

Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.03/10

TUTTONGGA

(last edited: 23/2/2014)

Abstract

Tuttongga is the most likely original of a Kurna name recorded in the Upper Inman. Its Kurna location was most likely the area of high summits here above the steep northern scarps of the glacial valley.

It was recorded in several spellings in the 1840s as a district name for the valley which is watered by the Boundy River on the east and by an unnamed neighbouring creek on the west. No doubt it was obtained originally by the early surveyors, and the Kurna applied it to a site somewhere in or near this valley.

Almanacs recorded the name in 1844-7 in various unreliable spellings: 'Tootongha', 'Tookunga', 'Tootnunga', and also (if we interpret 'F' in print as a mistranscription of T) 'Tootonga', 'Tootangha', and 'Tootunga'.

As we cannot be certain of the second vowel, the Kurna original of these might have been either *Tuttangga* or *Tuttongga*.

1. If the true form were proved to be *Tuttongga*, this might mean 'place of lookout'.

This might apply to nearby lookout sites on Barn Hill or Sugarloaf Hill. It is likely that this name is a more general variant of *Tutto-kauwingga* around nearby Bald Hills (see PNS 5.03/08).

2. If it were *Tuttangga*, the meaning would be 'place of grass'.

This might apply to a place characterized by unusual amounts of grass, either the valley itself or somewhere nearby. However, Frome's 1839 watercolour shows that this area was open park-like grassland with many fairly large trees, rather than bare grassland. This meaning is therefore not very likely.

Either of the meanings might perhaps have applied to the bare watershed at Bald Hills, or sites on it; but then in this location of lookouts it would probably be *Tuttongga* and certainly a variant of *Tutto-kauwingga* which possibly means 'place of lookout and water' (see PNS 5.03/08).

Both of the possible forms would probably have been generic: i.e. they could apply to 1. any notable lookout site; or alternatively 2. any notable grass site.

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| Coordinates | -35.47017° Latitude, 138.45374° Longitude. These are the figures for Sugarloaf Hill, but should be taken here as representing several other possible sites as well. |
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Language Information

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| Meaning | 1. possibly 'place of watching or lookout' OR possibly 2. 'place of grass' |
| Etymology | 1. possibly <i>tutu</i> (<i>tutto</i>) 'straight, upright, watching' + <i>-ngga</i> 'at' OR possibly 2. <i>tutha</i> (<i>tutta</i>) 'grass' + <i>-ngga</i> 'at' |
| Notes | |
| Language Family | Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'. |
| KWP Former Spelling | 1. Tuttongga OR 2. Tuttangga |
| KWP New Spelling 2010 | 1. Tutungga OR 2. Tuthangga |
| Phonemic Spelling | /thuTVngka/ |
| Pronunciation | 1. "Tut-angga" OR 2. "Tut-ungga": |
| Pronunciation tips | Stress the 1 st syllable; every 't' with the tongue between the teeth (interdental); every 'u' as in 'put'; every 'a' as in Maori 'haka'. |

Main source evidence

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|------------------------------|--|
| Date | 1844 |
| Original source text | "James, J and RB, sec. 276, Footonga Bay." |
| Reference | Cotter 1844, <i>SA Almanac</i> : 175. |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | Kurna survey guides, surveyors, settlers |

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|------------------------------|--|
| Date | 1844 |
| Original source text | "Currency Creek, Encounter Bay, and Neighbourhood... James, A and B., Footangha Vale, 7 acres wheat, 2 do. barley, 1 do. oats, 11 do. maize, 1 do. garden, 200 cattle, 6 horses, 12 pigs." |
| Reference | Allen 1844, <i>SA Almanac</i> : 235-6. |
| Informants credited | |
| Informants uncredited | Kurna survey guides, surveyors, settlers |

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|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Date</i> | 1845 |
| <i>Original source text</i> | “Willunga, Encounter Bay, Etc:... James, Boucher, Tookunga... Back and Brailey, Tootnunga Vale ”. |
| <i>Reference</i> | Bennett 1845, <i>SA Almanac</i> : 92. |
| <i>Informants credited</i> | |
| <i>Informants uncredited</i> | |

