *new* generic name for several small & intermittent reedy swamps there, most of which have long been obliterated by development; & for others elsewhere.

e.g the extinct beach swamp on Section 241 near Young St, Seacliff, at the mouth of Seacombe Creek. This is probably a location that Tindale identified with 'Wituwatangk'.

& the swamp which once existed on section 206 &/or 234, among the red dunes at Somerton Park before they were bulldozed in 1943: a location which Tindale identified as 'Tarnipalta' (see PNS 2/20).

<i>Coordinates</i>	<p>1. extinct Brighton dune swamp at mouth of Seacombe Creek: very close to -35.026429° Latitude, 138.518779° Longitude.</p> <p>2. extinct dune swamp at Somerton Park: in general vicinity of -34.994988° Latitude, 138.515872° Longitude.</p>
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## Language Information

<i>Meaning</i>	'in the midst of reeds' or 'reeds in the middle'.
<i>Etymology</i>	<i>witu</i> 'reed' [now thought to be the Common reed, <i>Phragmites australis</i> ] + ( <i>watte</i> 'middle' + <i>-ngga</i> 'in, at' > ) <i>wattingga</i> 'in the middle, between'
<i>Notes</i>	
<i>Language Family</i>	Thura-Yura: 'Kaurna'.
<i>KWP Former Spelling (following T&amp;S 1840)</i>	Witu-wattingga
<i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i>	Witu-wartingga
<i>Phonemic Spelling</i>	/witu-wartingka/
<i>Pronunciation</i>	"Witu-wattingga"
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress the 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable; secondary stress on the 3 <sup>rd</sup> ; 'i' as in 'pin'; 'u' as in 'put'; every 'a' as in Maori 'haka'; soften the 't' towards a 'd' (no puff of air); 'ngg' as in 'finger'.

## Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	<b>Feb 1934 + n.d.</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	"Kulutuwī < Jurawī & Tetjawī went emu hunting towards Brighton... [Kulutuwī] Decided to go home. Went to Brighton.... {Tjelbruke} Almost where camp was. Got to <b>Brighton camp</b> [marginal note added: <b>Weta weta</b> ] tired with walking.... Got to camp crying for him...."
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale, 'Story of Tjelbruke', in 'SE of SA' Vol. 2, AA 338/1/33/2, :44, 46.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Milerum 15/2/1934
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>18 Feb 1934</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	<b>"Wituwatun = Brighton"</b> .
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale interviews at Goolwa, SESA journal Vol.2, AA338/1/33/2: 88.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Reuben Walker
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>April or July 1934</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	"Reuben Walker:... reared by LewurinZeri some married into RaminZeri  <i>Contradicted by other data re clans or hordes NBT</i>   <b>area Wituwatun to Brighton Clarendon to Murray Mouth</b>   all one tribe no clans
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale interviews at Goolwa, SESA journal Vol.2, AA338/1/33/2: 149.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Reuben Walker
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>April or July 1934</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	“Every one had wu`ruldi ɲaitje right down to <b>Brighton = `Wituwattan</b> ”.
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale interviews at Goolwa, SESA journal Vol.2, AA338/1/33/2: 158.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Reuben Walker
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>n.d. [1937? 1940?]</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <u>Notes</u> : `Wita`waɲ (Rapid Head) <b>`Witawa`tarɲk (Brighton).</b> ”
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale: added note after ‘Songs by Milerum recorded 9 Nov 1937’, in SESA journal, Vol.2, AA338/1/33/2, :254.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Unknown

<i>Date</i>	<b>Sep 1940</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <b>Brighton `Witawa`ta:ɲk at Hill where Cement Works is, i.e. Brighton Cement Works.</b> ”
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale: one of ‘Footnotes’ after Milerum’s ‘Story of Tjelbruke’ 1934 in SESA journal, Vol.2, AA338/1/33/2, :49.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Ephraim Tripp 1940

