

Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.03/08

TUTTO-KAUWINGGA

(last edited: 23/2/2014)

Abstract

1. *Tutto-kauwingga* was a Kurna name recorded in the 1840s and applied somewhere in the vicinity of Bald Hills, probably to one or more well-watered lookout sites. Possibly it is a generic name for any such site.

Its meaning is 'place of water and [possibly] lookout'.

2. 'Tjutjugawi' (= *Tyutyukawi*) was given in 1935 by the Ngarrindjeri man Karlowan as the name of a 'hill' somewhere high in the southeastern Fleurieu range, possibly Mt Robinson. This is almost certainly a Ngarrindjeri adaptation of *Tutto-kauwe*, omitting the optional locative suffix *-ngga*.

Tutto-kauwingga may perhaps be an alternative form of *Tuttongga* 'lookout place' (see PNS 5.03/10).

Coordinates	-35.50278° Latitude, 138.408294° Longitude.
-------------	---

Language Information

Meaning	'place of water' + [possibly] 'lookout'
Etymology	possibly <i>tutto</i> 'watching; straight, upright' + <i>kauwi</i> '[fresh] water' + <i>-ngga</i> 'at'
Notes	<i>Tutto-kauwingga</i> may perhaps be an alternative form of 'Tootongha', which could originally have been either <i>Tuttongga</i> ('lookout place') or <i>Tuttangga</i> ('grass place'): see PNS 5.03/10.
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'.
KWP Former Spelling	Tutto-kauwingga, Tutto-kauwe
KWP New Spelling 2010	Tutu-kauwingga, Tutu-kauwi
Phonemic Spelling	/thuTukawingka/, /thuTukawi/
Pronunciation	"Tuto- <u>kauwingga</u> ":
Pronunciation tips	Stress the 1 st syllable; secondary stress on the 3 rd ; each 't' with tongue between teeth (interdental); 'au' as 'ow' in 'cow'; 'u' as in 'put'; every 'a' as in Maori 'haka'.

Main source evidence

Date	1844
Original source text	“Dennis, R, sec. 333, Footoobowinga.” “Robinson, Wm, s.347, Footooboringa.”
Reference	Cotter 1844, <i>SA Almanac</i> : 168, 182.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kurna survey guides; surveyors; settlers.

Date	1844
Original source text	“Robinson, Wm, Tootocowinga sheep station.”
Reference	Allen 1844, <i>SA Almanac</i> : 237.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kurna survey guides; surveyors; settlers.

Date	March 1844
Original source text	“View at Tootatowinga [<i>sic</i>], Yankalillah District / March 20 th /44 / Autumnal equinox... Macropus... (Great Red Kangaroo)”.
Reference	Angas’s pencil hand-writing on back of George French Angas original watercolour ‘View at Tootatowinga, Yankalilla district, with red kangaroos and grass trees’, 7310HP3, Art Gallery of SA.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Settlers

Date	1847
Original source text	“Burrow, John, Tootocowinga”.
Reference	Murray 1847, <i>SA Almanac</i> : 84.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kurna survey guides; surveyors; settlers.

Date	n.d. (1930s)
Original source text	“Towara:ngk [<i>arrow to Barn Hill; arrow (crossed out) to Town Hill]</i> legendary place of the to`wari (bird, brown size of Blackbird who was a great grub eater / sings out wa`reilt / [<i>added later</i>] (= brown treecreeper <i>Climacteri picumnus</i>) boundary here springs at N end of Inman never run dry; used by both people at end of dry summer”..
Reference	Tindale annotated map Hd of Encounter Bay, AA 338/24/28.
Informants credited	Milerum
Informants uncredited	

Date	1935
Original source text	“ Tjutjugawi hill (Karl.)” [Mt Robinson, section 279 Hd of Waitpinga].
Reference	Tindale annotated map Hd of Yankalilla, AA 338/24/101).
Informants credited	Karlowan
Informants uncredited	

Date	1987
Original source text	“Tjirbruki arrived at [Tjutju`gawi] (west of Mt Robinson), the camp of Ramindjeri tribesman [Ken`gori] of the [wanma`rai] totem (ringtail possum)... [where he] looked out and saw a swampy lagoon...”
Reference	Tindale 1987, ‘Wanderings of Tjirbruki’, <i>Rec. SA Museum</i> 20: 9b.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. (after 1987)
Original source text	“ Tjutju`gawi Kurna Tr. Rapid Bay S.Aust. Mt Robinson , Summit Reserve, Section 279, H of Waitpinga. Lookout point and occasional camp on southern border with the Ramindjeri. In the Tjirbruki ancestral emu hunter story he obtained spears from Kengori, a Ramindjeri legendary man who was camped there and also permission to take ring-tailed opossums for a rug for approaching winter. Tindale 1987:9. Tindale S map with summary of Kurna. Tindale ms Yankalilla map data from Karlowan.”
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card 627.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Discussion: CAMPS WITH LOOKOUT AND WATER:

