

## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 7.01/01

### 'WITAWALANG' / 'WITAWALI' (in centre of Fleurieu' / 'towards Cape Jervis')

(last edited: 13/5/2013)

See also my background document 'Background4\_TjilbrukiCavesHills.pdf'

#### Abstract

'Witawalang' and 'Witawali' are the same name: the former merely adds the Ngarrindjeri locative suffix *-angk* to the latter.

The language and correct spelling are uncertain, and the meaning unknown.

It might *possibly* have been a Kurna name originally, as the morphemes are more rather consistent with known Kurna words than with Ngarrindjeri; but we know it only from Tindale's informants 1934-40, the Ngarrindjeri speakers Clarence Long (Milerum) and Ephraim Tripp. There is no evidence from early settlement times that the Kurna used this name in the Fleurieu ranges or elsewhere. No meanings have ever been suggested for it at this location.

It was somewhere in the highest part of the central ranges of southern Fleurieu Peninsula, i.e. at or near Parawa. The exact location is unknown, but is inseparable from the question of where Tjilbruki came out from his last underground cave journey in Milerum's version of the story.<sup>1</sup>

According to Tindale,

- Milerum said 'Witawalang' was the campsite of the bird-man Kengori, somewhere south of Tjilbruki's cave exit.
- Tripp said 'Witawali' was the same as Milerum's 'Warabari' (which for Milerum was Tjilbruki's cave exit site: see PNS 5.1/06 'Warabari'), but that it was connected with Ngurunduri and not Tjilbruki.
- The version 'Witawali' was applied by Reuben Walker (another Ngarrindjeri speaker of the 1930s) to Sellick's Beach (see PNS 4.4.1/04).

There is probably some confusion in the original records.

Milerum in 1936 said that 'Witawalang' was an unspecified "big hill", the campsite of the ancestral bird-man Kengori. His words about the location, as recorded by Tindale, clearly assert that it was close to the top of

<sup>1</sup> In Karlowan's version, he emerged at Blowhole Creek: see PNS 7.01/06 'Konggaratingga'.

the range and not far from the cave where Tjilbruki emerged from his underground journey, but beyond that are ambiguous: “The south side of highest part of land (where Tjelbruke came out) was Kenguri’s camp”. This might place Witawalang either ‘south of the summit’ or ‘south of where Tjilbruki came out’; and Tjilbruki’s cave exit either vaguely ‘at the highest part’ or south of this.

Other Tindale records from Milerum place Tjilbruki’s exit at or near ‘Warabari / Wataraberinggi’ and Mt Hayfield which, which are a short way *north* of the summit. ‘Warabari’ as mentioned by Milerum in 1934 was a place, or two places, in the high hills ‘towards Cape Jervis’: firstly where Tjelbruke entered a cave and placed his nephew’s body in it; and secondly where he emerged after his underground journey. According to Tindale, Tripp in 1940 said that ‘Witawali’ was the same place as the burial cave ‘Warabari’, but was connected with Ngurunduri rather than Tjilbruki.

On a late map Tindale, mulling over his old records to create a proposed gazetteer of place-names, located ‘Witawalang’ at The Wither Swamp just north of Deep Creek Conservation Park. But this is too far from the range summit to be likely, and unsupported by any known evidence.

In the same period Tindale wrote that Kengori’s camp was at “Tjutjugawi, west of Mt Robinson”. This would also place it north of the watershed, and there is no known source evidence for this or for its connection with the place-name Tyutyugawi (see PNS 5.3/08 Tutto-kauwingga).

*Wita* is ‘peppermint gumtree’ in Kurna; but there is no known evidence that any informant quoted this or any other meaning for ‘Witawali’ or ‘Witawalang’. It is not very likely that peppermint gums ever grew in this area.

For a discussion of the possible derivations of the word, and Tindale’s guesses, see PNS 4.4.1/04 ‘Witawali’ (Sellick’s Beach).

