# Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 4.3.3/01

# TARNIYANDINGGA (Pedler's Creek)

(last edited: 1/3/2013)

#### **Abstract**

Tarniyandingga (or Tarniyandi) is the Kaurna name of a waterhole site on Pedler's Creek immediately west of the intersection of Victor Harbor Road and Main Road, McLaren Vale: the first stop on the Kaurna route southward from the Noarlunga ford.

It was recorded in 1839 and sometimes applied by settlers to the whole Pedler's Creek area west of McLaren Vale.

The meaning is unknown except for the Kaurna suffix -ngga 'at'.

Tindale and Karlowan's interpretation in the 1930s is unsupported by evidence and extremely doubtful, and their location is demonstrably wrong (see PNS 4.3.2/10 'Tarniyundingga').

Coordinates	-35.206916° Latitude, 138.516483° Longitude.

# **Language Information**

Meaning	ʻat Tarniyandi'.
Etymology	Tarniyandi [meaning unknown],
	+ -ngga 'at, near' (optional)
Notes	Tarni resembles the noun for 'sea, surf, sea-water'; but this is unlikely to be the
	derivation of this inland name.
	The meaning of <i>yandi</i> is unknown.
	There is no reliable known evidence that yandi was yundi, nor that yundi can be
	translated 'always', as claimed by Tindale possibly with some input from
	Karlowan. Most likely these alleged derivations are Tindale's. If Karlowan's, they
	arise from the Ngarrindjeri culture and language perspective of someone who
	knew very little Kaurna language, a generation or two after the dispersal of the
	Kaurna people. See PNS 4.3.3/10 'Tarniyundingga (Willunga Creek)'.
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kaurna'.
KWP Former Spelling	Tarniyandingga, Tarniyandi
KWP New Spelling 2010	?Tarniyantingga, ?Tarniyanti
Phonemic Spelling	/thANiyanNTingka/
Pronunciation	" <u>Tar</u> ni- <u>yan</u> dingga"
Pronunciation tips	Stress the first and third syllables;
	the 'a' in yand is as in Maori 'haka'.

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# Main source evidence

Date	1839
Original source text	"Tur-nee-yun-din-ga: section 123, district C."
Reference	Piesse letter 18 Oct 1839, in SA Colonist Vol. 1 No.19. 1840: 296.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kaurna survey guides 1839.

Date	1840
Original source text	"tarni: salt water; sea water; surf."
Reference	Teichelmann and Schürmann 1840.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaiitpinna, etc.

Date	1839 / 1844
Original source text	[From the 2 <sup>nd</sup> gully north of Aldinga Scrub (i.e. Maslin Creek), travelling north] "Proceeding onwards we arrive at the next gully called
	<b>Turneeyundingga</b> the sides are hilly and in some parts steep, and the sea occasionally flows into it at the mouth. When first discovered it was called the Salt Water Creek follow the <b>Turneeyundi Creek</b> , up to McLaren Vale [a water source] Coweolongga on section 115. This last would supply all the settlers on the <b>Turneeyunde Creek</b> , if it was all located on."
Reference	'L.P.' [Louis Piesse], 'Descriptive Tours through Part of District C', <i>Observer</i> 13/4/1844: 8a-b.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kaurna survey guides 1839.

Date	1857
Original source text	"tarni Sea = yerlu" [whole entry crossed out].
Reference	Teichelmann MS Dictionary 1857.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaiitpinna, etc, 1838-45.

Date	1935-1941 / 1980s?
Original source text	"`Tarnijund`ingga - Salt Water Creek. Lit. Always salty place. Deriv: [`tarni] salty + [`jundi] always + [ngga] at. Unlocalised camp on Aldinga Creek near Kunanjapilba (Section 392, Hundred of Willunga). Turneeyundingga, Adelaide Observer April 13th 1844."
Reference	Tindale Kaurna place-name card 623.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Karlowan 1935-1941? and Milerum 1930s.

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Date	1935-1941 / 1980s?
Original source text	"`jundi – Kaurna Tr. Adelaide S.Aust / down on young birds; also seemingly
	the white salt blown on saline areas / compare tarniyundi / Tindale ms.?"
Reference	Tindale Kaurna Vocabulary card, AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Karlowan 1935-1941 and Milerum 1930s.