1. THE SETTLER PLACE: ‘BALD HILLS’.

A substantial part of the hills around the watershed between the valleys of the rivers Inman and Bungala was already bald at settlement: that is, grassy rather than forested. Governor George Gawler recorded from personal observation during his tour in 1838 that

*In this valley [the Inman], 'Division Hills' which separate the eastward from the westward waters, are about 10 miles from Yankalillah. Their summits are clothed with pastures, and their height is not above 800 feet above the sea.*¹

But their descriptive name seems to have become public and semi-official only after Robert Dennis started giving his address as 'Bald Hills' by the end of 1844.² His property was at section 376, Hundred of Yankalilla, on the slopes west of the watershed (Coomooloo Road, off today's Bald Hills Road). This sheep farm, and the adjacent one of GB Wilkinson (located at what is now 'Coomooloo' on section 380), were "*among the baldest of the bald hills of Yankalilla*" in 1850.³

The first surveyor of the area, William Baker, mapped a thumbnail sketch of his base camp in mid-1840. This campsite probably explains the rather odd location of the name 'Bald Hills' on modern survey maps: on section 349 at the junction of the Inman with another small creek in a wooded valley three km east of the top of the pass, rather than on the heights or western slopes where the bald hills actually are.⁴ It was probably known by the surveyors as 'the Bald Hills camp' and so became the site which the Survey Office mapped under that name. It seems that this site, or the area of the watershed pass above it, came to be used as a general referent for the whole district.

2. THE ABORIGINAL PLACE (1): EARLY EVIDENCE.

For a brief time from 1844 to about 1847, the country around Bald Hills was also known to the settlers by an Aboriginal name. The first surveyors – Kentish, Poole, Bryant and Baker – had probably picked it up from their Aboriginal guides in 1840. Later the English name supplanted it and became traditional.

Most of our early evidence for the Aboriginal name comes from the South Australian Almanacs. These annual publications listed landowners and often gave the locality of their property or its individual name. They are very unreliable in spelling, being large bureaucratic tables compiled usually in great haste, often from the hand-writing of others, by clerks who had little or no knowledge of the people and places they were listing, even in English. However, they include

¹ Gawler 19/1/1839, 'Notes made during a Journey into the Interior', in Thomas 1839, *SA Almanac*: 46.

² "Dennis, R and R, Bald Hills", Bennett 1845 Almanac: 92; cp. Murray 1847: 84, "Dennis, R. Rich., Bald Hill": 85 "Minda, Charles, Bald Hills".

³ 'Old Colonist' 1850 / Yelland 1983, *Colonists, Copper and Corn*, (2nd ed.): 30-2.

⁴ William Baker 1840, Field Book 40, GNU: 152 shows the camp just below the southern edge of section 350. Cp. the name 'Bald Hills' on Diagram Book pages, Hd of Encounter Bay 'map'-1, GNU; and on military survey maps 1:50,000 'Torrens Vale', 2nd Edition 6526-1, 1980, and 1:50,000 'Yankalilla' 2nd Edition 6527-11, 1979.

many Aboriginal names which were then attributed to localities or farms and which are otherwise unrecorded. The Almanacs of 1844 are unusually detailed because they were part of the results of SA's first census.⁵

RICHARD DENNIS'S PLACE.

In 1844 "*Footoobowinga*" was given as the district location of a property on section 333 (Hundred of Encounter Bay) belonging to Richard Dennis (brother of Robert).⁶ He later added 336 and 332. These are all on the opposite side of the watershed from his brother: on a small creek near the western headwaters of Inman River, 2 km northeast of the pass at the top of the main road,⁷ among the rolling slopes below Bald Hills Road.⁸ They are near a homestead which in recent times has been called 'Willow Springs' (on the survey maps) and 'Insbrook'.

ROBINSON'S PLACE.

Three kilometres southward, "*Footooboringa*" and "*Tootoocowinga*" were given in the same year for the sheep station of William Robinson on section 347,⁹ on the north-facing slopes 2 km southeast of the same pass. This is in the much higher hills between the Inman headwaters and the upper reaches of the Yankalilla River to the south.

ANGAS'S PLACE.

On 20th March 1844 George French Angas on his whirlwind tour of the colony painted a "*View at Tootatowinga, Yankalillah District*", without identifying the location more exactly.¹⁰

⁵ See the Introduction in Daniel Brock 1843 (ed.K Peake-Jones 1981), *Recollections of DGB*, Adelaide, Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA Branch): 8-9.

