

Placenames Australia

Newsletter of the Australian National Placenames Survey

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County names in Victoria

*Australia's States and Territories use various cadastral divisions as a basis for the formal identification and location of pieces of land. Victoria is typical in that its major division is that of **counties**, which are further divided into **parishes**. Karen Phillips has been researching the history and naming of Victoria's counties for us.*

The history of Victoria's counties goes back to the early days of settlement.

In April 1837, Richard Bourke, Governor of NSW, visited the Port Phillip district. A communique sent back to Sydney stated that the County of Bourke (which included Melbourne) was laid out under His Excellency's direction.¹ I cannot trace a proclamation date but, by July 1838, a Court of Petty Sessions was announced to be 'holden at Melbourne in the County of Bourke, near Port Phillip'.²

The County of Grant (the Geelong area) was mentioned in the *NSW Government Gazette*³ on 6th November 1838 and the County of Normanby (around Portland) on 4th November 1840. Bourke, Grant and Normanby were referred to as 'counties or reputed counties' on 28th February 1843, and as 'new counties' on 28th June 1845.

Governor Fitz Roy proclaimed 13 new counties of Port Phillip on 29th December 1848. The proclamation was published in a supplement to the *NSW Government Gazette*³ the following day and in the Port Phillip Gazette on 10th January

1849. Grant and Normanby were included in the list, so they may be taken as confirmed at this date. The counties (in the order of the proclamation, roughly from west to east) were Follett, Dundas, Normanby, Villiers, Ripon, Hampden, Heytesbury, Polwarth, Grenville, Grant, Talbot, Dalhousie, Anglesey, Evelyn and Mornington. In addition, seven proposed counties in Gippsland (Douro, Bass, Haddington, Bruce, Abinger, Combermere and Howe) were listed in the newspaper report. These 'ghost counties' appeared on a map dated 1852 but were apparently never proclaimed.⁴

Another county, Rodney, was first mentioned in 1853 and was in effect by 1856, but we have no proclamation date. The County of Bendigo was proclaimed in 1869, the County of Gladstone in 1870 and a further 19 counties with Aboriginal names in 1871. Among these were the Gippsland counties, which were re-surveyed (leaving five instead of seven) and re-named. The Commissioner of Lands, Mr Macpherson, and the Surveyor-General, chose the names, 'naming the counties which hitherto have been nameless'.⁵



Governor Richard Bourke (unknown artist; image from Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW)

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From the Editor



Thank you to all our readers who hit the *Subscribe* button to keep receiving the regular PA download. We trust the transition from the printed version has not been too traumatic for the fans of traditional paper!

The silver lining in this particular cloud is a new editorial freedom: we're not so constrained in size, and

this issue is of 14 pages rather than our usual twelve. Even with the extra space, though, we've had to put back until next time Jan Tent's promised article on the **words that tell people where we're from**—adjectives (I'm *Australian*) and nouns (I'm an *Australian*)—and how they don't work the same for everybody.

David Blair
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In our next issue...

- In our March 2019 issue, Trevor Lipscombe writes about James Cook's naming of **Broken Bay**. Was it really Narabeen Lagoon that he gave the name to?
- We're not finished with **Canowindra** yet—Jeremy Steele has a surprising suggestion about its pronunciation.
- And as well as completing his three-part series on Indigenous toponymy, Jan Tent asks you what your *demonym* is—that is, what's the word that tells people where you're from?

Notes and queries

Collaroy

Way back in September 2007, our late colleague Joyce Miles suggested a possible origin for the Sydney beach-side suburb of **Collaroy**. Joyce noted that E.W. Hamilton, who ran the 'Collaroy' sheep grazing property from 1840, had married Ann, the daughter of John Thacker. Was John Thacker, she wondered, connected with Thacker & Co, the owners of *S.S. Collaroy*? If so, perhaps the name of his daughter's famous sheep station had been given to one of the company's cargo ships bound for NSW.

More than a decade later, Richard Michell's detective work has confirmed that Joyce's guess was a good one. He's discovered in the NSW State Library the bill of sale for the *Collaroy*, which shows that one of the two original owners when the ship was named was indeed John Thacker. Nice work, Richard!

Kaurna placenames

Chester Schultz (Adelaide) appreciated Jan Tent's September 2018 article on Indigenous Toponymy, and

notes that he knows of several more Kaurna exceptions to the rule that says Indigenous placenames do not generally have topographic generics—but indeed these make up only a small minority of the 150 or so surviving Kaurna names.

Chester confirms that whereas we mean by *Onkparinga* the whole length of the river, Nganki-pari was originally a particular site on that river. He has several better examples than the ones that Jan used, and readers who would like to follow this up can do so at: www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp/placenames/research-publ/

Street names

The Heathmont History Group (see page 5) is interested to know if there are extant lists of street names for other Australian localities. We know that **Sutherland Shire** (NSW) has such a list on its website, and that **Hornsby** intends to restore its list to the web shortly; there are also non-comprehensive lists available at geographic.org. Do our readers know of others?

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Below is an alphabetical list of the 37 Victorian counties, with their dates of proclamation and name origins.

Anglesey, 1848. The 1st Marquess of Anglesey was a hero of the Battle of Waterloo and Second in Command to the Duke of Wellington. The family seat is on the island of Anglesey, off the coast of Wales.⁶

Benambra, 1871. Aboriginal word meaning 'mountain'.⁵

Bendigo, 1869. From the city of Bendigo. The locality 'was named by Tom Myers, Heap and Grice's overseer, in 1841. Tom himself was a bit of a dab with his fists, and a great admirer of the boxer Bendigo, hence the name.' The bare-knuckle boxer Bendigo was an Englishman, William Thomson, whose nickname derived from the Biblical name 'Abednego'.⁷

Bogong, 1871. From Ngarigu *bugung*, brown moth.⁸ 'Bogong ... is a mountainous country, and is resorted to by the natives for the purpose of procuring a large white headed grub, on which they feed, the native name for which is Bogong'.⁵

Borong, 1871. Aboriginal word meaning 'a broad large lagoon'.⁵

Bourke, in effect by 1838. Sir Richard Bourke was Governor of NSW from 1831 to 1837.