Date	1935-1941 / 1980s?
Original source text	"`jundi – Kaurna Tr. Rapid Bay S.Aust / always (?) / example
	[`Tarnijundingga] saltwater always (?) / compare jundi always (?) in
	Tanganekald. / Tindale ms inference from Tanganekald and Karlowan."
Reference	Tindale Kaurna Vocabulary card, AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Karlowan 1935-1941 and Milerum 1930s.

Date	1935-1941 / 1980s?
Original source text	"`tarnijundi – Kaurna Tr. Adelaide S.Aust. / saltcrust / example
	`Tarnijundingga Saltwater Creek, a place in Aldinga area /
	Turneeyundingga Adelaide Observer Apr.13 1844."
Reference	Tindale Kaurna Vocabulary card, AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1935-1941 / 1980s?
Original source text	"`tarni – Kaurna Tr. Rapid Bay S.Aust. / salt water, salty water / Tindale ms
	from Karlowan."
Reference	Tindale Kaurna Vocabulary card, AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Karlowan 1935-1941.

# **Discussion: SUMMING UP 'TUR-NEE-YUN-DIN-GA':**

Louis Piesse recorded Kaurna knowledge which he acquired first-hand in 1839 as an assistant to a surveying party which was employing Aboriginal guides on equal pay. Tarniyandingga is undoubtedly a genuine Kaurna place-name.

Piesse's letter, written from the party's camp at *Kurtandilla*, identified "Tur-nee-yun-din-ga" as Section 123, a site 4.5 km inland on Pedler's Creek just west of the Victor Harbor Road. Only later,

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in 1844 when he had time to impose his own European extended usage, did he use the name for the whole length of the creek.

This was the first survey of the area, under the general direction of John McLaren. Surveyor Richard Counsel's meticulous pencil-drawn Field Book has survived.<sup>3</sup> Dates scattered around the book show that he was surveying here in June 1839. A dotted line comes from the ford at the Horse-shoe (Old Noarlunga) up the steep eastern ridge, southeast to section 83, then due south until it stops at the creek in the middle of section 123 – at *Tarniyandingga*.<sup>4</sup> This is undoubtedly the *'native track'* shown on McLaren's published map,<sup>5</sup> and until the bridge was built in 1840 it was the route south for everybody: surveyed long before by Kaurna and Ramindjeri walkers, shown on foot to the sealers and settlers, and then followed perilously by bullock drays. On one of the earliest public maps arising from the McLaren surveys, the same track continues south to the northern creek system of Maslins (now extinct), then to Maslin Creek and Willunga Creek next to Tartatyilla, and on towards the Aldinga plains.<sup>6</sup> This approximates our Main South Road, whose first surveyors were the Kaurna people.

#### THE PLACE TARNIYANDINGGA:

*Tarniyandingga* was one of several sites which could be used as watering places or camps on the well-trodden Aboriginal way from the Noarlunga ford south towards Encounter Bay.

Today large gumtrees, visible to the NNW from Martins Rd, still stand in the steep gully of the Creek below Landcross Farm (Paxton Winery in 2007), near the boundary of Sections 122-123. Here two small gullies emerge from the north into Pedler's, forming a sheltered area north of Martins Rd in Section 123.<sup>7</sup> The Section includes the main creek, which now is largely clear of trees here, while the northern slope has vines.

Counsel's field diagram<sup>8</sup> shows clearly the topography and watercourses of this area in 1839. The track from the north leads down the ridge on section 123, skirting scrub on both sides to end at the creek slightly east of a little waterhole marked "water", due north of today's California Road. Another short path goes east half a km to 'plains' and the divergence of the 'Proposed road to Encounter Bay via Mt Terrible' from the 'Proposed road to Encounter Bay via Willunga': exactly at today's junction of Stump Hill Rd with the Main Rd to McLaren Vale. Downstream about 2 km the creek becomes wider and there is 'marsh', then three good water sites in what became known as 'Wheaton's Gully'.

If Kaurna people were journeying over the hill from the *Nurlungga* ford, intending to go south via *Kanyanyapilla* on the upper reaches of Maslin Creek, to the campsites at *Willangga* (the site at Willunga recently labelled 'Wirra Creek': a tributary of Maslin Creek) or the nearby White's Gully

tributary *Piltangga* (Beltunga Creek): then *Tarniyandingga* would have been the preferred place to cross the Creek; avoiding the steeper gullies and marshy wider creek further west; avoiding also the detour further east via the flats at *Turrangga* (Daringa Swamp on the eastern edge of McLaren Vale) which were often flooded in winter.