<i>Date</i>	<b>n.d.</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	“`wito > `witu... reed ( <i>Scirpus nodosus</i> ); basket-making reed. e.g. Witongga Reedbeds <b>`Witu wa`tangk Brighton, SA.</b> wito Tindale from Milerum who camped at Witongga during stays in Adelaide wito T&S 1840 `witu Tindale from Reuben Walker”.
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kaurna vocabulary card, in AA338/7/1/12.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Milerum, Reuben Walker
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>n.d.</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <b>`Witawa`ta:ngk - Brighton Cement Works area at the hill.</b> Tindale ms SESA J 2:49 <b>from Ephraim Tripp</b> ”.
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kaurna place-name card 653/2.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Ephraim Tripp
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>1987</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>“{Tjirbruki} arrived at [<b>Wituwa`tang</b>k] now known as <b>Brighton</b>. He &amp; his family were welcome visitors at the clan lands of the [Jatabilin] at Wituwatangk... Tjirbruki spent much of this time at <b>Wituwatangk</b> [sic] fishing for [kurari]... beaked salmon... He used a special net... with which several persons helped in the haul.”</p> <p>“He had learned where a big camp... was gathering at Marion on Sturt Creek. He arrived, very weary, at <b>Witawatangk</b> [sic].”</p>
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale 1987, ‘The Wanderings of Tjirbruki’, <i>Records of SA Museum</i> 20, :7A, 8A.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>n.d. –1987 or later</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>“<b>Wituwa`ta:ngk... Brighton, Sections 239 &amp; 240</b>. A swamp and camp a little inland from the shore. Lit. Camp among the reeds. Deriv. `witu reeds, `wate midst, angk at.</p> <p>Wituwa`ta:ngk Tindale 1979 {sic} Rec SAM 20:7. Tindale ms SESA.J 2:88 Wituwatung Reuben Walker ‘At the hill where the cement works is now’.”</p>
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kurna place-name card 656.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Reuben Walker
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

## Discussion: ‘IN THE MIDST OF REEDS’

The list above is confusing, to say the least. These items are the main evidence for a place-name at ‘Brighton’ which (it seems) uses the Kurna word *wito* (= *witu*) ‘reed’. The name was recorded only in Tindale’s work from the 1930s onward, & unavoidably raises some of the recurrent problems caused by his methods.

We could tell the story backwards, the way that most of us come to it: –

Tindale’s well-known publication ‘The Wanderings of Tjirbruki’ (1987) tells us that ‘Brighton’, a coastal beach-fishing site, was named “[Wituwa`tang]k” (in everyday spelling “Wituwatangk”), which recurs later in the essay re-spelled as “Witawatangk”.<sup>1</sup> The square-bracketed notation asserts that the stress pattern is “Wituwa-tangk”, accented on the first & fourth syllables, as distinct from the first & third in “[Wita`watəng]” or “Witawatang... Rapid Head”, i.e. pronounced “Wita-watang”.<sup>2</sup> He gives no meaning. This sounds very clear & authoritative, except that there are two versions of the first ‘Brighton’ morpheme: ‘witu’ & ‘wita’. This is not a misprint or mistranscription by

the editor of the Museum journal; the discrepancy is identical in a pre-publication typescript made presumably by Tindale himself.<sup>3</sup>

*Witu* 'reed' & *wita* 'peppermint gum' are familiar Kurna words, & treated as such by Tindale in his *unpublished* records. In this case the discrepancy implies a major difference of ecology: reeds can grow in dune swamps, but peppermint gums do not: they need well-drained mallee soils like those at Enfield or Seacliff Park.<sup>4</sup> The difference is therefore important to the credibility of the site.

So we have to investigate Tindale's sources. But when we seriously ask "Who said what?", it proves astonishingly hard to find an answer. Amid a mass of secondary re-writings of the information we find the following:

1. A place-name card assures us that

*`Wituwa`ta:ngk"* is "*Brighton, Sections 239 & 240. A swamp and camp a little inland from the shore.*"<sup>5</sup>

These are the sections around Brighton Jetty. He cites no evidence for this 'swamp & camp', but might have based it on archaeology or the Neale history (see below). The same card quotes Walker's spelling & cites the 'SE of SA' journal reference where this is found. But it was Tripp, not Walker, who gave the Cement Works site (see below). The latter is not at what we would call 'Brighton', so it is inexplicable why he quotes it in support of the Brighton location.