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|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Date</i> | 1846 |
| <i>Original source text</i> | “District of Encounter Bay... James, J., Footunga Vale ”. |
| <i>Reference</i> | Murray 1846, <i>SA Almanac</i> : 132. |
| <i>Informants credited</i> | |
| <i>Informants uncredited</i> | |

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|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Date</i> | 1847 |
| <i>Original source text</i> | “County of Hindmarsh... James, —, Tootongha Vale; McClymont, S., Footongha ”. |
| <i>Reference</i> | Murray 1847, <i>SA Almanac</i> : 85. |
| <i>Informants credited</i> | |
| <i>Informants uncredited</i> | |

Discussion: ‘GRASS’ VALE OR ‘LOOKOUT’?

From 1844 to 1847 the almanacs, and they alone, gave various versions of an Aboriginal place-name in the upper valley of the Inman River. Their spelling was, as usual, very unreliable, but in this case we can make a fair inference of the original word.

1. THE SETTLER PLACE (1): EARLY EVIDENCE.

THE JAMES FAMILY:

In 1840 William Rhodes James bought sections 2276, 2277 and 2322, in what could then be known either as ‘Encounter Bay and neighbourhood’ or ‘the valley of the Inman’. These sections are in the valley of the Boundy River (a large tributary of the Inman) about 2 km north of today’s Inman Valley town, and westward along a smaller creek which almost joins the Boundy but not quite.¹ The two tributaries together form a lush valley about 5½ km long and parallel to the main

¹ It turns south parallel with the Boundy and very close to it, but enters the Inman independently. If it has a name I have not been able to find it.

valley of the Inman. The James sections lie near today's 'Illoura' homestead at the end of Martin Road, below a steep glacial scarp which includes Moon Hill, Barn Hill and Sugarloaf Hill.

Here he had *"abundance of stone for building purpose"*, got his water *"from a chain of ponds, and a well 12 feet deep, with 6 of water"*, and by the end of the year he had erected *"a dwelling-house, out-houses, stock-yard, &c"*.²

By 1842 William had handed the property over to his sons John Vidal James and Richard Boucher James, who ran both crops and sheep. This very visible sign of big capital was now described as being at the 'Inman Valley'.³

In the 1844 Almanac the name *'Footonga Bay'* was given for their property on their re-numbered section 276 (now re-numbered as it stands today).⁴ We can dismiss 'Bay' as a clerical blunder, probably a confusion between 'Vale' and Encounter Bay. In the same year the land returns listed them in the district of 'Currency Creek, Encounter Bay, and Neighbourhood' as *'Footangha Vale'*, with *"7 acres wheat, 2 do. barley, 1 do. oats, 11 do. maize, 1 do. garden, 200 cattle, 6 horses, 12 pigs"*.⁵ In the next three years their place appeared in the almanacs as *'Tookunga'*, *'Footunga Vale'*, and *'Tootongha Vale'*.⁶

After that their place was usually given as 'Yankalilla', sometimes both that and 'Encounter Bay' in the one almanac.⁷ However the James family was still in the same place, though now with much more land. In December 1850 'Old Colonist' was able to write of them from common knowledge:

*About 4 miles on our road [coming from west of the watershed at Bald Hills], and up a branch of this valley, on the left are the property and the farm of Mr Boucher James, who, with his lady, as we understood, were absent. This gentleman has a good stone residence, with barn and out-offices, and a good garden of a promising description. Mr James is the owner of a considerable number of sections, and has some good crops of wheat and potatoes; he is also a large sheepfarmer, and occupies the whole of his valley as a run beyond his enclosures.*⁸

² 'Statement of the extent of cultivation.... 1840', *British Parliamentary Papers: Colonies: Australia*, Vol. 7: 122-3.

³ Bennett 1842, *SA Almanac*: 126; Cotter 1843, *SA Almanac*, Country Directory: 177.

⁴ Cotter 1844, *SA Almanac*: 175.

⁵ Allen 1844, *SA Almanac*: 235.

⁶ Bennett 1845: 92; Murray 1846: 132; Murray 1847: 85.

⁷ Stephens 1848: 67 and Directory: xx.