<b>Coordinates</b>	-35.56269° Latitude, 138.35715° Longitude. [as for Parawa Locality Bounded]
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## Language Information

<b>Meaning</b>	‘at <i>Witawali</i> ’
<b>Etymology</b>	<i>wita</i> [uncertain language and meaning] + <i>wali</i> [uncertain language and meaning] + optional <i>-angk</i> ‘at’ (Ngarrindjeri)
<b>Notes</b>	See linguistic discussion in PNS 4.4.1/04 ‘Witawali’ (Sellick’s Beach).
<b>Language Family</b>	Uncertain: probably possibly Thura-Yura (‘Kurna’), or Yaraldic (‘Ngarrindjeri’), or a Kurna-Ngarrindjeri hybrid.
<b>KWP Former Spelling</b>	Witawalangk, Witawali
<b>KWP New Spelling 2010</b>	Witawalangk, Witawali
<b>Phonemic Spelling</b>	/wiTawaLangk/, /wiTawaLi/
<b>Pronunciation</b>	“ <u>Wita-walang</u> ”, “ <u>Wita-wali</u> ”:
<b>Pronunciation tips</b>	Stress the 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable; secondary stress on the 3 <sup>rd</sup> ; ‘i’ as in ‘pin’; soften the ‘t’ towards a ‘d’ (unvoiced); every ‘a’ as in Maori ‘haka’.

## Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	<b>1934</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	[on his last journey south] “[Tjelbruke] Came down almost to Normanville near Second Valley, big cliff there carried his nephew way inland, a big hill there called <b>Warabari</b> / [inserted: <b>Witawali</b> ] (highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis) and got good place there and put in cave. Instead of going back he made it wide enough for him to go on inside until he got right up on top of range at <b>Warabari</b> [inserted: <b>Witawali</b> ]. He came out onto main range there looked down Shut air hole where he came out.... End of story. [circled] Change name <b>Waraberi</b> [sic] to <b>Witawali</b> within story.”
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale SE of SA journal 2, AA 338/1/33/2: 48-50, 52.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Milerum 15/2/1934
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>May 1936</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	“Kenguri lived on a big hill <b>Wite:walan</b> inland right in centre of Fleurieu ½ way betw. Encounter Bay and Yankalilli [sic]. The south side of highest part of land (where Tjelbruke came out) was Kenguri’s camp.... There are two hills, Mt Hayfield, 116 H of Yank = Wataranalan i.e. flying opossum (called Wati:rənəŋgl by Karlowan) hill. The southern one is smaller (S of Mt Hayfield. SW of Section 234 H of Yank. It is the hill of Lepuldawi the ringtail opossum and is called `Lepul`daw <sup>a</sup> lan”.
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale, ‘13 May 1936 Tanganekald Notes from Milerum’, SE of SA 2, AA 338/1/33/2: 229, 231.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Milerum
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>1941</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	“Song of the Swallow, Watiari and the Ring-tailed Mouse, Lepidawi:... `Watare`beringg, Mt Hayfield (whence the ancestral being Tjirbuki emerged)”.
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale 1941, ‘Native Songs of the SE of SA, Part 2’, <i>Transactions and Proceedings of Royal Society of SA</i> 65(2): 242.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Milerum
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	<b>n.d. (after 1968; ?1980s)</b>
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <b>Witawali</b> ” [across Mt Rapid and southwestward].
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale annotated map, County Hindmarsh, AA 338/24/121 (printed 1968).
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Ephraim Tripp 1940