But both the *Turrangga* and the *Kanyayapilla* routes were possible, and were described by Piesse:

Surface water is not scarce in the South {of District C}. I think I could go from Adelaide to the Slate Quarry at Piltongga and obtain surface water on an average of 4 miles. Distances measured from Government-house, Adelaide... 5. Onkaparinga (Noarlunga) -22. 6. Turungga, McLaren Vale  $-25\frac{1}{2}$ . 7. Willunga -30. 8. Piltongga -31. Or, surface water may be had instead of the three last by Turneeyundingga and Cunyanyapella, to Piltongga, which saves a mile in distance.

One could also turn west from *Tarniyandingga*, down nearby Wheaton's Gully (another tributary of Pedler's) toward the ancient campsites in the dunes by the mouth at Moana, and on to Ochre Cove and Port Willunga. This route was still in use in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century: Nort Martin in the 1940s remembered "small mobs of blacks.... coming up the road past Tatachilla in a northerly direction and then up through Wheaton 's Gully where there lived a man named Gribble, who was very kind to them". <sup>10</sup> For Nort, 'Tatachilla' was probably its old colonial location at Tortachilla or even Aldinga town. <sup>11</sup> The Martin farm was on Section 191 on Maslin Creek just downstream from *Kanyanyapilla*; the *'road'* was either today's Main South Road or Old Coach Road.

Here the discussion could end tidily, but for confusion introduced in later material from Albert Karlowan and Tindale. This material is extremely doubtful, despite the authoritative names attached to it, and has been relegated to the separate discussion below.

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#### FURTHER DISCUSSION: Tarniyandingga and 'Tarnijundinga': -

Tindale's information comes from the 1930s working with the Ngarrindjeri man Albert Karlowan. They associate the name "Tarnijundinga" with "Kunanjapilba", 13 which is one of many names annotated on Tindale's Hundred of Willunga map AA338/24/97, although 'Tarniyundingga' is not.

This name was probably added to Tindale's database during one of the sessions at Adelaide in December 1935:

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<u>Dec. 19<sup>th</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup> 1935</u> – Worked at odd times on several days with Karlowan. Wrote out in detail a Yaralde text of the story of `Durunduri... Karlowan's name is [`Kar`lauəni]. We <del>placed</del> put numbers of new place names on the map including a series along the coast from Cape Jervis to Adelaide; also checked the social organization...<sup>14</sup>

It seems clear that many of Karlowan's place-names from these sessions were obtained by asking him to interpret existing names on Tindale's maps – a method which Tindale admitted to using with Milerum for Peramangk place-names <sup>15</sup> – and some from old literature. The Hundred of Willunga map is credited at the top "Details from Karlowan, Dec. 1935, March 1939, 1941" and "Original data by NB Tindale"; but it includes name annotations derived from or prompted by old literature ('Tainbaran', 'Mu:lawir:a', and many names from 'Adel. Obs. 1844' are credited), and others almost certainly from unmapped public names ('Daringa', 'Taranga', 'Dingabaldinga', 'Munapil:a', 'Wir:awir:a', 'Katunga', 'Portachilla', 'Wil:anga', etc, all uncredited, re-spelled and not necessarily owing anything at all to Karlowan).

For some unknown reason 'Tarnijundinga' was not recorded on the map but presumably in a note (so far not found) and later onto the place-name and vocabulary cards: unless it was entirely speculation by Tindale at the time of the card, based on ideas from his early fieldwork.

It is still possible that 'Tarniyundingga' might be a memory from Karlowan's Ngarrindjeri clan in the 1870s or later (though not from Kaurna sources directly). But it is far more likely that Tindale prompted a response by presenting the *Observer* essay first. Karlowan had "attended school at Point McLeay for some years", <sup>16</sup> was literate <sup>17</sup> (unlike Milerum) and quite capable of reading texts himself. But here and eslewhere it seems that he (or Tindale) took no account of the irrational variations in English spelling and pronunciation, notably of the letter 'u' which can represent either a as in 'bun' or u as in 'bull'. The same questions arise with the first vowel recorded in Tindale's version of "Bungala" and 'Kunanjapilba'.