⁶ Cotter 1844, *SA Almanac*: 168. The location of Dennis's later homestead on Section 333 is shown on a map in Uppill n.d. [c.2004], *The Mayfield Family*, Adelaide, Openbook Publishers: 72. The original homestead is said to have been "*just to the NE*" of the new one (Yankalilla & District Historical Society 1980, 'Old Homesteads Tour April 12th 1980', in Historical Records: Bald Hills, Inman Valley, Torrens Vale [maroon display folder], Yankalilla Community Library). Uppill's book tells some of the story of Richard Denniss (pp.383-391).

⁷ On the map the summit is at the intersection of Victor Harbor Road with Bald Hills Road. This intersection is a pass now, but apparently was not used as such by settlers in vehicles until a decade or two later (AH Lush 1971, *The Inman Valley Story*, Ambrose Press, Victor Harbor: 27-8). Probably this approach up the hill from the Parawa Road intersection was too dangerous for vehicles before the present road was surveyed.

⁸ The first surveyors had dubbed this area 'Sources of the Inman' (Uppill n.d. [2004]: 389; cp. EC Frome watercolour 'Near the sources of the Inman, December 1839', Art Gallery of SA, reproduced in AH Lush 2001, *Gentleman John: Lush Family History*, The Author, Openbook Publishers: 30).

⁹ Cotter 1844, *SA Almanac*: 182; Allen 1844, *SA Almanac*: 237.

¹⁰ Angas's pencilled caption on reverse of original watercolour, Art Gallery of SA, 7310HP3.

In his travel book *Savage Life and Scenes* he mentioned no host at any such place, nor even this Fleurieu journey, and no direct information is available to pinpoint the location. But we can deduce from the dates of his other paintings that it was directly *en route* between ‘Yankalilla’ (a flexible term for Adelaideans and visitors in those days) and Encounter Bay. On the previous day he had painted “Encounter Bay Women roasting trochus, Yankalilla, 19 March 1844”, and on the following day “Encounter Bay looking south, March 21st 1844”.¹¹ Between these two he must have painted ‘Tootatowinga’.

In 1844 the only feasible routes for an English visitor from the Yankalilla coast to Encounter Bay would have gone over the range into the valley of the Inman somewhere in the Bald Hills area.

He may have gone north of the upper Bungala River via Kemmiss Hill Road or Coomooloo Road. In this direction he would have passed near the property of Robert Dennis on the “baldest of the bald hills” west of the watershed; but his painting of scrub certainly does not show this location. He would then have passed through Richard Dennis’s farm down in the upper Inman, which is perhaps a better candidate for the scrub shown.

But it is equally possible that he travelled via the Yankalilla River through Hay Flat and Dairy Flat, then across the range at or near Robinson’s section 347 above the south side of the upper Inman.¹²

We cannot really tell where he painted unless someone can identify the place from the painting itself.¹³ The watercolour shows thick but rather low scrub country with some open patches: quite like what might have been at or near Robinson’s farm, such as the thick remnant scrub still to be seen southwest of it at the top of Mayfield Road. It is not clear how scrubby Richard Dennis’s sections were, but the remnants now are medium gumtrees in a park-like context resembling the Boundy Valley¹⁴ more than the scrub of Angas’s picture.

¹¹ J Tregenza, *George French Angas: 14-15*, 36.

¹² For this route see PNS 5.03/03 Wanwanilla.

¹³ The road from Yankalilla straight down the Inman valley did not open until 1853 or 1864 (Lush 1971, *The Inman Valley Story*: 27-8). Angas might have gone either a shorter way via Dennis’ and the Inman, as ‘Old Colonist’ did 6½ years later (‘Old Colonist’ 1850 / Yelland 1983, *Colonists, Copper and Corn*, (2nd ed.): 51); or via Robinson’s on the route through Nosworthy Road, Robinson Hill and Hancock Road. In either case he would have arrived at the point near Victor Harbor where his Encounter Bay painting was ‘*taken from the road leading to Mr Strangway’s Station*’ in the lower Inman valley (AH Lush 1971, *The Inman Valley Story*, Ambrose Press, Victor Harbor: 27; cp. Plan 12/126, 1841, GNU). Angas’s hand-writing on the back of the original watercolour includes the words ‘*Sec. 19 / Strangw___*’ (Angas 0.613, Art Gallery of SA). Section 19 was not at Strangways’ but probably the site of the painting, ‘*taken from the road leading to Mr Strangway’s Station*’ (*SA Illustrated*, text of Plate 16). The area was re-surveyed more than once, and 19 is probably today’s 178 and 161, north of the junction of Tugwell Road and Waitpinga Road, Victor Harbor (cp. Light and Pullen’s ‘Plan of sections of Encounter Bay’, in ‘Plan of New Port Adelaide, 1/5/1841, London: Arrowsmith).