Date	n.d. (?1980s)
Original source text	“ <b>Wita`walang</b> ” [Section 208, <i>The Wither Swamp</i> ].
Reference	new annotation on Tindale annotated map, Hundred of Waitpinga, AA 338/24/94 (photocopy of AA 338/24/93).
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. (?1980s)
Original source text	“ <b>Warabari</b> - Highest part of hill close to Cape Jervis where Tjirbruke found a cave for the body of his nephew. In Ephraim Tripp’s version the place is named <b>Witawali</b> and is attributed to Ngurunduri and not Tjirbruke. Tindale ms SESA J 2:50. <b>Tindale from E.Tripp Sept 1940.</b> ”
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card 633.
Informants credited	Ephraim Tripp 1940
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. (?1980s)
Original source text	“ <b>Wiřawalaŋ</b> Ramindjeri Tr. Encounter Bay S.Aust. Camp at 208 Hundred of Waitpinga on Hundred map as Wither Swamp suggesting an attempt by the recorder to register the interdental ř he heard. Note the similarity of this Ramindjeri name to the Kurna name for Rapid Head, Witawatang, eleven kilometres to the north. Stated to be a food providing swampy area for women of the Parabarindjeri clan. Tindale ms from Karlowan.”
Reference	Tindale Ramindjeri card in AA338/7/1/17.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

### Discussion: TOP OF THE RANGE:

Because of the way Tindale recorded this name, its location is inseparable from the location of a certain cave nearby, and this is where we must begin.

### ‘WITAWALI’, ‘WARABARI’: TJILBRUKI’S CAVES ACCORDING TO MILERUM AND TRIPP:

As Tjilbruki made his epic journey southward from Kingston Park, carrying the smoke-dried body of his beloved nephew, he visited involved a number of caves. Their sites and functions vary in the several versions of the story which have survived for us.

In the version collected by David Unaipon in the 1920s there is only one cave, where the nephew Koolatowie's body was laid to rest somewhere unspecified in Chirr-bookie's "home". It was presumably on Ramindjeri land, as the "Wimmera man" Chirrbookie was Ramindjeri by marriage and long residence.<sup>2</sup>

In Milerum's original account there are at least two caves. In Karlowan's two original accounts there are three and four of them. Not all of them are in the corresponding places.

Tindale's first source was Milerum's original telling of 'The Story of Tjelbruke' on the Coorong "near [the] coast opposite Tilley Swamp on the evening of 14 February 1934".<sup>3</sup> These pages are Tindale's hand-written notes of the story made more or less while it was being told. The incidents relating to 'Warabari' and 'Witawali' are as follows:

Carrying the body,

*He (Tjel.) started from there [Kingston Park] walked.... got round past Sellicks hill 1<sup>st</sup> hill point past there place called Warabari past Myponga round coast (big point, cliff). Made a smoke...<sup>4</sup>*

After a violent revenge upon a camp of people on the cliffs south of Sellick's Beach,

*Left only Tj by himself. Satisfied. Stopped there nephew dry enough. After rolled him up went down towards Adelaide along cliffs carrying body. Stopped places looked around. Made a way in caves. Went right in as not far enough in. Came down almost to Normanville near Second Valley, big cliff there, carried his nephew way inland, a big hill there called Warabari [inserted: Witawali] (highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis) and got good place there and put in cave. Instead of going back he made it wide enough for him to go on inside until he got right up on top of range at Warabari [inserted: Witawali] He came out onto main range there looked down Shut air hole where he came out...<sup>5</sup>*

Here in his original account, Milerum's geography of 'Warabari' appears to be thrice contradictory: (1) it is a cliff headland between Sellicks Hill and Myponga Beach where Tjelbruke made his smoke signals; (2) it is a big hill "way inland... towards Cape Jervis" where Tjelbruke entered the cave; and (3) it is the end of his underground journey "on top of the range" where he "came out onto the main range".

<sup>2</sup> Ramsay Smith 1930, *Myths and Legends*, George Harrap, London: 340, cp. 331.

<sup>3</sup> SE of SA 2, AA338/1/33/2: 44-52.

<sup>4</sup> SE of SA 2: 48. For this other Warabari, see PNS 5.1/06.

<sup>5</sup> SE of SA 2: 49-50.

These difficulties are amplified by two undated, uncredited insertions of “*Witawali*” alongside the original name ‘Warabari’. Who said this, and when?

