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The University of Sydney LibrarySOME ABORIGINAL PLACE NAMES ON THE MID-NORTH COAST  
OF NEW SOUTH WALES<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

It has often been held that the number of native names occurring within the area of a tribal run depended directly upon the many creeks, waterholes, hills, rocks, or other natural features contained in the area for which there were special associations. In view of the very fragmentary nature of the records it is necessary to analyse the names from several such regions to obtain a reasonably representative overall picture.

While the names are, generally, descriptive of the physical scene,<sup>2</sup> they often commemorate particular associations, social and mental, events or situations—all of interest to us to-day. They serve as a mirror of the flora, the fauna, the changing landscape and the social history of the people who occupied regions now utilized in very different ways.

While the actual collection of place-name material is a linguistic matter and the isolated toponym gives direct evidence of a linguistic nature only, the names have a generality not to say universality, that is denied to other antiquarian material and

<sup>1</sup> The text is an expanded form of a public lecture given at Grafton on August 14th, 1963, under the auspices of the Department of University Extension, University of New England. This paper is intended as a further investigation of native place names in a particular area with which the writer is familiar and for which there are reasonable records. See J. S. Ryan (i) "Some Place Names in New England—Part I: Aboriginal Names," *Journal and Proceedings of the Armidale and District Historical Society*, No. 5, 1963, pp. 23-39; (ii) "Some Aboriginal Place-Names in the Richmond-Tweed Area," *Oceania*, September, 1963, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, pp. 38-55.

<sup>2</sup> "It must not be forgotten that the aborigines invariably named their places after something that either happened there, grew there, or was plentiful at the particular place so named." (ibid.) p. 80.

The lower references in the text and notes, both letters and numerals, apply to the source documents listed in the Bibliography.

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lacking in archaeological and historical evidence. By virtue of their spontaneous bestowal and the lack of calculated human interference in place names, they may often be deemed more reliable than uneven observation by historians or indirect inference by archaeologists.<sup>3</sup> They are not merely intriguing as so many laymen often feel, but, after collation and proper presentation, they have an authority which is indisputable.

Before embarking on the analysis of the names of the area chosen, I would like to pay a tribute to the work of many in an earlier day in collecting information from the inhabitants of the area in question. Despite inadequate phonetic or linguistic training, they recorded in isolation as accurately as they were able names which coincide to a remarkable degree with other independently verifiable evidence. The unsung heroes of this work are the officials of the Departments of Mines, of Lands and of Police, all of whom listed the odd items of vocabulary and nomenclature which their superiors catalogued in due course.

It should be stated that the study is fraught with pitfalls, one of which is that it is not always clear whether a name is a toponym or a generic term. Where there is a reasonable inference that the former type is involved, the name has been included. This has been thought advisable in view of the need to preserve as fully as possible this record of the different modes of thought of the native race and the very different natural ecology and social fabric which all these names perpetuate. Some warranty in retaining generic names in the lists of place names, on the authority of one informant, even when the place cannot be precisely localized, is to be found in the habit, if there were not some little speciality in the spot named, of calling it by the tribal name for "ground," "earth."<sup>4</sup>

The area under investigation is that of the New South Wales mid-north coast and adjacent inland areas not covered by the two previous surveys<sup>5</sup> and in the counties of Gresham, Clarence, Fitzroy, Raleigh, Dudley and Macquarie. This means that we are concerned with part or all of the territories ascribed<sup>6</sup> to the following tribes from north to south (see Appendix):

Badjelang: from the northern bank of the Clarence River to Richmond River<sup>7</sup>; coastal hordes (Widje) go only to Rappville.

Jiegera: lower Clarence River;

<sup>3</sup> For an admirable statement of the considerable value of the place name in relation to other disciplines for recording the past, the reader should see the late F. T. Wainwright's *Archaeology and Place-Names and History, An Essay on Problems of Co-ordination* (London), 1962.