¹⁴ The Boundy is a lush tributary of the Inman, 4 km northeast of Dennis’s section 336. Part of it may be depicted in Frome’s watercolour ‘Near the sources of the Inman, December 1839’, which shows a park-like landscape of grass with large trees and some yaccas, below a scarp with similar vegetation.

BURROWS' PLACE.

In 1847 an almanac gave "*Tootoocowinga*" for a farm of John Burrow or Burrows.¹⁵ It was at an unidentified place in the new County of Hindmarsh. This is uninformative but we can deduce from other records about Burrow that it must have been in the upper Inman Valley or Bald Hills.¹⁶

These four are our only known early sources of the name.

The Dennis and Robinson locations connect it clearly with the area we know as 'Bald Hills'. From the Almanacs and a Field Book we have seen that the earliest settlers applied the name 'Bald Hills' to various places in an area from Robert Dennis's sections 376-7 at least as far as the survey camp on 349 next to Richard's, with Robinson's overlooking them; and they probably used 'Tootoocowinga' as a native equivalent of this. But, as we shall see, the original *Tutto-kauwingga* may have had a rather more restricted application.

3. THE KAURNA WORD: EARLY SPELLINGS.

The spellings look dauntingly different at first sight, even incompatible; but we can explain them rationally from a single original.

In the first morpheme, we can discount the initial 'F' in favour of the 'T'. The sound *f* does not occur in the local Aboriginal languages even as a variant pronunciation; and though the letter was occasionally written as somebody's perception of a soft 'p', here it is more easily explained as a capital T (perhaps in cursive) mis-read as a capital F.

All sources are agreed on the first vowel, which must be *u*.

The unstressed second vowel varies – 'oo' (= *u*), or *a* – and remains to be evaluated. A guiding principle here is that 'the more difficult reading is more likely to be right'.¹⁷ The Almanac records

¹⁵ Murray 1847, *SA Almanac*: 84.

¹⁶ Cotter 1844 *SA Almanack*: 168, 182; Allen 1844 *SA Almanack*: 237; Murray 1847, *SA Almanack*: 84. At this time (end of 1846) John Burrow was a 'sheep-farmer, Yankalilla' (Stephens 1847 *Royal SA Almanack*: 110; cp Stephens Almanac 1849, Directory: i), but in these sources 'Yankalilla' could mean anything from Rapid Bay, where he had other holdings, to Inman Valley. At the end of 1847 'John Borrow' still owned 80 acres in the Hundred of Encounter Bay as well as his larger holdings in the Hundreds of 'Myponga' and Yankalilla (Stephens 1848 Almanac: 67). The simplest explanation is that the property referred to was the same as 'Tootoocowinga' with which he was identified 12 months earlier; because it was at Bald Hills or upper Inman, it was in the perceived 'Yankalilla district' as well as the new Hundred of Encounter Bay which approaches that district only here.

are very strong evidence for 'oo', all four agreeing on this despite their different consonants. We infer that a first hearer gave careful attention to the unstressed syllable; whereas Angas's corresponding 'a' is merely the default spelling of any unstressed vowel in English.

In Kurna language, the second-vowel *u* could give *tutto*, 'watching, straight, upright, perpendicular', which is a credible meaning. Following Angas, an *a* would give *tutha* (*tutta*), 'grass', which would have been equally credible but is ruled out by the otherwise universal evidence for an unmistakable *u*.

The second morpheme is given in two of the almanacs as 'cowinga', which obviously represents the familiar Kurna word *kauwingga* (= *kauwe* with the locative suffix *-ngga*) 'at the water'. The variant spellings 'boringa' and 'bowinga' in Cotter, and 'towinga' in Angas, have no credible linguistic explanations, and can be safely ignored as mistranscriptions of somebody's handwriting, or errors in listening.

For places as far south as this we have to keep in mind the possibility that the first surveyors may have employed Ngarrindjeri-speaking guides who gave Ngarrindjeri names, as well as Kurna guides who gave Kurna names. However, there are no Ngarrindjeri morphemes similar enough to explain credibly any morpheme in this name. There is no usable *tutu* or *tuto* in Ngarrindjeri, though there is *tuta* '[robin] red-breast'.¹⁸

Nor would there be much likelihood in 1844 of a compound name hybridized from a Kurna word and a Ngarrindjeri word, even though a few borrowed and adapted *whole* names are on record.¹⁹

So, despite the location on the extreme border of Kurna territory with the Ramindjeri and Peramangk peoples (as defined by Tindale), we therefore conclude with reasonable certainty that this name is fully Kurna, *Tutto-kauwingga*, 'water place of [possibly] watching or upright-ness', and the surveyor's guide must have been a Kurna man.