These are the only *primary* records of ‘Witawali’ and ‘Warabari’ that I can find, with the exception of Reuben Walker’s attribution of the name in another place 30 km away at Sellick’s Beach.<sup>6</sup> According to secondary analysis on one of the Kurna cards, Walker had told Tindale that “*Witawali*” was the name of “*Sellicks Beach near Salt Lake Section 639 H of Willunga*”.<sup>7</sup> This ‘lake’ is The Washpool lagoon near Silver Sands south of Aldinga Beach, now drained and largely extinct. The card is a late record, obviously written in or after 1987 since it also cites Tindale’s published ‘Wanderings’. It cites as its primary source a “*Tindale ms from Reuben Walker*” which is probably the entry on the ‘Summary’ map.

Another Tindale card, probably from the 1980s, catalogues “*Warabari - Highest part of hill close to Cape Jervis where Tjirbruke found a cave for the body of his nephew*”.<sup>8</sup> This is clearly based on page 50 of Milerum’s story in 1934, a reference cited specifically on the card – though it had not said ‘close to’ but only ‘towards’ Cape Jervis. The card continues:

*In Ephraim Tripp’s version the place is named Witawali and is attributed to Ngurunduri and not Tjirbruke,*

citing

*Tindale from E. Tripp Sept 1940.*

Thus it reveals the source of those puzzling insertions. At the end of Milerum’s ‘Tjelbruke’ is a circled note: “*Change name Waraberi [sic] to Witawali within story*”.<sup>9</sup> Apart from the variant spelling ‘-beri’ (to which we will return later), we see that Tindale at some time had decided that Tripp’s version was ‘correct’, but we are not told why. The location is different from Walker’s, and is not applied to the ‘Warabari’ at Myponga on page 48, only to the two in the far south. We can only hope that the insertions and the card reflect Tripp’s actual usage rather than assumptions made by Tindale in the moment of field recording and forever uncheckable. Tindale apparently did not notice, and certainly did not address, the problem of attributing ‘Warabari’ to both the cave entrance and the exit: not even when inserting Tripp’s ‘Witawali’ alongside both. This serves as a warning about his sometimes casual use of his sources.

<sup>6</sup> Tindale annotated map ‘Summary of Kurna area’, AA338/16/8. The annotation “*Witawali*” across the far southwestern part of the Peninsula on one of Tindale’s maps is certainly a late idea of Tindale’s (map County Hindmarsh, AA 338/24/121; this base map was printed in 1968).

<sup>7</sup> Kurna place-name card 651 Witawali.

<sup>8</sup> Kurna place-name card 633 Warabari.

<sup>9</sup> SE of SA 2: 52.

There is no known primary record of what Tripp actually said about Witawali, unless this is the missing name in the only note from Tripp that I have found anywhere in Tindale's journals. Between the last two pieces of Milerum's 'Story', is a "Note from Ephraim Tripp Sept 1940". It says: "Mat:ə`mari was son of Durunderi. He died at \_\_\_ and was spread out to dry in the native manner by Durunderi it was from this event that Jarildekald men learned how to smoke and dry their dead". No more: the name is not written in, and nothing indicates the location of the incident.<sup>10</sup>

Later Tindale obviously changed his mind about 'Witawali' belonging in the hills because it was more correct than 'Warabari', and decided to stick with Walker's Witawali at Sellick's Beach. Perhaps this was simpler. But in doing so, he was ignoring and suppressing not only several of his records of the name, but another series about a name which is clearly related.

### MILERUM'S 'WARABARI', MT HAYFIELD, and TJELBRUKE'S CAVE EXIT:

The connection of Witawali with Warabari also connects it with another place in the ranges.

Several publications by Tindale and one by Berndt<sup>11</sup> assert that the ancestral beings Watiari and Lepuldawi (Lepidawi) are embodied now in two neighbouring hills near the top of the range in the vicinity of Parawa, about 25 km from Cape Jervis. They were thought of as a pair. Watiari's hill was the northern one, Mount Hayfield, a hill 4 km north of the range watershed and separate from it.