⁸ 'Old Colonist' 1850 / Yelland, 1983, *Colonists, Copper and Corn*, (2nd ed.): 51.

Today's James Track comes from the north, across the head of the western valley, down the ridge which separates it from the next higher tributary of the Inman, and to the southern border of James' sections. Doubtless in the first decades of settlement this was the main northern approach to his property and the whole Inman Valley: climbing south from Myponga along the ridgetops, and connecting at Moon Hill with the west via Kemmiss Hill Road and the valley of the Bungala.

BACK and BRAILEY or BREARLY:

A few other settlers also farmed in the same period at this 'vale'.

Francis Back and John Brearly were both listed at Marion in 1843,⁹ but a year later they appeared as "*Back, Francis, Inman Valley, 5 acres wheat, 1 do. barley, ¼ do. garden, 2 cattle*" and "*Brealey, John, Inman Valley*".¹⁰ Again in 1845 '*Back and Brailey*' were joint owners of '*Tootnunga Vale*', though this almanac did not clarify their location, nor Boucher James's at '*Tookunga*'.¹¹ Of course 'Inman Valley' tells us nothing very specific, since in the 1840s there was no town and this meant the river valley in general. After 1845 these two men disappeared from the records.

McCLYMONT:

One page of Murray's 1847 almanac listed a farmer S McClymont at '*Footonga*', and the Jameses at '*Tootongha Vale*'.¹² I cannot find McClymont anywhere else and so cannot verify his location independently, but because of the place-name he was almost certainly somewhere very near James.

This is the total known evidence. Can we make anything of it?

2. THE KAURNA WORD: SPELLINGS.

Seven records, seven different spellings. Obviously the almanacs are unreliable guides to Aboriginal language.

⁹ Cotter 1843, *SA Almanac*, Country Directory: 177; MacDougall 1843, *SA Almanac*, Country Directory: 12.

¹⁰ Allen 1844: 235.

¹¹ Bennett 1844: 92.

¹² Murray 1847: 85.

By 1840 the first surveyors of this area, Kentish, Poole, Bryant and Baker, were often beginning from Encounter Bay, and they may well have used Ramindjeri guides hired there as well as Kurna guides from Adelaide. But in this case the name is clearly in Kurna language. Ngarrindjeri words rarely end with *a*, and the final syllable is always clearly the Kurna locative *-ngga*.

In the first syllable we can disregard the capital Fs. Four versions give initial 'T' and three 'F'. The latter is most easily explained in the same way as the one in 'Footobowinga':¹³ a written capital T misread as F.

All seven versions give the first vowel as 'oo', making this a definite *u*.

Five give the second consonant as 't', and these out-vote the other two. In 'Tootnunga', probably the 'n' crept in by misreading a cursive 'u' as 'nu'. In 'Tookunga', probably a badly-shaped cursive 't' was mistaken for 'k'.

We can therefore take the original stressed first syllable as being definitely *Tut*, with the vowel pronounced as in 'put'.

The unstressed second vowel is not so easily decided, but is crucial to a gloss of the word.

The original collectors of this name – no doubt the surveyors – were unlikely to be careful hearers of unstressed vowels, or consistent spellers, or legible hand-writers outside their maps. By the time it left the printer of the almanacs, the second vowel was given three times as 'o'; once as 'a'; and three times as 'u'.

The vowel had not been clearly perceived as *u*, or it would almost certainly have been written with two letters, 'oo'.

A written 'a' would usually indicate *a* (as in 'haka'), giving the Kurna word *tutta*, 'grass'. A written 'unga' by the original hearer would clearly represent *-angga* (as in 'hunger' or 'Nunga').

A written 'o' might also represent an *a* (as it did in 'Myponga'); or alternatively it could stand for a Kurna *u/o* (pronunciation variable, often as in 'full'), giving a different Kurna word: *tutto*, 'straight, upright, watching'.

But the big issue in the Almanacs is the hand-copying of unknown words by busy clerks. When copying words of an unknown language, cursive 'a' and 'o' can often be mistaken for each other;

¹³ See PNS 5.03/08 'Tutto-kauwingga'.

and when badly made they can also look like a 'u'. The clerical process might also have involved second-hand pronunciation by English speakers reading somebody's notes.