Buln Buln, 1871. A Woiwurrung word meaning 'lyrebird'.⁸

Croajingolong, 1871. From Ganai *galung* 'belonging to' and *kraua* 'east', referring to the name of the clans occupying the territory bounded by the Snowy and Tambo Rivers and the Tasman Sea.⁸

Dalhousie, 1848. 1st Marquess Dalhousie, Scottish statesman, Governor-General of India 1848-1856.

Dargo, 1871. Named from the Dargo River, in turn from a Ganai word 'to have patience, to wait'.⁸

Delatite, 1871. A Daungwurrung personal name, applied to one of the tributaries of the River Goulburn.⁸

Dundas, 1848. Sir David Dundas became Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in 1809.

Evelyn, 1848. John Evelyn (1620-1706) was a famous diarist and horticultural pioneer. The head of the family

in 1848 was William John Evelyn, MP for Surrey West 1849-1857 and Deptford 1885-1888. He had not yet been elected to parliament at that time, but at least seven family members had served as MPs.

Follett, 1848. Sir William Webb Follett (1796-1845), MP for Exeter, twice served as British Solicitor-General and was appointed Attorney-General in 1844.

Gladstone, 1870. William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) served four terms as British Prime Minister.

Grant, 1848, in effect by 1839. Lieutenant James Grant (1772-1833) was a naval officer. Commanding the 'Lady Nelson' in 1800, he was the first to traverse Bass Strait from west to east.⁹

Grenville, 1848. George Grenville (1712-1770) was British Prime Minister from 1763 to 1765. William Wyndham Grenville (1759-1834), 1st Baron Grenville, was Prime Minister from 1806 to 1807.

Gunbower, 1871. Barababaraba name, thought to derive from *gambowra* meaning 'twisting'.⁸ Gunbower Creek is an anabranch of the Murray. The 'Gunbower' pastoral station was occupied from about 1845.

Hampden, 1848. The title of Viscount Hampden has been created twice. The county was presumably named after the 1st Viscount Hampden (1706-1783), who was ambassador to the United Provinces.

Heytesbury, 1848. The first Baron Heytesbury, Sir William à Court (1779-1860), was a politician and diplomat. He served as Ambassador to Russia and was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1844-1846. The Australian Holmes à Court family is a branch of this aristocratic family.

Kara Kara, 1871. A Djadjawurrung word for 'gold'.⁸ The county is in the land of the Djadjawurrung and Barengi Gadjin people. The Shire of Kara Kara existed from 1861 till 1994.

Karkarooc, 1871. A Wergaia word of uncertain meaning,⁸ possibly 'sand'.⁵

Lowan, 1871. A western Kulin word for the mallee fowl.⁸

Millewa, 1871. From the western Kulin name for the Murray River.⁸

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Moira, 1871. From the Yortayorta word meaning 'a lake' or 'sea';⁸ alternatively, 'a reedy swamp'.⁵

Mornington, 1848. Named after Lord Mornington. The 1st Earl of Mornington was the father of the Duke of Wellington. The Lord Mornington of 1848 was the 4th Earl, a man universally detested.

Normanby, 1848, in effect by 1840. The 1st Marquess of Normanby (1797-1863) served as Governor of Jamaica, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Home Secretary and British Ambassador to France. He was the author of several novels.

Polwarth, 1848. The 7th Lord Polwarth (1800-1867) was MP for Roxburghshire between 1826 and 1832. He held the offices of Lord Lieutenant, Sheriff Principal of Selkirk and Lord in Waiting.

Ripon, 1848. The 1st Earl of Ripon (1782-1859) was Prime Minister of Britain from 1827 to 1828.

Rodney, in effect by 1856. Named for one of the Barons Rodney of Rodney Stoke, Somerset.

Talbot, 1848. The Talbots were Earls of Shrewsbury. Irish-born William Talbot (c.1784-1845) set up the 'Malahide' pastoral holding in the Fingal Valley, Van Diemen's Land.¹⁰

Tambo, 1871. From the Ganai word for Mount Tambo, meaning 'perch (fish)'.⁸



Mt Tambo

(photo: Melburnian - Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=23375382>)

Tanjil, 1871. From a Ganai word meaning 'snow, frost', applied to Mount Tanjil. There is also evidence that *tanjil* was a Woiwurring name for the La Trobe River.⁸

Tatchera, 1871. Aboriginal word meaning 'a large plain'.⁵

Villiers, 1848. An aristocratic family with numerous titles. George Child Villiers, 6th Earl of Jersey, was a British MP who held various seats between 1830 and 1852.

Weeah, 1871. 'The scrub from which natives extract water in the periods of the severest drought.'⁵

Wonnangatta, 1871. Aboriginal name, probably Ganai,⁸ for the headwaters of the Mitchell River.

The difference between the county names chosen in the colonial period, while Port Phillip was still part of NSW, and those following Separation in 1851, is significant. Almost all of the early counties were named for British statesmen and 'belted earls'.¹¹ The later names reflect the environment, the rivers, Aboriginal heritage, gold, and a regional city built on gold: evidence for an emerging Victorian identity.