In these and related essays, we are told that Milerum believed it was at Mt Hayfield that "the ancestral being *Tjirbuki* emerged" from his underground journey;<sup>12</sup> though analysis of his primary records leads me to think that perhaps Milerum's understanding (as far as we can know it now) was more generally 'in the vicinity of Mt Hayfield and its twin'.<sup>13</sup>

According to Milerum himself in an unusually analytical moment, the Southern Kurna name for Mt Hayfield was 'Watarə`beringgi' or 'Wata`bareinggi', which his own Tangani (Ngarrindjeri) group would call 'Watarə`ngalang'. Milerum thought that the second morpheme of the Southern Kurna forms was a locative suffix equivalent to Ngarrindjeri *-angk*; but it is almost certainly an adaptation of the familiar Kurna descriptive modifier *parri* 'creek' with the locative suffix *-ngga*, so that the name is *Watarə-parringga* 'place of the *Watarə* river'.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> SE of SA 2: 51.

<sup>11</sup> Tindale 1936, *Records of SA Museum* 5(4): 500; 1941, 'Native Songs 2': 243; 1974, *Aboriginal Tribes*: 75; Berndt and Berndt 1993: 234-5.

<sup>12</sup> Tindale 1941: 242; cp. Tindale 1987, 'Wanderings': 9a.

<sup>13</sup> See PNS 5.3/04 *Watarə-parringga* and 5.3/05 'Lepidawi', and 'BACKGROUND4TjilbrukiCavesHills.pdf'.

<sup>14</sup> Tindale annotated map Hd Yankalilla, AA 338/24/101; cp. Tindale 1941, *Trans.Proc.Roy.Soc.SA* 65(2): 243; 'Place Names: Drafts For Text', AA338/10/2: 29, 125. For a full discussion see PNS 5.3/04.

As there are no other known explanations of Milerum's 'Warabari towards Cape Jervis', and the cave exit location applies to it as well as to 'Wataraberingg', it is almost certain that 'Warabari' is a variant of 'Wataraberingg', and that it was originally a Kurna name something like *Wataraparringga*, *Wara-parri* or *Wata-parri*.<sup>15</sup>

### MILERUM'S KENGORI, 'WITAWALANG', and THE CAVE EXIT:

'Witawali' seems to have another connection high in the ranges.

In May 1936 Milerum gave Tindale a story of the bird-man Kenguri or Kengori, in which he made an incidental reference to Tjelbruke's exit site. It is ambiguously recorded thus:

*Kenguri lived on a big hill `Witə: `walaŋ inland right in centre of Fleurieu ½ way betw. Encounter Bay and Yankalilli [sic]. The south side of highest part of land (where Tjelbruke came out) was Kenguri's camp.*<sup>16</sup>

'Witawalang' is merely 'Witawali' with the addition of *-angk*, the most common Ngarrindjeri locative, and means 'at *Witawali*'. Part of this 1936 description – "*big hill... inland right in the centre of Fleurieu... highest part of land*" – exactly matches Milerum's 1934 description of Warabari: "*big hill... highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis... right up on top of range... main range*": which was named by Tripp as 'Witawali'. So the two names are almost certainly simple variants of each other.

'*The highest part*' must mean the very top of the range, the watershed in the Parawa district. It is marked roughly by the Range Road, and the trig station 'South of Mt Hayfield' fits fairly literally: there are no higher spot heights in the area, and its elevation is 375 metres compared with 354 for Mt Hayfield and just over 360 for the highest part of Mt Robinson.<sup>17</sup>

This is the spot which Tindale thought to be the hill of Lepuldawalang, 'southern' hill of the Two.<sup>18</sup> However, did Milerum also think this? It does not fit with his description of the southern hill as 'smaller' than Mt Hayfield. We shall return to this question later.

The new 1936 information about Kenguri's camp is ambiguous.

<sup>15</sup> See PNS 5.3/04 Wataraparringga.

<sup>16</sup> SESA 2, AA 338/1/33/2: 229.