2. Another place-name card seems to imply that Milerum & Reuben Walker both knew the meaning & had given the name with that in mind:

*`wito > `witu... reed (Scirpus nodosus); basket-making reed.*  
*e.g. Witongga Reedbeds / `Witu wa`tangk Brighton, SA.*  
*`wito Tindale from Milerum who camped at Witongga during stays in Adelaide*  
*wito T&S 1840 / `witu Tindale from Reuben Walker.*<sup>6</sup>

In fact it is almost certain that neither of the informants knew these meanings; while the reference to Walker merely cites the place-name 'Wituwatung' for which no gloss is recorded except 'Brighton'. We find this throughout Tindale: his primary sources almost never support the appearance in the secondary records that his Ngarrindjeri-speaking informants knew the meaning of Kurna words or morphemes – other than *-ngga* 'at' & (perhaps) *parri* 'river'.

3. A map & another card tell us that the name at 'Brighton' is about *wita*, not *witu*:

*`wi`ta Kurna Tr Adelaide S.Aust.*



*gum tree, Peppermint Eucalyptus odorata Behr ex Schldl.*

*example `Wi`ta`wa`tangk = place name Brighton SA*

*`wita T&S 1839 [sic].<sup>7</sup>*

The confusion with 'wita' in these last items goes all the way back to his original sources. After trawling through some of the mass, we find (still going backwards): -

4. Another card<sup>8</sup> tells us that Ephraim Tripp cited "`Witawa`ta:ngk" as "Brighton Cement Works area at the hill", & refers us back to a page of the journals; where we find that this is
5. one of an undated, uncredited list appended to Milerum's original 'Story of Tjelbruke'. "*Witawa`ta:ngk*" must come from September 1940, the only interview with Tripp recorded anywhere in Tindale<sup>9</sup>.

This gives us not only a different plant but a different location. The Adelaide-Brighton Cement Works were not at what we call Brighton, not coastal, but next to the quarry on the lower hill slopes of Seacliff Park where their ruins still stand.

6. Somebody's opinion is recorded in another postscript, appended this time to a late draft of his essay on a set of 'Songs by Milerum recorded 9 Nov 1937': it distinguishes two similar names on the basis of their stress patterns:

*`Wita`waṭaŋ (Rapid Head) / `Witawa`taŋk (Brighton).<sup>10</sup>*

From this alone it is quite impossible to know whether this comes from Milerum, Tindale, or a mixture of both.<sup>11</sup> However, it seems to be the basis of *some* of Tindale's later recycled records.

Is "*Wita`waṭaŋ*" here a transcript of Karlowan from c.1935,<sup>12</sup> or new information?

The spelling & stress pattern of "*Witawa`taŋk*" are the same as the later Tripp version except for the 'r', which is not significant. Is this Milerum's pronunciation of the name given by Walker in 1934, or new information?

It is doubtful whether Tindale himself knew the answers when he came to examine these names up to 40 years later for his proposed Gazetteer.

The stress pattern of the Rapid Head name matches that of a standard Kauri *Wita`wattingga*. That of the Brighton name makes no Kauri sense (stressing the locative suffix) & must be a Ngarrindjeri adaptation; but it was retained consistently afterwards; while its a in 'wita', found in the same record & in Tripp later, was suppressed.

7. Several interviews with Reuben Walker, noted in Tindale's journal at Goolwa during 1934, turn out to be his primary source of the name "*Wituwaturj*" or "*Wituwattarj*" for an unspecified 'Brighton'. However, one entry says "*Wituwatarj to Brighton*" (my emphasis): which is hard to understand if 'Wituwatarj' is 'Brighton'.<sup>13</sup>

The latter phrase would make more sense if Walker was referring to Karlowan's 'Witawatang' at Rapid Head. As a post-contact perspective on Ramindjeri territory, it would then match Milerum's comment recorded as "*Rapid Bay to Brighton = RaminZeri tribe of CL's time*".<sup>14</sup> There is no evidence to confirm that Walker knew the Rapid Bay place-name, but it is conceivable that Tindale here may have missed both the point & the vowel. As a definition of territory, this very brief scribbled record on p.149 of the journal is not only disputed but perhaps irretrievably unclear: e.g. was Walker referring to LewurinZeri or RaminZeri territory?