TUTTO: AN ABORIGINAL LOOKOUT.

Tutto needs a little more examination. The recorded word seems to mean literally 'upright' or 'straight'. Applied to people 'sitting', the phrase *tutto tikkandi* is recorded as meaning 'to sit straight; be watching; to lie in ambush; to watch during the night'. If you are sitting *tutto* you are on the alert, looking out, whether for the distant movements of game or for people approaching

¹⁷ See Harold Koch, 'The methodology of reconstructing Indigenous placenames', in Koch and Hercus (ed) 2009, *Aboriginal Placenames*, Canberra, Aboriginal History Monograph 19: 136.

¹⁸ Wyatt 1837-9 /1879 'tootta'.

¹⁹ e.g. Kurna 'Wirramu'lla' from Ngarrindjeri 'Ramong': see PNS 7.2/01.

who might be friends or enemies. In a place-name it would apply to a site which was good for such observation: a high vantage point with a good view of the surrounding country, perhaps preferably with scrub to avoid being detected while watching. In our case the site is also a water source, making it doubly worthy of naming and remembering: an observation post near water for a campsite.²⁰ The name can be interpreted as something like 'lookout site with water'.

Robinson's section 347 is a strong candidate for this description. Located on top of the very high range opposite Bald Hills, it still had a spring in 1980 in the old orchard at the 'Fairview' homestead there.²¹

4. RELATED PLACES AND NAMES.

KARLOWAN'S TYUTYU-KAWI?

It appears that the name *Tutto-kauwe* was remembered 90 years later in a Ngarrindjeri adaptation; one which raises no significant doubt about its Kurna origin, but which complicates its geography.

A note on the Hundred of Yankalilla map was the primary record of a place-name among many others given to Tindale by The Ngarrindjeri elder Albert Karlowan in December 1935: "*Tjutjugawi / hill (Karl.)*".²² In our spelling this is *Tyutyukawi*.²³ Tindale applied it to a hill whose name was printed on the map, Mt Robinson on the summit of the southern range four km south of William Robinson's section.

However, there is no other record of what Karlowan actually said, and the note 'hill' is redundant when applied to a mountain. We may suspect that he had not specified *this* hill in particular.

²⁰ Tindale intended to discuss the relationship between camps, names, lookouts and water in the Preface to his proposed Place-names Gazetteer: "*The location of Australian aboriginal place name is subject to a series of variables different from the pin-print marker often indicated for ours. The more important the place is as a camping ground its occupation covered a radius often as much as a kilometre and more away from the actual focus which is some source of water or where water was obtainable, some specific type of sand (warmer to be on, softer or other use qualified) or the wind direction... Necessity of watching for potential aggressors and desire to interpret the [illegible] of others by ready [indication] afforded by smokes rising at various times of the day etc can pinpoint place names at focal points which appear otherwise to be unattractive but do indicate that somewhere near usually within easy distance for older men, often the keenest watchers to go...*" Tindale MS, in 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 86. Cp. his description of the needs of a campsite in Tindale 1974, *Aboriginal Tribes*: 55.

²¹ Yankalilla & District Historical Society 1980, 'Old Homesteads Tour April 12th 1980', in Historical Records: Bald Hills, Inman Valley, Torrens Vale [maroon display folder], Yankalilla Community Library. This homestead was established on the section by the Mayfield family after Robinson's time. For its location see P Uppill n.d. [c.2004], *The Mayfield Family*, Adelaide, Openbook Publishers: 72.

²² Tindale annotated map Hd Yankalilla, AA 338/24/101; cp. Hd Waitpinga AA 338/24/93; S map, Summary of Kurna area', AA 338/16/8' County Hindmarsh AA 338/24/121. For more on 'Tjutjugawi' see 'BACKGROUND4_TjilbrukiCavesHills.pdf'.

²³ 'Tj' is spelt 'ty' in our system, and *g* is semantically the same as *k* in Aboriginal languages.

Is 'Tyutyukawi' a Ngarrindjeri name?

This is conceivable as an adaptation, but not very likely as an original. In Ngarrindjeri, *-awi* is not only a possessive suffix ('of, belonging to'), but a common word-ending in its own right. There are even a few Ngarrindjeri words on record which use *kauwe* or *-auwe* for water-related meanings;²⁴ but the usual word for 'fresh water' is quite different, *nguki*.

The first morpheme 'tjutju' has no ready explanation in Ngarrindjeri. It could conceivably be derived from Ngarrindjeri *tjutjul* 'truth', recorded only in Taplin 1879: but this is an unlikely candidate for a place-name. There are no other known words in Ngarrindjeri which fit either this morpheme or the early Kurna *tutto* exactly.