Tindale's "Tarnijundingga" and "Kunanjapilba" are fatally problematic in both geography and linguistics.

#### PEDLER'S CREEK OR WILLUNGA CREEK? -

Piesse in 1839 identifies "Tur-nee-yun-din-ga" as Section 123, a site 4.5 km inland on Pedler's Creek just west of the Victor Harbor Road. Only later, in 1844 when he has had time to impose his own European extended usage, does he use the name for the whole length of the creek.

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Tindale does not quote from Piesse's 1839 letter and vocabulary anywhere, and it appears that he never saw it; so he was unaware of the specific inland site which is given there for this name. While his card 623 quotes the name from Piesse's *Observer* article, he ignores the geography of the narrative therein which shows that the creek is unmistakably Pedler's. Instead, he follows Karlowan's location on Willunga Creek near the coast.

But Karlowan was unsure of his information. He gave the name imprecisely as an "unlocalised camp on Aldinga Creek" (= Willunga Creek) – which means that we should not take Tindale's directions and map markings too literally – somewhere "near Kunanjapilba (Sec 392)". On Card 548 the latter is said to be in the "vicinity of Sec 391"; on AA 338/24/97 it is mapped at the east side of Sec 391, adjacent to 392; so 'Sec 392' probably refers to Tarniyundingga. These directions place "Kunanyapilba" on Willunga Creek about 0.7 km inland near Bowering Hill Road; with "Tarnijundingga" immediately east or west of it (probably east, since "Dulil" is mapped immediately west); and "Tar-ta-chil-la" given by Piesse immediately ESE on Section 399: four different placenames within a stretch of creek only one mile long.

There is no other evidence for either the name or the site which Karlowan gives as 'Kunanyapilba', and firm early evidence that there *was* a site called *Kanyanyapilla* inland on Maslin's Creek at Section 203. Thus Karlowan's 'Tarniyundingga' and its reference point "Kunanjapilba" lack all credibility in geography. Both are cited by Tindale from L.P.'s *Observer* essay, and both have been localized only vaguely by Karlowan.

It is quite unlikely that Karlowan knew the <u>name</u> 'Tarniyundingga' independently of 'L.P.', or that he knew the <u>site</u> from personal experience. Perhaps he had heard of a camp with brackish water in the vicinity he gives, without having used or even visited it. Probably this is the "Aldinga camp" in Berndt, mapped vaguely just inland from Port Willunga.<sup>20</sup> this too is no doubt from Karlowan. Perhaps he had heard also of another camp on a salty creek in the general region; perhaps he had been told its name and was constructing his own Kaurna etymology based on the hearsay; and perhaps he confused it with the other camp at Aldinga. Piesse's site "Tar-ta-chil-la"<sup>21</sup> is suspiciously near Karlowan's "Tarniyundingga", and may be the correct name of the same place, since Tindale does not interpret 'Tatachilla' anywhere that I have seen.

We may accept Piesse's Section 123 as far the most reliable information about where the name *Tarniyandingga* belonged.

## **EVALUATION OF THE WORD:**

Piesse, as usual, gives no translation.

Details of Tindale's linguistics for this name range from doubtful to very unlikely. His place-name card gives a derivation for "Tarnijundingga" which seems to have come partly from Karlowan; but when we read the Vocabulary cards we find that it has admittedly been amplified by inferences of his own based on Tangani (Milerum's language of the Coorong); and he is uncertain whether to attribute "jundi - always" to the Adelaide or the Rapid Bay dialect.<sup>22</sup>

### (a) 'Tarni':

Karlowan and Tindale are probably right in supposing Piesse's "Tur-nee-" to be a variant pronunciation of *Tarni*. But it is not necessarily the known Kaurna <u>word tarni</u> ('salt water, sea water, surf, sea'), since names do not always have a dictionary meaning even when they use familiar morphemes (e.g. Wing-field, Win-ton).

Karlowan in the 1930s believed that *tarni* meant 'salt water', perhaps even 'saltcrust'. While this seems plausible at first sight, in fact it reveals one of the limits of Kaurna vocabulary in Karlowan's post-contact Yaraldi tradition (see below: he apparently did not know *kitya*, *kopurlo*, *meri* and *bakkadla*). Was the water at Section 123 fresh or brackish in 1839? But while the answer might support Karlowan's meaning, or cast more doubt on it, issues of salinity do not give us sufficient cause to doubt the location at Section 123; and this inland location casts doubt in turn on the identification of the name's first morpheme with *tarni* 'sea water'.