So, although the printed evidence seems on the whole to favour *tutta*, 'grass', the alternative *tutto* cannot be ruled out.

The meaning of *tutto* as applied to a place might be something like 'lookout'.¹⁴

Was this a 'place of grass' or a 'lookout place'?

3. THE SETTLER PLACE (2): THE BOUNDY VALLEY:

In the absence of any map records of the name, what can geography tell us?

The James and the Back-Brealey properties were each described as being both at *Tuttangga/Tuttongga* and at its 'Vale'. From this we can conclude that for the settlers the name probably referred to a definable valley.

The James property came to occupy most of the valley of the River Boundy and its tributary, much of them separated from the main valley by hills up to 150 metres above the Inman itself. James could be said to be 'at Inman Valley' as a rough locality guide; but it is fairly certain that if the Kurna place-name applied to a valley, it was the Boundy and not the Inman.

But we cannot be totally certain about the extent of 'Tootongha' as *perceived by the settlers* until we know exactly where Back, Brealey/Brearily and McClymont's farms were. As there is no other evidence in the almanacs, this might be lengthy or impossible to find out. Meanwhile, the Boundy catchment and its immediate neighbourhood is the most likely, because the James property would have been the settlers' referent for any other use of its name.

This is not necessarily the same as the original Kurna referent. The surveyors may have transferred it from another place nearby for the quite different purposes of settlement, as in the case of Yankalilla and Tatachilla.¹⁵

¹⁴ See the longer explanation in PNS 5.03/08 'Tutto-kauwingga'. s

¹⁵ See PNS 5.02.01/02 and 4.03.02/04.

4. THE KAURNA PLACE (1): GRASS.

Was the Boundy valley or its immediate vicinity a 'grass place', *Tuttangga*?

The high hilltops on the north side of James's sections are scrubby today, but it is not clear whether this was always the case, nor how much scrub was in the Boundy valley itself in the 1830s. Was it grassy and fairly treeless before settlement?

There were many 'grass places' a few miles west on the bald heights of the range watershed, and on its western slopes. Gawler in 1838 noted this feature, which may also reflect Aboriginal fire management in the area. At the "*Division Hills, which separate the eastward from the westward waters*" he observed that "*their summits are clothed with pastures*".¹⁶ that is, they were almost treeless, and this is why they were dubbed 'Bald Hills'.

In 1850 'Old Colonist' journeyed from Wilkinson's homestead (now 'Coomooloo') on section 380 west of the Bald Hills watershed, across country to "*Dairy Flat*" (now Torrens Vale). He recorded green grass in late November of that drought year:

*In this district of the 'bald hills of Yankalilla' cultivation is everywhere progressing... We passed a vast number of gullies, and through grass flats, with good pasture, the grass looking in many places quite green from the sheltered position of the flats, and being close and full at the bottom, though rather coarse.*¹⁷

Was this grass country part of the place called *Tuttangga*? There is no evidence that any variant of the name was used on that side of the range. We have another name *Wanwalilla* for Dairy Flat,¹⁸ and for the James property to be included in its ambit *Tuttangga* must have belonged closer than this to the Inman valley.

Nevertheless it is very likely that their run could have attracted a similar description because of its similar 'sheltered position'. 'Old Colonist' does not tell us, and in the absence of the James family may have bypassed the Boundy Valley without visiting it. If it, like Hay Flat and Dairy Flat, had grass as its defining feature – probably kangaroo grass which is green at the base even in late

¹⁶ Gawler 1839a, 'Notes made during a journey into the interior', *SA Gazette* 19/1/1839: 2.

¹⁷ 'Old Colonist' 1851 in Yelland (ed.) 1981, *Colonists, Copper and Corn* (2nd ed): 33. He had visited this area between leaving Willunga on 18th November 1850 and being at Bullaparinga on the 25th (ibid. pp.25, 38). "*The drought*" is mentioned on p.29.

¹⁸ See PNS 5.03/03.

summer, and an important fodder for kangaroos¹⁹ – then for the Kurna it could have been *Tuttangga* in recognition of its significance as a game pasture.