<sup>17</sup> For Mt Hayfield and 'South of Mt Hayfield' see [www.placenames.sa.gov.au/pno/](http://www.placenames.sa.gov.au/pno/). Mt Robinson's elevation is not given there, but can be seen from the contour lines on military survey map 'Torrens Vale' 1:50,000 No. 6526-1 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), and 'Fleurieu Peninsula Cycle Route', 1985, Cycle SA / Dept of Lands 1:100,000 map.

<sup>18</sup> See PNS 5.3/05 Lepuldawi.



Does it distinguish the campsite from the cave site, or does it equate them? Does Milerum mean that they were both at *the same place*, defined as ‘the south side’? or that ‘*Tjelbruke came out*’ at the summit, but the camp was somewhere else on ‘the south side’ of it?

The first interpretation, with the cave *south of* the summit, would directly contradict another assertion recorded from Milerum in 1937, “*Watara`beringi: Mt Hayfield (hill whence Tjilbruke emerged)*”,<sup>19</sup> since Mt Hayfield is a separate hill 4 km *north* of the summit and on the other side of the deep and wide gully of Ingalalla Waterfalls.

The latter interpretation, with the cave *at* the summit, conceivably harmonizes with 1937 if we allow that Milerum at a distance might have used Mt Hayfield as a rough locator for the ‘highest part’, the nearest English name familiar to him. If this is so, then ‘south side’ refers only to Kenguri’s camp; but it remains unclear whether this was south of Mt Hayfield or south of the watershed.

The 1936 text remains irretrievably vague about the location of Kenguri’s camp and Witawalang: what were they south of?

Could it mean that the camp was on the watershed itself at a point south of Mt Hayfield? Here just west of Parawa the watershed is a fairly seamless part of a long range, not a separate eminence, but could perhaps be described as a ‘big hill’. Here is the site of the trig station ‘South of Mt Hayfield’, which Tindale (problematically) identified with Milerum’s ‘Lepidawalang’, the ‘southern’ of two hills in another story unrelated to either Tjilbruki or Ngurunduri.<sup>20</sup>

Was it south of the watershed? Immediately south of this stretch no separate hill is obvious enough to have an English name on the map; though no doubt a few hills could be found in the relevant area between Tunkalilla Road and Tunk Head Road which might pass for Kenguri’s. But they would not be in a visible relationship with Mt Hayfield.

The oldest Witawalang information seems to say that Tjilbruki ‘*came out*’ at or near the site of Kenguri’s camp. Tindale much later re-wrote this part of the story as though the camp was located at ‘*Tjutjugawi (west of Mt Robinson)*’, so that Tjilbruki had to travel from his cave before reaching it.<sup>21</sup> Since the information about both Tyutyugawi and Mt Robinson all came from Karlowan, it is doubtful that Tindale had Milerum’s word in “*supplementary discussions*” for any of this; probably

<sup>19</sup> Noted incidentally during the sessions about the ‘Song of Watiari the Swallow’: ‘Songs by Milerum recorded 9 Nov 1937’, SESA2: 252. All other references to Tjilbruki’s cave exit at Mt Hayfield seem to be secondary.

<sup>20</sup> See PNS 5.3/05 ‘Lepuldawi’.

<sup>21</sup> Tindale 1987: 9b; and see PNS 5.3./8.

these were deductions of his own, not based on any primary information that I have seen. Mt Robinson is another story.<sup>22</sup>

The questions are probably now unanswerable, and Witawalang therefore cannot be precisely located.

### TRIPP, MILERUM, and THE SITES – a conclusion:

Ephraim Tripp's view of Witawali<sup>23</sup> was based on a different story entirely from Milerum's Witawalang, even if they were the same place.

As we saw earlier, there is very little that we can gather from Tripp about his Witawali. Tindale asserts that Tripp believed it to be 'the same' as Milerum's Warabari, or in the same location, and that he agreed it was a mythically significant cave somewhere at the '*highest part of hills close to Cape Jervis*'. Because Milerum in 1934 had actually said 'towards' the Cape rather than 'close to' it, one has to suspect that here Tindale is also merging what Tripp said with his own interpreting memory of Milerum's other 1934 cave, the coastal 'Janarwing' which really was close to the Cape (6 km).<sup>24</sup>

On a smaller-scale map printed in 1968, Tindale added 'Witawali' across the area southwest of Rapid Bay, no doubt in recognition of Tripp's contribution.