*Tarni* is certainly a Kaurna word. Of the known Ngarrindjeri words for 'salt' or 'salt water', only *taynki* resembles it at all, the others being *paldhari*, *thappatauwi*, and *yilgi*.

But all the early recorded uses of *tarni* are <u>sea</u> words, the sea as a heard-and-seen part of the landscape. *Tarni* means 'salt water, sea water, surf'; *tarni* warra is 'the noise of the breakers', and *tarnipaitya* is 'seacrab'; and Teichelmann seems to have thought – at least temporarily – that it was a synonym for *yerlo* 'sea'. <sup>23</sup>

Another Tindale place-name at Somerton (informant unclear) uses it in this old sense: "Tarnipalta 'Skins from the sea': ['tarni] sea + ['palta] skin". 24

The early <u>salt</u> words on record, referring either to the white grains or to the taste, are quite different from *tarni* phonemically: *meri* 'hail, salt'; *bakkadla* 'hoar frost, salt'; *kitya* 'bitter, brackish, salt'; *kopurlo* 'sea water; spirits; intoxicating drinks'; <sup>25</sup> "kopurlo - said of the taste of the sea water".

In Old Kaurna, it seems, when the water in *tarni* was separated from the sea and lay quiet it became *kitya*. If *tarni* ever meant 'any kind of salty water' as in Tindale, it was probably not until decades after first contact when much other vocabulary had fallen out of use, or among Yaraldic-speaking people who knew only a small amount of Kaurna language and had adapted the meanings of some of those words which they did know.

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Piesse and others said that the *mouth* of Pedler Creek was brackish; and surveyor Richard Counsel agreed. According to Bill Watt's experience, it is naturally brackish in the pool west of Commercial Road behind the dunes, except when flushed out by heavy rains. Coupled with Piesse's observation that "the sea occasionally flows into it at the mouth", this might have rendered the meaning *tarni* 'sea water' attractive -if the site had been at the mouth. But Section 123 is more than 5 km inland, and there other known words would have been used in preference.

## (b) 'Yundi / Yandi':

In Piesse's spelling "yun-di" must mean *yandi* with an *a* as in 'haka', <u>not</u> *yundi* with *u* as in 'put'. Conceivably the latter might have been a variant pronunciation, but there are no other sources for this place-name beyond Piesse and Tindale, and the *u* must be regarded as very doubtful in the company of doubts about other aspects of the Tindale-Karlowan interpretation.

Karlowan substitutes u for an old Kaurna a in the same way elsewhere, in the first syllable of "Kunanyapilba"; and makes his own guess at its location. Tindale says it is a variant of Piesse's "Cunyunyapella": but in the 1840s the sound a (not u) and a different location are each firmly attested by Schürmann, Piesse and the name of a local farm.

There is no known Kaurna word *yandi*, and the only known Kaurna word resembling *yundi* is *yurnti* 'heavy'.

Tindale says that *yundi* in this name means 'always'. But his reasoning is admittedly speculative, and also includes the attribution to Kaurna of the known Ramindjeri word *yundi*, said by him to mean 'down on young birds', with "seemingly" an extension to 'saltcrust'. In Wyatt, 'yoornde' is an 'Encounter Bay' word for 'a feather'. Tindale's linguistics here are improbable.

The interpretation of *yundi* as 'always' does not occur in any other source, and seems to be Tindale's alone: applying it to this word but remaining unsure of it, as indicated by the question-marks in his two Kaurna vocabulary cards for "jundi" above, and the words "inference from Tanganekald<sup>29</sup> and Karlowan".

Neither is there any known old Ngarrindjeri word which both fits the given form and means 'always'. Possibly the reference to Milerum can be found in Tindale's journals, turning up a previously unknown word. For both Meyer, Wyatt and Taplin, *yandi* or *yarnde* is Ramindjeri or Narrinyeri for 'spear'. In Taplin, *wunde* is Narrinyeri for a 'long heavy black spear'. Much later, Karlowan and /or Mark Wilson told Berndt that *yundi* meant "wooden spear" or "Seal Island" in Yaralde. <sup>30</sup> Tindale's information (from whom?) was that *wundi* was the Kaurna word for a big war spear. <sup>31</sup> Clearly the whole provenance of *yarndi, yundi* and *wundi* had been adapted by the 1930s, and Tindale and Berndt's informants give a confusing picture.