Karlowan's second *u*, and his double substitution of 'ty' for *t*, count against *tuta* as the original. If the word was already Ngarrindjeri there would be no need to adapt it; and we know that there is a Ngarrindjeri word *tuta*: 'dutta' [= *tuta*], 'scarlet robin' as known to Milerum in the same period as Karlowan, and also to Wyatt before him.²⁵

Any of these explanations would stretch linguistic credibility rather severely.

However, the name is easily explained in Kurna. The origin of the second morpheme '-gawi' is *kawi* or *kauwe*, Kurna for 'water'. Early evidence records a place not far away whose Kurna name begins with a very similar morpheme and ends with *kauwi-ngga*, 'place of water'. In Kurna language the locative suffix *-ngga* is optional, so that a common usage of this name would validly be *Tutto-kauwe* or *Tutu-kawi*:²⁶ only a consonant away from *Tyutyukawi*. Moreover, the Kurna word *tutto* can explain the vowels of the first morpheme fully, both in the almanacs and in Karlowan.

It therefore seems beyond reasonable doubt that the name given by Karlowan was a Ngarrindjeri adaptation of the old Kurna name *Tutto-kauwingga* or *Tutto-kauwe*. The first of the Kurna 't's was interdental (we don't know about the second), so a very small change of tongue position downward could adapt it into palatal *ty*.²⁷ Or perhaps his family had adapted *tutto* by analogy with familiar Ngarrindjeri morphemes such as *tjutjul*.

Karlowan's memory confirms the early evidence for the name, and his particularization of it as a 'hill' confirms the likelihood that it referred to lookouts.

²⁴ e.g. *kalya-kkauwe* 'dirty water' and *tappatauwe* 'water' in Meyer 1843; 'Deep (water) *gauware*' and 'Salt water *Thappatauwi*' in Taplin 1879. But because of the possessive *-awi*, only *gauw-* is significant as an analogue of Kurna.

²⁵ Milerum 'dutta' and Wyatt 'tootta' in Gale 2009, *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary*: 157.

²⁶ In Kurna the pronunciations *o* and *u* are semantically the same, though in Ngarrindjeri they are distinguished. 'Au-w-' as used by the German missionaries of the 1840s is linguistically the same as 'a-w-'.

²⁷ 'Ty' is pronounced similar to 'ch' in 'chill' but with the tongue further forward and behind the bottom teeth.

‘TOOTONGHA’ AND THE BOUNDY VALLEY.

Our efforts to retrieve and analyse ‘Tootoocowinga’ are complicated by another nearby place-name ‘Tootunga’ or ‘Tootongha Vale’, recorded in the Almanacs in the same years 1844-7 and applied there to properties in the Boundy valley, especially that of the James family.

Was this an independent name? Or was ‘Tootongha’ an abridged form of ‘Tootoocowinga’, omitting an optional *kauwe* (‘water’) and putting the locative *-ngga* on *tutto* or *tutta* instead?

Or (much more likely), was ‘Tootoocowinga’ a particular water site directly related to ‘Tootongha’?

And was ‘Tootongha’ a place of ‘grass’ (*tutta*) or of ‘lookout’ (*tutto*)?

I conclude elsewhere²⁸ that while ‘Tootongha’ is certainly Kurna, its second vowel remains uncertain. It may perhaps have been an independent name *Tuttangga*, ‘place of grass’, applied to the valley of the River Boundy several kilometres east of the watershed, though perhaps not exclusively. But more likely it was *Tuttongga*, ‘lookout place’; in which case it would have applied originally to the high hills immediately above the valley, and so the connection with ‘Towarang’ and Barn Hill would be very persuasive, and it would be closely related to ‘Tootoocowinga’.

The same surveyors almost certainly collected both names. Ignorant of the meanings, they would certainly have seen them as different names for different places, not variants of the same name of one place. But this does not mean they were correct in Kurna terms. On the other hand, the Boundy-Barn Hill site was particularly well-watered, even crucially so in late summer; so that it would be odd if *kauwe* was omitted in referring to it, while being used for other less favoured sites.

This matter may not be resolvable unless more information turns up.

MILERUM’S ‘TOWARANGK’ and ‘BOUNDARY SPRINGS’.

Another name connected with the Boundy valley seems to ask for inclusion in Tutto-kauwingga by reason of geography and ecology rather than linguistics.

On a late place-name card for the name “Ṭowara:ŋk”, located near Moon Hill and Barn Hill, Tindale wrote:

²⁸ See PNS 5.03.10 ‘Tootongha’.