<sup>4</sup> See the essay analysing the place names in tribal "runs" (in Western Australia), by Daisy M. Bates. (*Science of Man*, Vol. 14, November, 1913, pages 74-76.)

<sup>5</sup> See under note 1 for the titles of similar articles on the Richmond-Tweed and the Northern Tableland portion of New England.

<sup>6</sup> N. B. Tindale, "Distribution of Australian Aboriginal Tribes," *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Aust.*, LXIV (1940), pp. 140-231, and accompanying map. He affirmed this division in "Tribal Distribution and Population," pp. 356-379, *Australian Aboriginal Studies—A Symposium of Papers Presented at the 1961 Research Conference* (1963).

<sup>7</sup> One may contrast this with the more comprehensive and inaccurate statement of one of the authorities for the local names:

"The dialect spoken . . . extended, with variations, from the Clarence River to Neran Creek in Queensland, and west to New England and the head of the Condamine."<sup>(6)</sup>

Banbai : a circumscribed area embracing Ben Lomond, Glencoe, Marowan, Mount Mitchell and Kookabookra ;  
 Kumbainggiri : head-waters of Nymboida River and across the range towards Urunga, Coff's Harbour and Bellingen ; at Grafton and Glenreagh ;  
 Dainggati : at Bowraville ; Nambucca River and its watershed ; south to Macleay River, Kempsey and Bellbrook ; inland to Dividing Range ;  
 Ngaku : from Macleay River to Rolland Plains, inland to Kemp Pinnacle Mountain ;  
 Ngamba : from Manning River north to Rolland Plains ;  
 Birpai : mouth of Manning River at Taree, inland to near Gloucester ; principally on south side of river ; some earlier workers also located them at Hastings River.

It would seem that these ascriptions, from the Harvard-Adelaide Expedition,<sup>6</sup> are much more reliable than the various conflicting statements of the early field workers, such as F. Brown's report in 1900 concerning the Nimboy tribe :

" With reference to the aborigines at Nymboida, I beg to report that the name of this tribe is the Nimboy, which is a black's name, but none of the aborigines here know the meaning of it. The aborigines living here are the remains of three different tribes, viz. Nimboy, Kangaroo Creek, and Buccarumbi. The original boundary of this tribe was the Range dividing the Nymboida River from Kangaroo Creek, on the north and east, Boundary Creek on the west, and the top of the range forming the tableland of New England on the south "<sup>(k)</sup> ;  
 or G. R. Brown's comment on the Port Macquarie natives on the Hastings River :

" The boundary of their country stretches from the head of the Wilson River to the head of the Manning River, or Kerri, which word refers to the position in their language, similar to our north, south, etc. "<sup>(6)</sup>

In the vocabularies and lists consulted (see Bibliography), few of these tribal names occur, although Birripi is given as the name and language of the Port Macquarie natives on the Hastings River,<sup>(6)</sup> and " Coombargaree is the name for the tribe at Woolgoolga "<sup>(16)</sup>. Corambara, the old name for Coff's Harbour,<sup>(11)</sup> is preserved in Coramba (near Dorrigo), the contracted form of the native name for the district.<sup>(17)</sup>

Several names and traditions associated with tribal boundaries<sup>8</sup> are recorded in place names. Moonim is the name for the boundary between Clarence and Richmond dialects<sup>(k)</sup>, <sup>(17)</sup> and, perhaps significantly, the word *moncim* is given as meaning " rock " in the Bellinger River area.<sup>(17)</sup> Others are recorded below in the Ancient Legend section.

Because of movement within the area many names often used today, are not understood and the local aboriginals, when questioned, freely admitted that the meanings were unknown. A typical example of this would be Ingalba (County

<sup>8</sup> It has seemed wiser to give the name of the general area for a name, rather than a tribal ascription. In most instances there is the advantage in doing this of recording the centre inhabited by the native informants.