Karen Phillips

Endnotes

¹ *The Sydney Monitor*, 10th April 1837. The report also mentions 'counties of William and Melbourne'. Nothing further is heard of these as county names but the towns of Williamstown and Melbourne were named at this time. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/32155566>

² *The Colonist*, 21st July 1838, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31721378>

³ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/230151574/14255790>

⁴ Cadastral Divisions of Victoria, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cadastral_divisions_of_Victoria

⁵ 'Names of Counties', *Bendigo Advertiser* 31st January 1871, reprinted from *The Age*. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/87967164>

⁶ Information on aristocratic families comes from 'The Peerage', <http://www.thepeerage.com/> and from Wikipedia.

⁷ *Australian Town & Country Journal*, 21st September 1878, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/70595069>; *Bendigo Advertiser*, 12th October 2017, <https://www.bendigoadvertiser.com.au/story/4982945/the-origin-of-the-name-bendigo/>

⁸ Ian D. Clark and Toby Heydon, *Dictionary of Aboriginal placenames of Victoria*. Melbourne: VACL, 2002.

⁹ *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/grant-james-2117>

¹⁰ 'Companion to Tasmanian History', http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/T/Talbot%20family.htm

¹¹ A.S. Kenyon, 'Origin of Victorian Place Names', *The Argus*, 22nd January 1938.



Heathmont is a suburb of Melbourne, about 25km to the east of that fine city, and the Heathmont History Group is compiling a booklet on the suburb's history. The convenor, Gerry Robinson, has sent us this list of Heathmont streets, and wonders whether readers know of similar lists so that a comparison can be made. Anyone? The Editor would be delighted to pass on the news to Gerry.

Heathmont street names

Odonymy, the study of street names, is a subdiscipline of toponymy. As with toponyms, almost all odonyms are of two parts: the **specific** and the **generic**, e.g. *Adrian Court*, *Allens Road*, *Alvena Crescent*.

Currently there are 141 streets in Heathmont and only three of them do not follow this pattern—they use the definite article 'The' as an alternative to the specific element: *The Boulevard*, *The Greenway*, *The Outlook*. Three others vary in that they have a double-specific, to give a three-word structure—*Great Ryrie Street*, *Mountain View Road* and *Bungalook Road West*.

Specific elements

Our specifics can be put into a number of categories (though we should note that some of these are, to date, unproven assumptions!):

Personal given names 28 (19%)

Adrian, Anne, Barbara, Beverley, Bronaldi, Christine, Craig, Danielle, Edith, Edna, Frances, Harriet, Janet, Jarma, Joan, Joel, Karen, Kenbry, Leoni, Louis, Lucinda, Martin, Myrtle, Neil, Philip, Valerie, Wayne, Wendy.

Personal surnames 36 (26%)

Allens, Armstrong, Aumann, Balfour, Barnic, Barrow, Beard, Bennett, Campbell, Canterbury, Carbery, Carruthers, Coleman, Cormack, Cumming, Cuthbert, Dawsons, Dickasons, Lee, Madigan, Marden, Markhill,, Miller, Muller, Pett, Pump, Ross, Sharps, Sheridan, Simpsons, Scott, Swain, Vale, Wallis, Washusen, Westmore.

Aboriginal origins 8 (6%)

Alkira, Aringa, Atunga, Bungalook, Dirkala, Leawarra, Wollahra, Yallamba.

Named after a place (e.g. town in England) 11 (8%)

Bangor, Bass, Coven, Eton, Ilford, Reumah, Salisbury, Simla, Wainui, Yarang, York.

Named after a natural feature 19 (13%)

Banksia, Bellbird, Daisy, Eden, Erica, Heath, Heathmont, Mont, Mountain View, Orchard, Orchid, Park, Pleasant, Possum, Sunset, Treetop, View, Waters, Woodlands.

Named after an historical event or person 9 (6%)

Blenheim, Bligh, Headline, Marlborough, Milton, Portsmouth, Royal, Tudor, Waterloo.

Named after china pottery 3 (2%)

Devon, Doulton, Dresden.

Apart from the three streets with no specific, a further 24 (17%) are not yet known by us and not easily guessable!

Some very common specifics which happen not to be represented in present-day Heathmont are *Church*, *High*, *Hill*, *Main* and *Station* (though an earlier *Station Street* was renamed *Wainui Avenue*).

Generic elements

At present our 141 streets have 14 different generics:

Court (48, 34%); Street (28, 20%); Road (20); Avenue (16); Close (6); Crescent (6); Drive (6); Place (6); Grove (20); Glen (1); Lane (1).

And, as we noted earlier, a further three streets have an unusual generic (*Boulevard*, *Greenway*, *Outlook*) with a preceding 'The' as a substitute for the specific element.

Among the commonly-used generics that are not currently represented in Heathmont are *Alley*, *Freeway*, *Motorway*, *Parade*, *Row*, *Terrace*, *Tollway*, *Trail*, *Walk* and *Way*.

Of course none of the above information tells who named them, and when—and even why!

Gerry Robinson

Heathmont History Group

All over the compass ~ ~

In our June 2018 issue *Jan Tent* asked some awkward questions about placenames that incorporate cardinal compass points. *Jenny Griffiths* and *Col Kohlhagen* have given us some answers, from their knowledge of NSW public schools. And Jan reveals the results of his research—though somewhat tentatively!

Wagga Wagga schools break the mould

Wagga Wagga South was the first ‘suburban’ school built in Wagga Wagga. It was also the last public school built in New South Wales with a belltower.