But Tripp's 'Witawali' cave was "*attributed to Ngurunduri and not Tjirbruke*". We do not know any details about an association of Ngurunduri with the high central range, nor with a cave. Tripp's titbit is either unique or garbled by Tindale.

It is conceivable that Tripp actually meant Blowhole Beach (on the south coast only 7 km from the Cape), where Ngurunduri summoned up the sea to drown his wives and where Karlowan's Tjirbuki emerged from his cave journey. But this is incompatible with Milerum's Warabari places, which indicate a place further away, 'towards' the Cape and at the 'top of the range'; and Witawalang too was at 'highest part of land'.<sup>25</sup> Did Tripp believe there was a 'Witawali' at Blowhole Beach, or was he only referring to the unnamed cave there? Or did Tindale have the matter confused from the start? and perhaps realized it? – for in his publications he never mentioned either 'Witawalang' or this southern 'Witawali'.

<sup>22</sup> See PNS 5.3/08 Tutto-kauwingga and 5.3/05 'Lepuldawi'.

<sup>23</sup> SE of SA 2: 50; Kaurna place-name card 633 'Warabari'; map County Hindmarsh, AA 338/24/121.

<sup>24</sup> See PNS 5.4.2/01 'Yanawing'.

<sup>25</sup> The hills at Blowhole Beach, apart from being coastal, are 100 metres lower than the top of the range.

On balance, Milerum and Tripp together may perhaps constitute evidence for a single site named *Witawali* or *Witawalang*, close enough to a Dreaming cave site (on top of the range) to be used in locating it roughly from a short distance south. In the same way, 'Warabari' and 'Watara-beringgi' were also used by Milerum to locate it roughly from a short distance north. Hence (for this purpose only) the two names might be regarded as equivalent within Milerum's narrative. But we must remember that this equivalence might be Tindale's opinion rather than Tripp's, as we have no primary record of the conversation. We do not know why nobody gave the name of the range cave site itself: perhaps it had been forgotten, or perhaps it was known but secret. Its precise location was unclear to Tindale then, and remains unclear now.

### WHERE WAS WITAWALANG? - inconclusive conclusions:

Can we pinpoint any more exactly where this 'south side' name belonged?

In his secondary records Tindale did attach 'Witawalang' to one specific place: The Wither Swamp, on a tributary of Deep Creek just northwest of the Conservation Park.

There are only two sources for this attribution: his second Hundred of Waitpinga map, and one of his Ramindjeri cards.<sup>26</sup> Both are late records. The map note was added onto a *photocopy* of his first Waitpinga map and so cannot be dated earlier than the mid-1960s when photocopying first became available. The card cites the map. It tells us that this place was a "*camp... suggesting an attempt by the recorder to register the interdental ĩ he heard... stated to be a food providing swampy area for women of the Parabarindjeri clan*"; and cites in general, "*Tindale ms from Karlowan*".

Some of this appears to be very definite; but there are problems. 'Witawalang' was not added onto Tindale's original copy of the Waitpinga map, even though this included notes recorded directly from Karlowan as well as Milerum and Walker. No primary record of Karlowan that I have found mentions the name, but we do know it was given by Milerum in 1936. On the card, Karlowan was probably the source only of the note about the Parabarindjeri use of the Wither Swamp. 'Witawalang' was probably attached to the data by Tindale during his preparations and ecological, cultural and linguistic speculations for the proposed place-names gazetteer.

But it stretches the meaning of his journal record of Witawalang from Milerum. The Wither Swamp is (as the crow flies) 13 km from the trig station on the Parawa watershed, and 15 from Mt Hayfield: too far to be considered a rough locator for either of them. However, it is only 10 km from the Cape. Probably once again he was confusing 'towards' the Cape with 'close to' it.