8. The earliest primary source in the search – Milerum's 'Story of Tjelbruke' told in 1934 – has Brighton as a coastal fishing area, featured several times in the narrative but originally with no traditional name. At its last occurrence an added marginal note, undated & uncredited, tells us that Brighton is "*Weta weta*".<sup>15</sup> The unnamed informant for this name *might* be Milerum (when Tindale was checking through the story with him), or it might be any of several other unnamed informants from whom details have been added into the manuscript: such as the emu totem (Ivaritji?) on p.44, or the place-names in the list on p.49 (at least two of these, including "*Witawa`ta:ngk*", were from Tripp).

This list of eight items has included all the primary data, unless new field material turns up in the 'Milerum MSS' (which I have not seen).

It is reasonably clear that Milerum not only did not mention reeds in connection with Brighton, but did not give a *witu* name for it. Indeed, if he is the source of the marginal note in Source 8 above, then what he gave was *Wita-wita*, which means 'lots of peppermint gums' – & it is extremely unlikely that these ever grew near the dunes at all.<sup>16</sup> When Milerum gave the story he was sitting "*at our camp on the Coorong, near coast opposite Tilley Swamp on the evening of 14 February 1934*".<sup>17</sup> in his own country, not on Tjelbruke's track which at that moment was a distant memory, not a present & tangible one. The 'Brighton' was likely to be a large & general one, in which a fishing beach & a hillside woodland two or three miles away could easily merge as one place.

Tindale seems to have become confused by his own fatally brief & ambiguous records. The many inconsistencies about which version of the name applied to 'Brighton' suggest that he was not sure what he had heard so many years before. One also has to doubt whether in those early years he was an accurate enough listener to distinguish between morphemes as similar as *witu-w-* and *wita-w-*. If so, then even the sole primary source of the 'reed' name, Walker's "*Wituwaturj*", could be a mis-hearing of *Wita-watang*.

It is fairly certain that even if Walker did say *witu*, his tradition was a Ramindjeri adaptation of the original Kurna *Wita-wattingga* recorded by Charles Mann in 1837, which happens to match Tripp's location exactly. This name & site, which Tindale finally suppressed, is the only 'Brighton' version which has support from early Kurna evidence.<sup>18</sup>

During the saga of his unfinished place-names Gazetteer from 1985 on, Tindale once recorded his own uncertainty, on a vocabulary card, found (bafflingly) in the *Ramindjeri* box:<sup>19</sup>

*`wi`ta Ramindjeri Tr. Encounter Bay S.Aust.*

*gum tree, peppermint Eucalyptus odorata Behr ex Schldl.*

*Compare name `Wi`ta`wa`tan, Section 31 Hd of Yankalilla, SA; real place for this name appears to be Brighton, SA.*

*[in pencil] check when all the data is in NBT*

*Tindale ms note on Yankalilla Hundred (Milerum).*

*Milerum learned names during walks to Adelaide to receive blankets – Presumably Milerum did not dissect the name.*

*Note that `wi`ta is given as peppermint gum by T&S 1839 {sic} for Kurna.*

From this we learn many things, among them the following:

- He never seriously asked the question 'Where is Brighton?' even after Tripp's evidence had raised it.
- He persisted in trying to work out which was 'the real' version, when his records showed clearly that there were *several* versions, & that a name could sometimes occur in more than one place.
- Here he admits (almost uniquely) that his informant was not the source of his linguistic gloss.
- He never managed to 'check when all the data is in'. Instead, his cards & later maps continued to develop his single '*real*' account, maintaining its confusions & rarely sourcing them accurately; while his publications ignored some of his own data if it seemed to question this 'correct' version. In this Tindale version, Rapid Head (only) is '*Wita`watang*' & the name refers to a peppermint gum forest; while '*Wituwa`tangk*' is a coastal site with reeds at Brighton (only). But he did not keep this straight even for publication in 1987, as we have seen above.



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## LINGUISTIC MATTERS:

Milerum was a Tangani, Karlowan a Yaraldi, & Tripp a Ramindjeri, & Walker lived his life among the Ramindjeri. Thus their 'Witawatang' & 'Wituwatangk' are Ngarrindjeri versions by Ngarrindjeri speakers even though they use Kurna morphemes. The Ngarrindjeri locative suffix *-ang* is linguistically the same as its more usual spelling *-angk*, so that the only thing which distinguishes them is the second vowel. In principle they could have been passed down from very old Ngarrindjeri useage.