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Raleigh).<sup>9</sup> Freeburn,<sup>(r)</sup> who knew the old name for the Clarence River (*infra*, p. 282), could not provide meanings for it or for its tributary, the Coolquerin (now the Cold Stream), but a possible clue to the latter is provided in Appendix A.

## WATER

Names for water are perhaps the most important of all for this or any aboriginal area. Despite the not infrequent floods, there were periods when it was important to designate supplies, however small, of permanent water. Names to be included here are:

- Mahroo (Coombyngura), "water," and cp. Naroo (*passim*), "water."<sup>(8), (17)</sup>  
 Narraro (Woolgoolga), "water."  
 Bunga (Port Macquarie), "water."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Kua-roo (Orara), "water"<sup>(d)</sup>; Knaw (Orara), "water."  
 Wattan (Hastings R.), "water"; Ghoong (Upper Macleay), "water"<sup>(18)</sup>;  
 Coong (Upper Clarence), "water"<sup>(9), (14)</sup>; cp. Goon (Grafton), "water"<sup>(17)</sup>  
 and Goong (Copmanhurst), "water."  
 Badu (Bellinger), "water," cp. Battou (Hastings R.) and Battoo (Wilson River),  
 Bando (Grafton), with same meaning.<sup>(g), (16)</sup>  
 Cooloon (S. Grafton), "rain"<sup>(16)</sup>; Kooloun (Orara), "rain"<sup>(d)</sup>; Coolaoen  
 (Bellinger), "rain."<sup>10</sup>  
 Gurrza (Upper Macleay), "rain."<sup>(18)</sup>  
 Dargam (Upper Clarence), "rain."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Warra warra (Nambucca), "rain."<sup>(m)</sup>  
 Goong (Copmanhurst), "rain"; Amarina (Badjelang), "rain"<sup>(8)</sup>; Ura  
 (Wilson R.), "rain."  
 Challain (Upper Clarence), "the place of the rainbow."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Yum-arn (Orara), "creek"<sup>(d)</sup>; cp. Yam-Mahn (Grafton), "the creek"<sup>(17)</sup>;  
 Balloon tarrim (Upper Clarence), "the day creek"<sup>(9)</sup>; Wakaah (Kempsey),  
 "creek."<sup>(m)</sup>  
 Bittay (Port Macquarie), "a river."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Bugaja (Copmanhurst), "creek"<sup>(14)</sup>; Bugidilla (Copmanhurst), "creek"<sup>(h)</sup>;  
 Eungai (Nambucca), "a noisy/singing creek"<sup>(o), (p), (u), (v)</sup>; Bindea  
 (Orara), "river"<sup>(d)</sup>; Bindaree (Woolgoolga), "a creek."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Bindaree (Coombyngura), "river"<sup>(8)</sup>; Doongang (Wilson River), "river";  
 Oomderi (Orara), "river."  
 Dhoonga (Upper Macleay), "river."<sup>(18)</sup>  
 Yerrahwahlee (Clarence), "river"; Chunim (Upper Clarence), "river."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Belbourie/Bellboarie (near Gloucester, Clarencetown), "a place of brushy  
 creeks"<sup>(16)</sup>; Ulmarra (Clarence River), "turn/bend of the water" (in the  
 Clarence River).<sup>(e), (1), (17), (8), (u), (v)</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See in *Science of Man*, Vol. 4, December 27th, 1901, p. 191.