<sup>26</sup> New annotation on map Hundred of Waitpinga, AA 338/24/94 (photocopy of AA 338/24/93); Ramindjeri card 'Witawalang' in box AA338/7/1/17.

Despite this late speculation by Tindale, the location of Witawalang remains unclear, and we cannot be sure whether or not Milerum meant by 'south' merely 'south of the other hill', nor whether he was implying that 'Witawalang' was his name for this possum place.

### LINGUISTIC MATTERS: PEPPERMINT GUMS 'AT WITAWALI'?

The morphemes look very compatible with Kurna language, in which *wita* is a known word. Is 'Witawalang' a Kurna name, located on the extreme edge of Kurna territory and preserved by Ngarrindjeri informants, but also in a form 'Witawali' which is identical with the name of a place on Sellick's Beach well within Kurna territory?<sup>27</sup>

With these particular morphemes, *Witawal-angk* could be a Ngarrindjeri form of a hypothetical Kurna *Witawali-ngga*, both meaning 'at *Witawali*'.

There are a few possible Kurna words *wali*, but no way of knowing which is being referred to here (if any). It could be *wodli* (= *warli*) 'house'; or the suffix *-wadli* 'disliking'. Equally, it could be a Ngarrindjeri morpheme, though not any with a clear meaning that is known today (the suffixes *wal* and *wald*).

There is no *wita* known in the extant Ngarrindjeri vocabulary. Tindale speculated that the name might have something to do with 'Wither Swamp', 'th' being an English version of an interdental 't'; adding, "Note the similarity of this Ramindjeri name to the Kurna name for Rapid Head, *Witawatang*, eleven kilometres to the north" – another name in which he had recorded (inconsistently) an alleged interdental 't'.<sup>28</sup> This leads nowhere, as the 't' in Kurna *wita* is an ordinary alveolar as in English 'wit' (though softened towards a 'd'),<sup>29</sup> and there are no other known vocabulary options.

In Kurna language *wita* means 'peppermint gum tree', but the Ngarrindjeri-speaking informants would not have known that. Milerum seems not to have known even *parri* 'river'.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See PNS 4.4.1/4 'Witawali' (Sellicks Beach).

<sup>28</sup> See 'Linguistic matters' in PNS 5.4.1/8 'Witawattingga'.

<sup>29</sup> "Both Nukunu and Adnyamathanha have *wita* as an alveolar *t* (as in English 'wit'). There is no evidence for an interdental. [In Kurna] *Wita* 'peppermint gum' has an ordinary alveolar *t*" (Rob Amery p.c. 5/7/10, 20/9/10).

<sup>30</sup> For Milerum's Southern Kurna place-name 'Watara-beringgi' see PNS 5.3/4 Watara-parringga.

This high range country has an annual rainfall of about 32 inches. It is doubtful that it could ever have supported peppermint gums, which tolerate only up to 25 inches (or 22 inches, depending on which species of 'peppermint').<sup>31</sup>

So we have to say that both the language of 'Witawalang' and its meaning (if any) are also uncertain at best, as well as its location.

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### References to background documents

For complete data and background analysis of related place-names, see the background document 'BACKGROUND4\_TjilbrukiCavesHills.pdf'.

For data on *wita* and Peppermint gum species, see 'BACKGROUND1\_Trees.pdf'.

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*End of Summary*

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<sup>31</sup> Parawa statistics, Federal Bureau of Meteorology, [www.bom.gov.au/climate/averages/tables/ca\\_sa\\_names.shtml](http://www.bom.gov.au/climate/averages/tables/ca_sa_names.shtml); and see discussion and File on Peppermint gums in PNS 2/21 Wita-wattingga. However, Steve Kingdon, Director of Botanic Gardens Records, says that it is not completely impossible that *Euc. porosa* (one of the species known as 'Peppermint gum') might find a survivable pocket in this country (p.c. 6/5/11). See 'BACKGROUND1\_Trees.pdf'.