*springs here never run dry and are the ultimate water supply places for Kurna and Ramindjeri people in very dry summers.*²⁹

This reads like a description of the deep scrubby gullies on the north side of Boundy valley around Barn Hill and Sugarloaf Hill. Today there is still a waterfall, and many small and several large dams which are no doubt fed by Milerum's springs. The area was well-watered in 1840, when William Rhodes James of 'Tootunga Vale' just below Sugarloaf Hill had water "from a chain of ponds, and a well 12 feet deep, with 6 of water".³⁰

Although there is no record of 'Tootoocowinga' so far east (Dennis's 336 is closest, 3 km away), the site seems tailor-made as a 'lookout with water'. For more discussion of this see PNS 5.03/10 'Tootongha'.

5. THE ABORIGINAL PLACE (2): LOOKOUT SITES.

Among the steep glaciated scarps of the area at the head of the Inman valley immediately northeast of Bald Hills, there are high hills which must include several good lookouts. For example, Sugarloaf Hill (288 metres) and Barn Hill (297m) rising steeply above the western end of the Boundy valley. Within 2 km to the west, less immediate to the valley, there are Town Hill and Moon Hill (359m). Some of these heights certainly have water in small gullies nearby and so could be *Tutto-kauwingga*, while probably some did not and might have been waterless *Tuttongga*. But except where cleared they are covered with scrub, and probably were thus in 1840 too, not grassy *Tuttangga*.

TINDALE'S MOUNT ROBINSON?

Also from the 1930s, Tindale's record of Karlowan's Tyutyukawi raises the question of Mount Robinson.

This is a wide and conspicuous height of the central Fleurieu range, and enlarges considerably the area we have to consider. Though only four km south of the old William Robinson property, it is separate topographically from the north-to-south heights of Bald Hills, and dominates the east-

²⁹ Tindale map Hd Encounter Bay, AA 338/24/28; 'Songs by Milerum recorded 9 Nov 1937', SE of SA 2: 253; Tindale Ramindjeri card "Towara:ŋk". See also PNS 5.03/07 'Towarangk'.

³⁰ 'Statement of the extent of cultivation.... 1840', *BPP: Colonies: Australia*, Vol. 7: 122.

to-west watershed on Range Road.³¹ Between it and Robinson's high section 347 (facing away from Mt Robinson) is a deep and wide valley containing the headwaters of the Yankalilla River.³² Richard Dennis's 336 is separated from Mt Robinson by a second deep wide valley, that of the Inman.

Could Mt Robinson be in some way 'the same place' as Bald Hills?

While Robinson's 347 and Dennis's 333 could be a unit because they both face the bald watershed between them, it would be hard to think of a rationale for including Mt Robinson as well: unless the name was generic and could apply to *any* lookout with water.

It is very unlikely that Angas painted his 'Tootatowinga' at Mt Robinson, which would have been a considerable detour from his route to Encounter Bay.³³

On the northern slopes of Weymouth Hill immediately west of Mt Robinson, the gully site Pijanbilli Lodge is certainly a 'water lookout', with its commanding view of the Hay Flat and Yankalilla valleys from the Parawa Road, and its 'Water [Quarry] and Stone Reserve'. Perhaps this was what Tindale had in mind when in the 1980s he described 'Tjutjugawi' as being 'west of Mt Robinson'.³⁴

On a late card he wrote another speculative location, the 'Summit Reserve' of Mt Robinson (on the Range Road west of the current road sign 'Parawa').³⁵ This also is a possible lookout because it commands a long and panoramic view of both the Yankalilla and Inman valleys to the north, though the view to the south is more obscured, and there seems not to be a suitable water site anywhere near.

But these apparently precise and authoritative details must be conjectural, appearing as they do for the first time 50 years after his primary record. All his other known sources just say 'Mt Robinson'; and as we have seen even in those the application to Mt Robinson may be doubtful. Did Tindale misunderstand his informant about the location of Tyutyukawi? or deduce a site

³¹ Mt Robinson is not to be confused with Robinson Hill, on Hancock Road 5 km east of Robinson's section in the hills on the south side of the valley of the Inman.

³² This valley was known to later settlers as 'The Basin' (P Uppill 1998, *The Jagger Family*, Adelaide, Openbook Publishers: 29).

³³ Angas's painting shows scrub country often thick and rather low, with some open patches, to my eye quite unlike the dense eucalypt and stringybark forest to be seen now at Mt Robinson. But many changes have happened since 1844, and without independent visual record one cannot be entirely sure what Mt Robinson was like then when an Aboriginal management regime was in place.

³⁴ Tindale 1987, 'Wanderings of Tjirbruki', *Rec. SA Museum* 20: 9b.