The town itself was named after one of the area’s original squatting runs taken up by William Best in 1832. It was known as ‘Wogo Wogo’ which was derived from the Wiradjuri language’s word for crows, *wa-gah wa-gah* (Irvin 1953). By the time the Colonial Government established a Court of Petty Sessions there on 30 April, 1847, the name had morphed into *Wagga Wagga* on official documents (Swan 1970: 34).

From the beginning there seemed to be confusion about the correct name for this school. Over and above some government department variations, there has been the unique problem of whether the town is called *Wagga* or *Wagga Wagga*. It is another example of an Australian propensity to shorten names and to adopt the rule that only locals are permitted to call their home town *Wagga*, and only then if they were born there!

The town’s oldest government school, Wagga Wagga, opened in 1861, followed by Wagga Wagga North in 1880 (NSW Department of School Education 1993: 144), but that school was built to service a discrete community which had developed north of the original settlement at Wagga Wagga, and from which it was geographically separated by the Murrumbidgee River. The land parish north of the river was North Wagga Wagga in the County of Clarendon, while the settlement south of the river was in the land parish of South Wagga Wagga in the County of Wynyard.

The township of Wagga Wagga gradually spread south from the original village plan as more land was subdivided. The newer parts of the town became known as *Newtown*. When the Wagga Wagga South Public School opened its doors in January 1892, the *Wagga Wagga Advertiser* (19 January) referred to it as ‘the new public school...at Newtown.’ It was, however, officially named *Wagga Wagga South Public School*. This was not wholly surprising; because there was an existing school

already known as ‘Newtown’ (NSW Department of School Education 1993: 113) there would have been some expectation that this new school would need to be named after the land parish in which it opened. When the site for the new school was gazetted on 11 March 1890, the site chosen was in the Parish of South Wagga Wagga.

This had also been the process applied to another district school, Pearson Public School, which was a one-teacher school not far from Wagga Wagga. This school was established to service children from families that took up closer settlement blocks on Sandy Creek Station. It was originally intended to call this school *Sandy Creek*, after the station where it was located. However, as this name was already taken, the name of the land parish incorporating Sandy Creek Station, *Pearson*, was chosen (as confirmed by the Pearson Public School file at the NSW State Archives).

The sketch plan numbered 131 for Wagga Wagga South Public School was drawn up by the Education Department’s Architect and dated 14 February 1890. It was titled *Proposed School Buildings for Wagga Wagga South* (Lewis 1992: 2). However, another exterior representation of the school’s north elevation was titled *South Wagga Public School Existing Buildings*. This drawing was produced sometime after 1905 when a new syllabus required schools to replace the stepped floors and long desks previously in vogue (Lewis 1992: 11).

In a promotional publication produced circa 1914, the locals still referred to this school as ‘Newtown State School’ (Robertson 1914). Confusion about its correct name was still evident even later in a substantial commemorative souvenir document: there appeared among the list of educational facilities and schools available in the town, the name ‘South Wagga’ (*Back to Wagga Souvenir* 1927: 178).

In 1945 the school principal, or headmaster as they were known in those times, complained to the Department of Education that mail and deliveries of school supplies were often being misdirected. He claimed this was a result of clerical errors in reading ‘Wagga Wagga South’ as ‘Wagga

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Wagga', and the goods being sent to Wagga Wagga Public School or Wagga Wagga North Public School. Confusion about the name must have been widespread because consent was given by the Department of Education to change the name to *South Wagga Public School*.

Although this change was approved and adopted by the Lands Department it was never gazetted nor was it adopted by all sections of government departments (Lewis 1992: iv). So for the next forty-plus years there existed three inter-changeable names:

- Wagga Wagga South Public School
- South Wagga Wagga Public School
- South Wagga Public School, the locally preferred and commonly used variant.

The background to this situation surfaced in the lead up to the School's Centenary Celebrations, planned for April 1992, when the history of the school was being thoroughly researched. The organising committee approached the Education Department with a view to having the name-change officially documented and formally gazetted. And as the *Wagga Wagga Advertiser* reported on 8th April, the Riverina Regional Director successfully interceded on the school's behalf and the request was granted just in time for the Centenary Celebrations.



The use of the preferred official name was finally adopted, and as the logo for the School's 125th Anniversary Celebrations shows, it is now known fondly and officially as South Wagga Public School

Col Kohlhagen

Principal

Wagga Wagga South Public School 1985-1992

and

South Wagga Public School 1993-2002

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It's all about Department policy

In answer to Jan Tent's question regarding the postmodifying cardinal compass point (CCP) of school names, I suggest it was because the NSW Department of Education policy is that

- 'whenever possible the school should adopt the name of the suburb, town or locality in which it is situated;' [and]
- 'the Department will take account of the requirements of the Geographical Names Act 1966, and, except under special circumstances, will not submit for the Minister's approval names of schools which:
 - a. include road, street, avenue, crescent, drive, etc.
 - b. include a compass point, although this would not prohibit names such as *Northern Rivers*.'

If there is a CCP then it makes sense to postmodify it so that the town name predominates, which helps in any alphabetical listing of schools.

Also of interest is that North Richmond in New South Wales is actually to the *west* of Richmond. The naming apparently is because the town (originally named *Enfield*) was north of Richmond Hill. This was a hill named by Governor Phillip while on his journey up the Hawkesbury River, and located on the property 'Belmont', now the St John of God Richmond Hospital. North Richmond has a school—*Richmond North* Public School.

Jenny Griffiths

Endnote

¹ https://education.nsw.gov.au/policy-library/associated-documents/Naming_School_Procedure20130521.pdf

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Jan Tent says: In part 1 of my article on placenames with cardinal compass points (CCPs), I left you to ponder a number of questions. I echo them below and append my answers.