We have no other evidence that places of tall grass with few trees were called *tuttangga* generically by the Kurna; but we do have evidence that the Kurna used the same metaphor as we do for grassy *hills*, calling them *Yarna*, ‘bald’; while rolling ‘downs’, possibly bare, were *Yarna-yarna*.²⁰ There may have been a usage by which any lush grassy valley was called *tuttangga*, while *yarna* was a larger bald landscape involving hills or ‘*undulating ground*’.²¹ Or perhaps *Tuttangga* was reserved for the one valley alone.

We have at least one painting which resolves the matter fairly conclusively for the Boundy Valley. The earliest surveys of the Upper Inman were supervised by Edward Frome of the Royal Engineers, and he left a watercolour entitled ‘Near the sources of the Inman, December 1839’.²² This is the landscape as he and his surveyors found it. The foreground shows a flat park-like landscape of grass with many fairly large trees and some yaccas; the background a steep scarp with similar vegetation, cloven by a deep scrubby gully. ‘Sources of the Inman’ was then the surveyors’ term for the low rolling country of tributary headwaters just upstream from the Boundy Valley.²³ The place depicted is probably part of the Boundy Valley somewhere east of Barn Hill. It was clearly a piece of classic fire-managed country like the Adelaide and Aldinga plains.²⁴ It contained a lot of grass, but not as its only or main feature, and certainly no more than many another place.

5. THE KAURNA PLACE (2): LOOKOUTS and ‘TOOTOOCOWINGA’:

Did the name originally refer to a lookout place, *Tuttongga*? Probably it did.

But our efforts to retrieve and analyse this name are complicated by a place-name ‘Tootoocowinga’ nearby which is almost certainly *Tutto-kauwinga*, ‘lookout place with water’.²⁵

¹⁹ On kangaroo grass and its management by Aboriginal people, see Bill Gammage 2011, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: how Aborigines made Australia*, Allen and Unwin: 32-4, 108, etc. See also my PNS 1/01 *Yarna* (forthcoming 2013).

²⁰ See PNS 1/01 ‘Yarna’.

²¹ Wyatt’s ‘yerna-yerna’, in JD Woods 1879, *Native Tribes of SA*: 178.

²² EC Frome, ‘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.

²³ Uppill n.d. [2004], *The Mayfield Family*, Adelaide, Openbook Publishers: 389.

²⁴ See the early paintings of similar landscapes at Adelaide, the Adelaide Hills and Carrickalinga, with Gammage’s interpretation of them as country managed by fire (Bill Gammage 2011, ‘The Adelaide District in 1836’, in R Foster & P Sendziuk 2011, *Turning Points: chapters in South Australian history*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 13-16).

²⁵ See PNS 5.03/08.

Was 'Tootongha' an independent name? or was it an abridged form of *Tutto-kauwingga*, omitting an optional *kauwe* ('water') and putting the locative *-ngga* on *tutto* instead?

Was *Tutto-kauwingga* a particular water site directly related to 'Tootunga'? Dennis's farm at 'Tootoocowinga' was only about 3 km west of James.

More pointedly, Barn Hill and Sugarloaf Hill are directly above the James property: high sites on a steep glaciated scarp, probably very suitable for *tutto* lookout up and down the whole Inman and Boundy valleys. If either of them was called *Tuttongga*, the settlers, not knowing the meaning, might very easily have appropriated the name for James's farm only one kilometre away.

Against this idea is the fact that these lookouts are well-watered: crucially so to the Kaurna and Ramindjeri (see Part 5 below). If so, it would be odd to leave out the *kauwe* water reference and call the place merely *Tuttongga* while referring to other less-watered sites by the water name *Tutto-kauwingga*.