³⁵ Tindale Kurna place-name card {627} 'Tjutju`gawi', in AA 338/7/1/12.

himself from some general statement by Karlowan about a hill in the highest part of the ranges, or the like?³⁶ If so, then Karlowan may really have been thinking of a place at or near the old Tutto-kauwingga.

And Mt Robinson had another Ngarrindjeri name. When speaking to RM Berndt, Karlowan named it as 'Lepuldalingul', the hill of the marsupial possum ancestor 'Lepuldali' or 'Lepuldaui' (the same Being as Milerum's 'Lepidawi').³⁷ Tyutyukawi might conceivably be a different site on this large hill; but in view of Tindale's frequent carelessness in his primary records on the maps, and a great deal of confusion in his records about both the hill and the name, our suspicions are aroused again.³⁸

According to Tindale's late Tjilbruki essay, Mt Robinson included the campsite of the fabled bird-man Kengori who gave permission for people to hunt possums. But in this case he was probably confusing some information from Milerum, and the location of this incident remains doubtful.³⁹

6. THE KAURNA PLACE: CONCLUSIONS.

We might be clearer about the location of *Tutto-kauwingga* if we knew where Burrows' farm was, and where Angas painted his 'Tootatowinga'. But even then we could not be sure exactly where it was, whether there were several or many places with the name, or whether it referred originally to any of the particular farms recorded under its title.

In the general area of Bald Hills many high summits provide commanding views eastward to the valley of the Inman or west and south to the Bungala and Yankalilla rivers, or both. Most of them have gully creeks which are now dammed: at Robinson's section, on Bald Hills Road north of the pass, and along the western end of the glacial scarp above the Boundy Valley. The strongest candidates for a memorable well-watered lookout appear to be Barn Hill (for which no certain name was recorded at settlement) and Robinson's section 347.

The surveyors (possibly Baker) remained ignorant of the meaning but applied 'Tootocowinga' as a convenient label for their own purposes. Perhaps for them their own campsite became the referent, and both 'Bald Hills' and 'Tootocowinga' meant their camp high in the headwaters of

³⁶ He almost certainly did this kind of thing when assigning Milerum's second hill of the Two to the trig station 'South of Mt Hayfield' (see my document 'BACKGROUND4TjilbrukiCavesHills.pdf').

³⁷ Berndt and Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*: 234-5. Cp. Milerum in Tindale 1941, 'Native Songs of the SE of SA, Part 2', *Trans. Royal Society SA*, 65 (2): 242.

³⁸ See also PNS 5.03/05 'Lepuldawi'.

³⁹ Tindale 1987, 'Wanderings of Tjilbruki': 9b. See also 'Tanganekald Notes from Milerum', AA 338/1/33/2: 229; and my discussions of Mt Robinson in PNS 5.03/05 'Lepuldawi' and 'BACKGROUND4TjilbrukiCavesHills.pdf'.

the Inman valley. Following this lead, the settlers may have used both names for the area of their land purchases and for the early north-south high track which led to them through these hills. It is marked on at least one old map and includes today's Bald Hills Road and southward via Robinson's section and Hancock Road.⁴⁰

While the settlers may have extended the referent area a little, the Kurna too may have had in mind something measurable in kilometres rather than metres. Tindale had this view in general:

*The location of Australian aboriginal place name is subject to a series of variables different from the pin-print marker often indicated for ours. The more important the place is as a camping ground its occupation covered a radius often as much as a kilometre and more away from the actual focus which is some source of water or where water was obtainable, some specific type of sand (warmer to be on, softer or other use qualified) or the wind direction... A modern geographer thus has to trim his ideas to the life ways of the aborigines.*⁴¹

So perhaps *Tutto-kauwingga* really was the Kurna definition of the whole district, 'the place of watered lookouts'; perhaps with *Tuttongga* 'place of lookouts' as an alternative, if *Tuttongga* should prove to be the true name specific to the Boundy valley site.⁴²

The survival of this name in the Ngarrindjeri form 'Tyutyugawi' three generations later is a strong sign of its validity and importance in the border district.

Tindale's Mount Robinson sites would reinforce the likelihood that *Tutto-kauwingga* may have been a general class name (a 'generic') rather than geographically unique. The wide slopes of Mt Robinson certainly include a number of excellent lookout points: notably the summit which Tindale chose to mention, though this is not a good place for water. But first we would have to be persuaded that these particular lookouts really were named by one of the informants with a variant of *tutto* and *kauwe*.

References to background documents

For the trig station 'South of Mt Hayfield' see my document 'BACKGROUND4TjilbrukiCavesHills.pdf'.

.....

End of Summary

⁴⁰ See Plan 12/126, 1841, GNU.

⁴¹ Tindale MS, in 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 86.

⁴² See PNS 5.3/10 Tuttongga.