Question 1: Why are some CCP toponyms solid compounds (e.g. *Westbrook*) whilst others are open complex (e.g. *West Ryde*)?

Answer: When you consult the gazetteers of Australia, New Zealand, the UK, and Canada it appears that with the majority of solid (form) compound toponyms, the second element is generally a common noun, often an archaic one, e.g. *leigh*, *dale*, *mead*, *bridge*, *port*, *gate*, *lake* and *grove* as in *Westleigh*, *Westdale*, *Northmead*, *Northbridge*, *Southport*, *Southgate*, *Eastlakes* and *Eastgrove*. In each of these cases, the fusion of the CCP and common noun make it a proper name. Of course, not all CCP toponyms with a common noun as second element need have a solid compound form, as *East Hills*, *East Point*, *North Beach*, *North Bay*, *South Reef*, *South Creek*, *West Peak* and *West Plains* illustrate. However, in the latter cases, the common noun is also regarded as a geographic feature type, and hence it probably remains separated from the CCP.

In contrast, I have not been able to find any examples of the compounding of a CCP and a proper name, as in **Northsydney*, **Westgosford*, **Southgrifton* or **Eastkillara*. Common nouns do not stand on their own as toponyms. They usually function as generics, so there are no places called **Leigh*, **Dale*, **Mead*, **Bridge*, **Port*, **Gate*, **Lake* or **Grove*; they need to be attached to another common noun, adjective, CCP or proper name (or they occasionally appear preceded by the definite article: *The Rock*). However, you do find toponyms consisting of a singular proper name: *Sydney*, *Gosford*, *Grafton*, *Killara*. The compounding or non-compounding of a CCP and a common noun is often one of spelling style; however, the compounding of a CCP and a proper name is not.

Question 2: Are there any types of toponyms that tend to have a premodifying CCP structure (e.g. *South Lismore*) that contrast with a postmodifying CCP structure (e.g. *Camden South*)? Moreover, what, if anything, does a postmodifying CCP signify?

Answer: Using the ANPS database, I conducted the following analysis. Following the Blair and Tent (2015) schema, I classified the CCP toponyms as either non-

natural (Civic and Constructed features) or natural features (Marine, Inland Water, Relief, and Vegetation & Desert features). Tables 1 and 2 summarise the results.

CCP position	Non-natural features	Natural features
North_	993 (64.6%)	544 (35.4%)
_North	523 (88.3%)	69 (11.7%)
South_	920 (64.7%)	503 (35.3%)
_South	526 (89.9%)	59 (10.1%)
East_	616 (71.7%)	204 (28.3%)
_East	413 (91.0%)	41 (9.0%)
West_	575 (68.9%)	260 (31.1%)
_West	456 (93.4%)	32 (6.6%)

Table 1: CCP position for each compass point

CCP position	Total number	Non-natural features	Natural features
CCP_	4615	993 (64.6%)	544 (35.4%)
_CCP	2119	523 (88.3%)	69 (11.7%)

Table 2: Compass points combined

The figures are remarkably uniform across the respective premodified and postmodified CCP toponyms (Table 1). Table 2 shows that the CCP_ toponyms are more than double the _CCP toponyms, and that more than two-thirds of CCP_ toponyms are non-natural features, while 9 out of 10 _CCP toponyms are non-natural. This means that civic features (i.e. local government areas, districts, municipalities, shires, regions, counties, localities, parishes, urban areas, and the like) and constructed features (buildings, schools, railway stations, homesteads, cemeteries, monuments, trigs, and the like) are almost four times more likely to have a CCP in their name than natural features (6724 non-natural vs 1712 natural features). Why is this so?

In my previous article on the naming of capes, lakes, mounts and points (*Placenames Australia* September 2016; Tent 2016), I argued that the *Cape/Lake/Mount/Point X* pattern is perhaps based on French naming patterns. In French (and other Romance languages) the adjective and CCP postmodifies the noun (e.g.

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Grande-Rivière-Ouest, L'Étang-du-Nord, Saint-André-Est, Lac-Cloutier-Sud). Perhaps what is happening with postmodifying CCP toponyms is simply a naming fashion and style in the desire to copy the French practice to lend an air of prestige to the name.

Question 3: There are many instances of a local school bearing a post-modifying CCP in its name whilst the suburb in which it is situated has a premodifying CCP, e.g. *Epping North Public School*, situated in *North Epping*. Why the transposition of the CCP in such school names?

Answer: I discovered that 85.6% of schools in NSW and VIC had a postmodifying CCP (leaving 14.4% with a premodifying CCP) (see Table 3). Once again the naming patterns are remarkably similar.

Schools	CCP_	_CCP
NSW	11 x North_	34 x _North
	5 x South_	35 x _South
	1 x East_	26 x _East
	8 x West_	40 x _West
Sub-total	25 (15.6%)	1356 (83.4%)
VIC	27 x North_	139 x _North
	21 x South_	125 x _South
	22 x East_	111 x _East
	10 x West_	115 x _West
Sub-total	80 (14%)	489 (86%)
Grand total	105 (14.4%)	624 (85.6%)

Table 3: CCP position for schools in two States

I believe there are two possible reasons for the transposition. The first may be the desire for a more prestigious name, as outlined above. But the second and more significant is to contrast with a different feature-type. A specifically named urban area may have more than one primary or secondary school. Naturally, a school should bear the name of its associated urban area—but only a single school may carry that specific name form. In Part I of this article, I explained that the Sydney suburb of Epping has two public schools: Epping Public School, and an Epping West Public School, naturally in the west of the suburb. There is no suburb named *West Epping*. So, given most civic and constructed features have a premodifying CCP, and if there is more than one school in a designated urban area, it is wiser to give the other school(s) a name with a postmodifying

CCP. This avoids giving the impression a new suburb. Hence, *Epping West Public School*. An excellent illustrative example of this is provided by the four primary schools in Parramatta—Parramatta Public School, Parramatta East Public School, Parramatta West Public School, and Parramatta North Public School (which is in the suburb of North Parramatta: there is no East Parramatta or West Parramatta).