5. THE KAURNA PLACE (3): MILERUM'S 'BOUNDARY SPRINGS' and 'TOWARANGK':

In the 1930s Milerum attached a Ngarrindjeri name to one of the high sites which rise abruptly above the Boundy valley: "*Towara:ngk*". On Tindale's primary source map²⁶ it was applied first to Town Hill on section 580, but this was crossed out and emended to Barn Hill one kilometre east on section 140.²⁷

Tindale published the view that Towarangk is "*a hill 3 miles north of Inman Post Office*".²⁸ In an unpublished card he credited this piece of data to Milerum.²⁹ However, both of the speculative hills are less than two miles from the Post Office: Town Hill northwest, Barn Hill due north, and both are printed on the base map where Towarangk is added. If taken literally, Milerum's referent is more than a mile further north: a very high area on the James Track around section 232 (Hundred of Myponga), two km past Moon Hill and the Kemmiss Hill Rd intersection. We cannot be sure whether the inaccuracy was in Milerum's distance or Tindale's marking (though the alteration and discrepancies are a sign that Tindale was probably guessing); and so we cannot be sure whether or not Towarangk was a name for Barn Hill.

²⁶ Tindale map Hd of Encounter Bay, AA 338/24/28.

²⁷ Section 140 has now been merged as part of 786.

²⁸ Tindale 1941, 'Native songs Part 2': 243; cp. Tindale, 'Songs by Milerum recorded 9 Nov 1937', SE of SA journal 2: 253.

²⁹ Tindale Ramindjeri card "*Towara:ŋk*" in AA 338/7/1/17.

Another piece of information on this map implies that the area near the top of the valley was important in dealings between major language groups. Beginning immediately under Barn Hill, another note is added more or less along the upper Boundy valley:

boundary here

springs at N end of Inman

never run dry; used by both people at end of dry summer.

On a much later place-name card Tindale elaborated this:

*springs here never run dry and are the ultimate water supply places for Kurna and Ramindjeri people in very dry summers.*³⁰

He was still associating this information with Towarangk (rightly or wrongly), as the card bears that title.

Regardless of Towarangk and its location, this reads like a description of the deep scrubby gullies on the north side of Boundy valley around Barn Hill and Sugarloaf Hill where the note appears. 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";³¹ the water was not in the gullies but in ponds on the flats just below them, accessible to a farmer. 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'. But then so was Robinson's Section 347 high up the southern scarp at the top of the range.³²

The note also seems to imply that for Milerum the springs defined a 'boundary' in this area, and were used by 'both' language groups on either side of it in a shared arrangement. Perhaps the Towarangk hill 'three miles north of the Post Office' was also part of this recognized boundary area.

Milerum was remembering a situation in the 1880s which was different from the situation in 1840 when the name *Tutto-kauwingga* was obtained by the first surveyors. But perhaps Tindale's card paraphrase is roughly right, and 'both people' here meant the people on the west who spoke in

³⁰ Tindale map Hd of 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'.

³¹ 'Statement of the extent of cultivation.... 1840', *BPP: Colonies: Australia*, Vol. 7: 122.

³² See PNS 5.03/08 *Tutto-kauwingga*.

‘Rapid Bay talk’³³ – the remnant southern Kurna mingled with their Ngarrindjeri relatives – and the Ramindjeri on the east.³⁴

6. THE PLACE and THE NAME: CONCLUSION.

It seems clear that the Aboriginal names in the Upper Inman were noted at contact time because the area was important both for its a well-watered campsites. The place was remembered 90 years later also as a boundary, though the nature and history of that boundary are obscure.

Even though the *linguistic* history of the Kurna name appears to favour ‘grass’ a little, the geographical history seems to challenge this theory strongly. Hence the conclusion favours ‘lookout’, and it seems likely that this place and name was closely associated with *Tutto-kauwingga*. But it is not clear how and where the distinction was made between lookouts with and without water attached to their identity. Perhaps they both referred to the same cluster of sites, *Tuttongga* being a simple shorthand for *Tutto-kauwingga*.

Detailed local knowledge, ecological history and archaeology would be needed in order to match known campsites with water sources and lookout points, and to confirm whether the valley’s identity was likely to be defined by its lookouts. The meaning and exact location of ‘Tootongha’ might remain uncertain even if we knew more. See PNS 5.03/08 (Part 6) for more thoughts on this.

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End of Summary

³³ See Tindale 1987: 5b.

³⁴ See my *Feet On the Fleurieu* (forthcoming 2013). On Tindale’s map the interpretation of this note is complicated by another annotation next to it: the end of a thick boundary line which seeks to define the southern border of an alleged language group called the “*Mereldi*”.