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## (c) The whole word:

Karlowan's **stress pattern** "<u>Tar</u>niyund -<u>ing</u>ga" as noted by Tindale<sup>32</sup> is unlikely to be Kaurna, and sounds more like an English triple-syllable habit as in "<u>mul</u>tipli-<u>cat</u>ion". In common useage this has been applied wrongly to many Aboriginal place-names such as "<u>Onk</u>apa -<u>ring</u>a" and "<u>Yatt</u>ago -<u>ling</u>a". Normal Kaurna stresses would be <u>Tarni -yundingga</u> as in "<u>mul</u>ti-<u>nat</u>ional".

The cases of "Tarnijundingga", "Kunanjapilba" and others show, at the very least, that by the 1930s original Kaurna knowledge had been modified into new versions by a generation or two of <u>Ngarrindjeri</u> memory in the absence of Kaurna people and Kaurna language speakers. Even if the etymology of each morpheme is accepted, the words are improbable hybrids of Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri; and these would not have been accepted by Kaurna speakers for sites on Kaurna land while they were living there and in possession of their own full vocabulary. But, as we have seen, it is even more likely that the problem began with Tindale's method and his linguistic lapses.

So on linguistic grounds too we conclude that Piesse's spelling and location are not seriously challenged by Karlowan's version. On the contrary, there is a serious challenge to the credibility of Tindale's place-name information from Karlowan as recorded on the annotated Hundred maps. Most often these are minimally noted, and have no known backup except (sometimes) a card derived from the map, presumably from memory many years later.

End of Summary

Pridmore 1949, The Rich Valley: 68.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *Register* 10/8/1839: 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See PNS 4.4.3/3.

Field Book 94, Land Services Group archives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> FB 94: 56, 58, 96.

McLaren map 1/9/1840, 'Country South of Adelaide', Arrowsmith. London.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Plan 6/11, 1839, 'District C', Geographical Names Unit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Fuller street directory 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> FB 94: 58.

<sup>9</sup> Observer 13/4/1844 :8A-B. See also PNS 4.3.3/2-4 'Tarrangga, Daringa, Turrangga', PNS 4.3.4/3 'Kanyanyapilla', and PNS 4.4.2/1 'Piltangga'.

- <sup>11</sup> See PNS 4.3.3/4.
- Tindale uses a Continental 'j' which represents the consonant y; and the phonetic symbol  $\eta$  which represents the sound ng as n 'singer'.
- See PNS 4.3.4/3 'Kanyanyapilla'.
- <sup>14</sup> Tindale MS 'Work with Karlowan in Adelaide', in AA 338/1/31/1 'Murray River notes': 197.
- <sup>15</sup> AA338/10/2 'Place Names: drafts for text': 114.
- 16 Berndt and Berndt 1993, A World That Was: 4.
- <sup>17</sup> A facsimile of his very neat and coherent letter to the Protector in 1916 appears in Mattingley and Hampton 1988, Survival In Our Own Land, Adelaide: Wakefield Press: 125.
- <sup>18</sup> See PNS 5.2.1/1 'Pangkarla'.
- 19 See PNS 4.3.4/3.
- 20 Berndt and Berndt 1993: 330-1.
- 21 See PNS 4.3.3/4 'Tartatyilla'.
- <sup>22</sup> Cp. his card above for "jundi down", in which a known Ngarrindjeri word is said to be Kaurna on the basis of its alleged association with "Tarnijundi".
- Teichelmann MS 1857, 'tarni'.
- Tindale place-name cards 624/1-2. See PNS 2/1.
- Teichelmann and Schürmann 1840.
- Teichelmann MS 1857.
- <sup>27</sup> Field Book No. 102, 1839: 3.
- 28 Bill Watt, p.c. 16/2/09.
- By 'Tanganekald' he can only mean Milerum.
- 30 RM Berndt 'Aspects of Yaralde Culture...' 1940 :179+n; Seal Island is off Victor Harbor, in Ramindjeri country.
- 31 Kaurna Vocabulary cards; SESA, 2:47.
- Kaurna place-name card 623.