This would fit Jenny Griffiths' suggestion that if there is a CCP, it would make sense 'to postmodify it so that the town name predominates, which helps in any alphabetical listing of schools.' This is a practical idea. However, it breaks with the NSW Department of Education's policy of the school (wherever possible) adopting 'the name of the suburb, town or locality in which it is situated'—Epping North Public School being an example. Moreover, Parramatta East Public School, Parramatta West Public School, and Parramatta North Public School all break the Education Department's policy of (except under special circumstances) not including a compass point in the names of schools. As our examples show, the policy clearly has exceptions. Or perhaps it's all a matter of timing: the formal statement of departmental policy that Jenny cites is dated 2012, and references the 1990 Education Act. But all of our examples predate 1990; indeed, as Col Kohlhagen indicated, post-modifying CCPs in school names go back to at least 1880.

So the explanation may simply be that the Department proclaimed a new policy in 2012 that had never been contemplated previously. Or, on the other hand, the 'new' policy may have merely stated long-standing practice, with the counterexamples all being instances of 'special circumstances'—presumably one of those being the fact that the school was not the only school in its named locality. As so often with placenaming history, we are left wondering!

Jan Tent

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Indigenous toponymy ~ Part 2

In our previous issue (September 2018) we looked at the nature of the Aboriginal toponymic system, particularly the ways in which Indigenous placenaming practices differ from European ones. In this instalment of the series, we'll briefly look at how words and placenames from Aboriginal languages have been incorporated into the toponymy of Australian English. We encounter such names on maps, on road-side signs and in our postal addresses: they are well established in what we refer to as the 'Introduced' system.

Approximately 28% of placenames in the 2012 *Gazetteer of Australia* have an Indigenous-derived element (i.e. a specific, a generic or both) (see Tent 2017).¹ The percentage of such names within each state or territory is remarkably homogenous—South Australia, Western Australia, and New South Wales each have around 30% such toponyms, and Queensland, Victoria and the Northern Territory 27%. Tasmania is the odd one out with a mere 4%. This probably reflects its shameful history of European occupation and displacement of its Indigenous people during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of the current Indigenous-origin placenames in Tasmania are not in fact local but were introduced from the mainland.

The incorporation of placenames derived from Aboriginal languages into the Introduced system has been done to varying degrees of accuracy. Prior to European occupation, Australia had an estimated 200 to 300 distinct Aboriginal languages (Dixon 1980; Yallop 1982). Many indigenous names had erroneous recordings of their pronunciations, with a resulting anomalous rendering into the Roman alphabet. Various factors led to this:

(a) The Europeans who recorded these names had no knowledge of or training in phonetics, and therefore did not know how to properly transcribe those names.

(b) Aboriginal languages have sound systems quite distinct from English or any other European language. Most Aboriginal languages lack the fricative consonant sounds /f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h/², and generally make no distinction between /b/-/p/, /d/-/t/, and /g/-/k/ (distinctions crucial in English). Many Aboriginal languages have sounds not present in English, such as two or three r-type sounds that are considered distinct sounds, or a palatal nasal (as in the Spanish *ñ* in *señor*),

while other languages have a palatal plosive consonant (similar to the English sound represented in spelling by *ch*) (Yallop 1982). Such differences make it hard for the untrained ear to transcribe with any accuracy.

(c) Even when these differences were correctly perceived, transcribers found it difficult to render the sounds consistently in English orthography,³ which contains only 26 symbols. So we see a single sound represented in English spelling in multiple ways, e.g. *ñ* may be written as *ny, nj* or *gn*.

These issues have led, for example, to highly anglicised placenames such as *Cammeray* [after the Kameraigal people], *Tom Groggin* [? from *tomarogin* 'water spider'], *Collector* [from *colegdar* or *caligda*], and *Tin Can Bay* [either from *tinchin* 'mangrove' or *tinken* 'kind of vine']. Indeed, most Indigenous-derived toponyms have been anglicised or corrupted, and often bear little resemblance to their original pronunciation, e.g. *Kurraca* from *katjekarr* 'white cockatoo', and *Langkoop* from *langap* 'hollow in the ground'.⁴



The meanings and referents⁵ of names have also very often been misinterpreted or not recorded at all. Moreover, many Indigenous names were transplanted from the region of their original language to the far-flung reaches of the continent, thus making it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine their origins and meanings. For instance, every State and Territory boasts places that carry the toponymic specifics *Wallaby* and *Kangaroo*, which derive from the Dharuk (Sydney) and the Guugu Yimidhirr (Cooktown, North Queensland) languages respectively. The practice of transplanting Indigenous names came about because the highly mobile European population during the nineteenth century carried with

...Indigenous toponymy (2)

them not only their personal belongings but placenames as well. Moreover, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the bestowal of names of Indigenous origin to places such as rural or outback post offices, railway stations and sidings was often carried out by bureaucrats (with little or no knowledge of local conditions or languages) in the States' capitals, using lists of so-called 'euphonious' Aboriginal words. No regard for their meaning or the language of origin was afforded them (Hodges 2007). A similar practice was used in New Zealand—Beattie (1915: 5) complains that the New Zealand Post Office and Railways were 'clapping on manufactured Māori names to places where we have no record of Māoris having ever lived.'