We can trace the Aboriginal source in Tindale for three versions of a 'Brighton' name – 'Weta weta' from an unnamed, undated informant; 'Wituwatung' from Walker in 1934; & 'Witawatangk' from Tripp in 1940.

The names do not occur in these forms in early records, & those which belonged in those places while Kurna speakers still controlled the land must have taken Kurna forms: e.g. *Witu-watt\_ngga* & *Wita-watt\_ngga* (*-angk* replaces the root's preceding vowel, which we must therefore deduce). Or the Kurna names for these places might have been quite different.

A first-retention name "Weta wertinga" from Charles Mann in 1837 confirms an original *Wita-wattingga* on the rising ground around Seacliff Park.<sup>20</sup> This validates Tripp's spelling 'wita' at the Cement Works location, & confirms the vowel 'i' after 'wat-' & so Kurna *watte* as the derivation of the second morpheme. In Ngarrindjeri language there are no *wita* morphemes, & it seems unnecessary to pursue *wat-* there because we have a clear & intelligible Kurna derivation for the whole name: '[place] among the peppermint gums'. The uncredited *Wita-wita* means 'many peppermint gums', & fits Mann & Tripp's location rather than the coast.

All the Tindale versions of 'Brighton' were probably Ngarrindjeri memories of the one known Kurna original: mentally mapped by Walker & perhaps Milerum as a rather vague 'Brighton' seen from a South Coast perspective, but pinpointed by Tripp.

## THE PLACE:

During the younger days of these informants, place-names were fewer in the suburbs, & 'Brighton' could refer to a much larger area than now. This is presumably why the Brighton Cement Works were so named; but it is not a coastal site, & its slopes are unlikely to have had swamps large & sustained enough to support reeds.

No Kurna origin is known for a 'Wituwatangk' at or near coastal Brighton, & as we have seen, there is some doubt whether the name ever existed in a Ngarrindjeri version either, or whether this

was merely a product of Tindale confusing *wita-w-* with *witu-w-*. None of the original data associates any of the names explicitly with reeds.

Despite these doubts, one or more reed sites *did* once exist at coastal Brighton. We know this from other sources as well as Tindale.

On “the section purchased by W Henry Neale [in 1839]... Nearly half the land, in the vicinity of the present Edwards St, was made up of large sand dunes, behind which flooding, at certain times of the year, created fresh-water lagoons where rushes grew in the marshy soil”.<sup>21</sup>

These lagoons lay in recent white dunes which were obliterated for development between 1945 & 1975,<sup>22</sup> with the exception of a small remnant northwest of Minda Home.

One of them was probably at the mouth of the creek which descends the gully on the east side of Ocean Boulevard at Seacliff Park. The oldest maps show that this once emerged at section 241 into an eroded gap or ‘bay’ at the end of the low scarp of the Marino spur, but did not reach the sea.<sup>23</sup> No doubt it fed into a lagoon which usually soaked out under the sand. Today the outlet is a drain underneath Young St, Seacliff, where a few reeds still persist in a depression among the dunes; but the lagoon was probably a little northeast of this,<sup>24</sup> & the original outlet was probably further north again near Edwards St: the mouth had been shaped into a tiny ‘Port River & Peninsula’ by the same sea current. The upper reach of this creek was named ‘Seacombe’ on an 1850s map,<sup>25</sup> & I have christened it ‘Seacombe Creek’.

Darrell Kraehenbuehl was told of a similar intermittent lagoon in the ancient red dunes a few kilometres north in Somerton Park. He “heard it said that they sometimes used to have a little lake among them, somewhere north of Whyte St & south of Phillipps St. This would have had reeds”. These dunes were obliterated for development even earlier than the white ones, in 1943, & the swamps earlier still.<sup>26</sup> Less than a km south of this on section 234 or 235, Tindale in 1948 found archaeological evidence of a campsite, & he claimed to have obtained its name, ‘Tarnipalta’.<sup>27</sup>

Despite originating as a possibly fictitious Ngarrindjeri hybrid, ‘Wituwatangk’ has legitimately been converted into Kaurna form as a modern name *Witu-wattingga* ‘place amid the reeds’;<sup>28</sup> because the *meaning* has a valid historical application to these small reedy lagoons in the general Brighton area. *Witu-wattingga* could be used generically for reedy sites, applying not only to both 234 & 241, but also to the “tiny reed swamps” (now extinct) at Panorama & Daw Park, remembered by Darrell Kraehenbuehl.<sup>29</sup>

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## References to background documents

See also my documents

'BACKGROUND2\_Wita&Witu',

& 'BACKGROUND1\_Trees',

both accessible to researchers through Management of this website (contact KWP).