As I mentioned in Part 1, no Australian settlement name can be derived directly from the Indigenous toponymic network, since such features were not part of traditional Aboriginal culture. However, a form of the name may once have belonged to a nearby topographic feature—or it may be a generic word meaning 'spring' (such as *Brim* in Victoria) or even 'go away' (as in the Ballarat suburb of *Wendouree*) (Clarke & Heydon 2002). Europeans were not always conscious of whether a name was a placename—often it wasn't. Many Aboriginal-based placenames include words or parts of words which were then combined to form new placenames, making it extremely difficult to discern how many words were amalgamated, let alone the meanings of those words or parts of words.

There are a small number of named places in Australia ($\approx 0.04\%$ of all named places in the 2012 *Gazetteer of Australia*) that have an Introduced specific element and a general noun from an Aboriginal language functioning as the generic element.⁶ The majority of these 'new-generics' refer to inland water features:⁷

- *billabong* 'a river branch that forms a backwater or stagnant pool' (e.g. *Horseshoe Billabong*, *Carrs Billabong*, *Bywash Billabong*)
- *yarp* 'lake' (in WA, e.g. *First Yarp*)
- *cowal* 'swampy hollow' (in NSW and QLD., e.g. *Dragon Cowal*, *Cranes Cowal*)
- *warrambool* 'watercourse (overflow channel), stream' (in NSW, e.g. *Chambers Warrambool*, *Duncan Warrambool*)
- *vari* 'stream' (in SA, only with Indigenous specifics, e.g. *Nguriyandharlanha Vari*)

- *cogie* 'a playa or lunette lake' (in NSW, e.g. *Dead Dog Cogie*, *McInness Cogie*)
- *gnamma* 'waterhole' (in WA, e.g. *Figtree Gnamma Hole*, *Badjinterrin Gnamma Hole*)
- *gilgai* 'waterhole' (in NSW, e.g. the parish name *Red Gilgais*)

Many of these generics—*cowal*, *warrambool*, *cogie*, as well as *gnamma* and *gilgai* (types of waterhole)—are also frequently used as specifics in placenames, e.g. *Cowal Lagoon*, *Warrambool Creek*, *Cogie Creek*, *Gnamma Creek*, *Gilgai Gully*.

The current view of Aboriginal-derived placenames is quite different from that of the past: they are now regarded as an integral part of Australian national identity. Since the 1950s, indigenous names have been regularly bestowed on places (Kostanski 2003: 44). Bölling (2008) notes that 34 of the 80 suburbs with Indigenous-derived names in Melbourne (e.g. *Tarrawarra* and *Kurunjang*) were established in the twentieth century, predominantly in the city's outer regions which had previously maintained their native vegetation.

Since the 1990s, Australian geographic nomenclature authorities have exhibited a marked strengthening of intention to increase the number of names of Indigenous origin within the official placenaming system, and to represent them in a more accurate and respectful manner. In some instances, these developments have taken place within the context of an official policy on Aboriginal languages, such as that promulgated in NSW in 2001 (NSW Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water 2009), or those currently under development in various States.

Other moves towards the increased use of placenames of Indigenous origin have come about in the context of language maintenance or language revival programs sponsored by Aboriginal organisations. These initiatives have generally received the support of the wider community, which is increasingly interested in Aboriginal culture and inclined to take pride in placenames of Indigenous origin as being uniquely Australian. This is not entirely a new sentiment, as a few traces of it may be found from early colonial times. The main processes involved in increasing the representation of Indigenous-based placenames are assigning names to hitherto 'unnamed' features, dual naming, and the changing of

continued next page

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Indigenous toponymy - Part 2

names offensive to Indigenous people (e.g. the recent renaming of *The Niggerheads* to *The Jaithmathangs*).

The accurate recording of Aboriginal toponyms, their meanings and places of origin is, as Clark and Heydon (2002: 7) affirm: '[...] a valuable part of Aboriginal language research, retrieval, and restoration. This is particularly so in southeast Australia, where in many places, placenames constitute the largest surviving bodies of Indigenous language in widespread currency. Furthermore, they are an important component of Aboriginal cultural heritage [...].'

A final note of caution

There are a number of publications (both in print and online) cataloguing Indigenous words and placenames. These usually make no effort to distinguish between one Aboriginal language and another. Rather, they classify all words and placenames as 'Aboriginal', as if to say there is only one Aboriginal language. This is not only wrong, but disrespectful. It is akin to listing English, German, Dutch, Danish, Polish, French, Spanish, Italian etc. words and placenames in one catalogue and labelling them as 'European'.

The meanings of the placenames given in such publications are often wrong or misleading. In fact the meanings of a vast number of Indigenous placenames are unknown or uncertain. This is made all too evident by the fact that the vast majority of Indigenous placenames in the State and national gazetteers do not and cannot document accurate meanings. Some of the reasons for this are outlined above.

So, when you look up an Aboriginal name or toponym in a popular publication, take the information you are given with a good dose of salt.

Jan Tent

Signs of the times

Our colleague and informant **Michele Lang** is an avid reader of the esteemed journal *Queensland Country Life*, which has recently reported another sighting of *signwriter's confusion*. Deadlock Creek is west of Blackall, but the chap who did the sign (on the right) clearly had somewhere more Caribbean in mind!



Endnotes

- ¹ I am not saying these are Indigenous names, but Indigenous-derived names or of Indigenous origin.
- ² All of which occur in English: *fee*, *vase*, *thin*, *this*, *see*, *zoo*, *shoe*, *measure*, and *how* respectively.
- ³ The orthography is the conventional spelling system of a language.
- ⁴ For some excellent examples of variant spellings, as well as the difficulties in reconstructing Aboriginal placenames, refer to Koch (2009).
- ⁵ A 'referent' is the entity in the external world to which a linguistic expression refers.
- ⁶ Aboriginal toponyms typically do not have generic elements.
- ⁷ With the exception of *billabong* all have localised usage.

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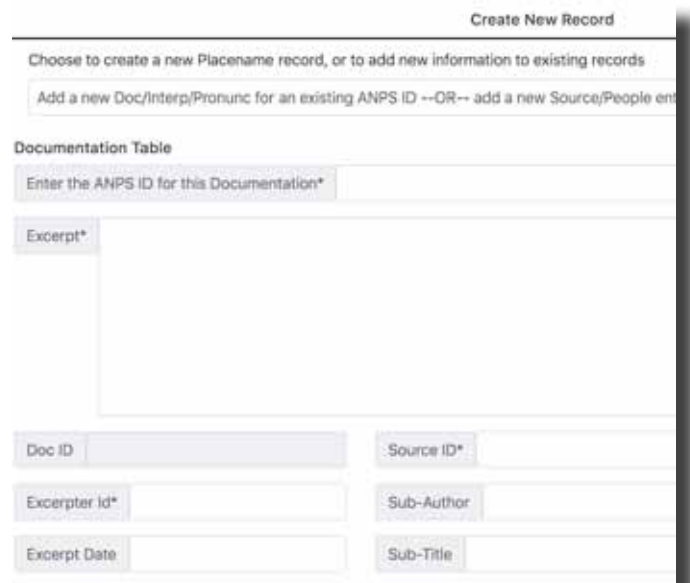
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Do you have placename information for us?

The role of the Australian National Placenames Survey is to collect the required information to show the history and meaning of all Australia's placenames. Many of you, either as individual enthusiasts or as representatives of historical societies, have been assisting us for a long time.

Our website now allows our informants and researchers to enter information easily, online.

Do you already have evidence that shows *when* a place got its name, or *who* named it, or *why* it got that name? Would you like to start collecting that information for your town or suburb? Let us know—we have easy-to-follow instructions that'll get you started.



The screenshot shows a web form titled "Create New Record". It includes a header with the text "Choose to create a new Placename record, or to add new information to existing records" and a sub-header "Add a new Doc/Interp/Pronunc for an existing ANPS ID --OR-- add a new Source/People ent". Below this is a "Documentation Table" section with a text input field for "Enter the ANPS ID for this Documentation*" and a larger text area for "Excerpt*". At the bottom, there are several input fields: "Doc ID", "Source ID*", "Excerpter Id*", "Sub-Author", "Excerpt Date", and "Sub-Title".

Email **David Blair** <research@anps.org.au> and join the ANPS team of researchers and informants

Tassie's possessive parks

Our Canberra correspondent **Peter Phillips** has been touring Tasmania recently and drew our attention to these parks—with names which, as he says, are unusually devoid of any commemorative value but are nonetheless very practical. (*Peoples Park* at Strahan is an official name; *Our Park* in Orford is not so.)



A university course in toponymy

Did you enjoy Jan Tent's series 'Toponymy 101' in *Placenames Australia*? Would you like to extend your knowledge? ANPS and Macquarie University will be offering an online unit in toponymy next year, through **Open Universities Australia**.

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If you're interested in the unit and would like to know more, send an email to Jan Tent <director@anps.org.au> or Helen Slatyer <secretary@anps.org.au>, and we'll keep you informed about the details of the unit.

Placenames Puzzle Number 68

Nationality toponyms

The second part of the clue hints at the nationality that forms part of the placename; e.g. (NSW) Plain near Smiggin Holes; Leichhardt was...? > *Prussian Plain*.

1. (TAS) Mountain on Flinders Island; Wagner's opera about a ghost ship
2. (SA) Township and beach on Kangaroo Island; Graham Green's 1955 novel about Vietnam
3. (VIC) Location E of Bright; rubella
4. (SA) Pass S of Millicent; a 1992 novel about a nurse and a soldier in WWII
5. (VIC) Island in Western Port (Bay); Fowles' 1969 novel about a lieutenant and a woman
6. (WA) Reef S of Geraldton; *saintpaulia* plant
7. (NT) Island W of Darwin; unseasonably warm autumn
8. (SA) Suburb of Port Pirie; J.K.Rowling is...?
9. (QLD) Townsville suburb; famous for lace, chocolate and beer
10. (WA) Nature reserve E of Perth; snack of melted cheese on toast
11. (NSW) Bay and beach in Pittwater; bluebottle
12. (TAS) Stream on Schouten Is; Middle Kingdom
13. (QLD) Reef near Palm Is; Middle Eastern horse
14. (VIC) Hummock N of Werribee; beware of these gift-bearers
15. (SA) Dale S of Clare; Strzelecki was...?
16. (NT) Shoal SW of Bathurst Is; territory cameleer
17. (NSW) Kosciuszko stream; Al Jolson's nationality
18. (SA) Islet NW of Cape Nuyts; home of the hat dance
19. (VIC) Creek SE of Shepparton; Hibernian
20. (VIC) Point on Lake Dartmouth; Michael Caine's 1969 escape in a Mini

[Compiled by: Jan Tent]

1. The Dutchman
2. American River/Beach
3. German town
4. English Gap
5. French Island
6. African Reef
7. Indian Island
8. Scots Town
9. Belgian Gardens
10. Welsh Nature Reserve
11. Portuguese Bay/Beach
12. Chinese Creek
13. Arab Reef
14. Greek Hill
15. Polish Valley
16. Afghan Shoal
17. Russian Creek
18. Mexican Hat
19. Irish Creek
20. Italian Point

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