*End of Summary*

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- <sup>1</sup> Tindale 1987, 'Wanderings', *Rec. SA Museum* 20, :7A, 8A.
  - <sup>2</sup> Tindale 1987, :6A.
  - <sup>3</sup> Tindale 1985, 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruki', typescript, Palo Alto, California, Nov. 1985: copy in my possession.
  - <sup>4</sup> See PNS 2/21 Witawattingga (Seacliff Park).
  - <sup>5</sup> Kurna place-name card 656.
  - <sup>6</sup> Kurna vocabulary card 'wito > witu'.
  - <sup>7</sup> Kurna vocabulary card; see also annotated map Adelaide Area AA 338/16/7.
  - <sup>8</sup> Kurna place-name card 653/2.
  - <sup>9</sup> 'Southeast of SA', Vol. 2, AA338/1/33/2, :49; cp. :51.
  - <sup>10</sup> SESA2, AA338/1/33/2, :254.
  - <sup>11</sup> There might be some indication in his earlier notes on the original 1937 sessions, which I have not yet been able to see.
  - <sup>12</sup> See PNS 5.4.1/5.
  - <sup>13</sup> SESA2, AA338/1/33/2, :149. cp. 88, 158.
  - <sup>14</sup> 'CL' = Clarence Long = Milerum; SESA2, AA338/1/33/2, :41.
  - <sup>15</sup> SESA2, AA338/1/33/2, :44-52, especially :46.
  - <sup>16</sup> Darrell Kraehenbuehl p.c. 1/4/10.
  - <sup>17</sup> SESA 2, :44.
  - <sup>18</sup> See below & PNS 2/21.
  - <sup>19</sup> Ramindjeri vocabulary card, in AA338/7/1/17.
  - <sup>20</sup> See PNS 2/21.
  - <sup>21</sup> Yvonne Allen & Georgina Yambo Williams et al, 2001, *Footprints in the Sand*, [3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.], :22.
  - <sup>22</sup> D Kraehenbuehl. 1996, *Pre-European Vegetation of Adelaide*, :7, cp. :14, 202.



- <sup>23</sup> 'Plan of the District of Adelaide', Oct. 1838', BRG 42/120/17, SLSA; cp. Arrowsmith 1839, 'The district of Adelaide, SA: as divided into country sections', C 893 SLSA.
- <sup>24</sup> This area is marked with what appear to be printed swamp icons on the map used by Tindale in his early researches, AA338/16/24. This undated map was published before Breakout Creek was completed in 1939.
- <sup>25</sup> 'Plan of Country Sections', Platt's Library [1850?], in Pikusa 1986, *The Adelaide House*, :18-19.
- <sup>26</sup> Kraehenbuehl 1996, :7, & p.c. 1/4/10 & 13/5/10. His description fits the excised strip between sections 206 & 234 on Light's map 'District of Adelaide... divided into Country Sections', Arrowsmith 1839, State Library of SA C893. Maybe the swamp & lagoon were the reason for its excision.
- <sup>27</sup> Tindale bound book of maps 1934-48, AA 338/16/30, p.5 'Brighton' map. On this map (published before 1939) the 'excision' strip has already been subdivided for 'New Glenelg' & 'Sacred Heart'. See also PNS 2/20 'Tarnipalta'.
- <sup>28</sup> KWP decision, place-names meeting 25/4/11.
- <sup>29</sup> Kraehenbuehl, p.c. 1/4/10. These places were probably similar to *Tulukudangga* ('Tulukudangk'), the reedy spring by a small lagoon in the low dune at the mouth of the southern of two gullies emerging at Kingston Park: see PNS 2/23.