<sup>10</sup> Compare with these the word *cooloni*, in Woolgoolga<sup>(16)</sup> dialect, meaning "liquor," *culloon* (Coombargoree), "lake"<sup>(8)</sup> and Cooloon (South Grafton), "rain."<sup>(1), (17)</sup>

Doongang or Big River is the aboriginal name for the Hastings River.  
 Ballunn or Ballin (Copmanhurst), "a river."<sup>(h), (14), (16)</sup>  
 (Ballun is stated by Tyrell<sup>(r)</sup> to be the name for the Clarence—see below.)  
 Nungera (Grafton), "spring of water."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Bundarry (South Grafton), "running water."<sup>(h), (17)</sup>  
 Buckhai/Bucca (Dorrigo), "river."<sup>(u)</sup>  
 Jaka-bulga (Port Macquarie), "the waterfall."<sup>(1)</sup>

Because they were not acceptable to other tribes along the course, the aboriginal names of the tribes for reaches of rivers are seldom adopted. One, for a strip near the mouth, is preserved in the old name Bundarry-uron, "long water,"<sup>(h)</sup> for the Bellinger River, while Doongang or "Big River" is the name of the Port Macquarie natives for the Hastings River.<sup>(1)</sup> Freeburn<sup>(r)</sup> knew the old name for the Clarence River was, for Grafton natives, Beerinbah, but he was not able to give it any meaning.

Names for wider expanses of water are noted:

Geerbunga (Orara), "lake."  
 Geebonga-burrowie (Coombyngura), "lake."  
 Cunjaun (Wilson River), "lake."  
 Narroong (Upper Macleay River), "lake."<sup>(18)</sup>  
 Ni-ee (South Grafton), "a lake."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Te-barn-go (Orara River), "the waterhole."<sup>(d)</sup>  
 Goorwin (Upper Clarence), "water hole."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Cullie (Copmanhurst), "water hole,"<sup>(14)</sup> cp. Collie (Co. Gresham), "large waterhole."<sup>(11)</sup><sup>11</sup>

As we might expect, there are names for water in spate or flooding coastal flat land:

Dulgum (South Grafton), "a big flood."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Goong (Upper Clarence), "the place of flood/storm."  
 Nool-lurrah (Upper Clarence), "the creek in flood."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Loorroo-gun (Clarence), "water in flood."<sup>(r)</sup>  
 Roorlgum (Clarence), "flood."  
 Worrull (Clarence), "lagoon."  
 Ningoola (Bellinger River), "can't get out as the lagoon is there."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Narew Murceta (Bellinger River), "place of wilderness/broad water."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Uloom (Wilson's Hill, South Grafton) is a simplified form of *youloumbah*, "place of safety from floods."  
 Nungera (Clarence River), "spring water."

Less promising places which were however soaked are also recorded:

Cunjaun (Wilson River), "swamp."  
 Narroog (Upper Macleay), "swamp."<sup>(18)</sup>  
 Bookkejeeah (Clarence), "swamp."

<sup>11</sup> There are many place names derived from the root *collie*—in various parts of New South Wales, e.g., Collie Blue (Co. Bligh), Collie-nouie (Co. Leichhardt), Collimungoul and Colli-yu (both in County Benarba). They are all the names of lagoons, or large waterholes, etc.

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Warrah (Orara), "swamp"; Wah-loo-gay (Grafton), "swamp"<sup>(17)</sup>; Coolaoen (Bellinger), "swamp."<sup>12</sup>

Bayinbin (Copmanhurst), "swamp."<sup>(14)</sup>

Nahrull (Clarence), "mud."

Talagerah (Upper Clarence), "mud."<sup>(9)</sup>

As in other regions, river junctions, fords, etc., are recorded:

Dourim (South Arm of Bellinger River), "the crossing place."<sup>(1)</sup>

Wooroo keririe (Upper Clarence), "crossing place."<sup>(9)</sup>

Naringme (Upper Clarence), "the opposite bank of the creek."<sup>(9)</sup>

Cowita (Bellinger River), "the other side of the river."<sup>(12)</sup>

To be associated with these last, since they were always favourably placed near water, are:

Wass-rah (Clarence River), "the camp with a number of shelters."<sup>(1)</sup>

Wolli (Orara), "(native) camp."<sup>(u), (v)</sup>

Choogowarra (Woolgoolga), "place of rest."<sup>(15)</sup>

Urallame (Bellinger River), "home camp."<sup>(12)</sup>

Numme Urallame (Bellinger River), "women's camp."<sup>(12)</sup>

Waalumba Urallame (Bellinger River), "flying fox camp."<sup>(12)</sup>

Uralla (Woolgoolga), "camp"<sup>(15)</sup> (also stated to be "by and bye."<sup>(17)</sup>)

#### SALT WATER

Other water names are concerned with the sea:

Nambucca, "the entrance to the sea"<sup>(o), (s), (v)</sup> or "the crooked river."<sup>(p), (v)</sup><sup>13</sup>

Quigum (Upper Clarence), "the sand."<sup>(9)</sup>

Batoo (Port Macquarie), "coastal water."<sup>(h)</sup>

Iluka (Harwood), "near the sea."<sup>(1) (17), (o), (s), (u), (v)</sup>

Jurriel (Copmanhurst), "bay."<sup>(14)</sup>

One should compare with this Illawarra, "high place near the sea," and Illaroo, "track near the sea."

Lulidworri (Clarence), "sea-beach."<sup>(24)</sup>

To be noted here is:

Booroogarra-bowyra-neyand, meaning "Head of the salt water," from *booroogarra*, "salt water"; *bowyra*, "head of creek"; *neyand*, "top."

This was the aboriginal name for the Clarence River, probably in the Tenterfield natives' dialect.<sup>(h)</sup>

Names for the near or distant expanses of open water are:

Kerkal (Orara), "sea"; Gargarle (Grafton), "the sea."<sup>(17)</sup>

Argull (Clarence), "sea"; Cargle (Copmanhurst), "sea."<sup>(14)</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The word has the same form as Bellinger *coolaoen*, "rain."

<sup>13</sup> Buck-/Buc- above indicate "water" as an element in place names. Bucca Bucca (near Nambucca) is also said to mean "crooked creek."

Cagool (Bellinger), "sea"; cp. cargul (Coombargoree), "sea."<sup>(8)</sup>; Yallanhwiral (Upper Macleay), "sea."  
 Coorawah (Wilson River), "sea."  
 Myall Naren (Bellinger River), "the ocean."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Cargal (Woolgoolga), "the ocean."<sup>(1), (15)</sup>

As was commonly the case, there are many names for water weeds and grasses, which were often edible, and always a sign of damp ground:

Kalga (Copmanhurst), "reeds."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Kimbriki (Taree), "water reeds."  
 Moo-run-gun (Upper Clarence), "water weeds."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Wian (Upper Clarence), "the roots."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Culgorie (Upper Clarence), "rushes."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Gin-gin (Upper Clarence), "moss."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Nealgun (Upper Clarence), "puff ball."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Cureeki (Taree), "ferns," from *cooricki*, with similar meaning; Culmarong (Upper Clarence), "ferns."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Cowar (Port Macquarie), "staghorns, ferns"<sup>(1)</sup> and Cowar (Copmanhurst), "staghorn ferns."<sup>(1), (16)</sup>  
 Toomburnabun (now Plain Station, Copmanhurst), "staghorn fern."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Mungungboora (now Fine Flower Creek, Copmanhurst), "bullrushes."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Woodong (Upper Clarence), "grass."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Turrabambene (now Purfleet, Taree), "the long grass."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 And other foodstuffs came from the river pools:  
 Bur-rangah (South Grafton), "eel."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Booriga (Woolgoolga), "eels."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Pambee (Hastings River), "eel."  
 Charkgan (Upper Clarence), "the eels."<sup>(9)</sup>

A further group of camp names are partly associated with food and water and so may be included at this point:

Wooli (Orara), "(black's) camp."  
 Bimdadgen (Bellinger River), "fair camp/good view."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Walinbah (Grafton), "camp/the place of the flying fox."  
 Urallame (Bellinger River), "home camp."  
 Waalumba<sup>14</sup> Urallame (Bellinger River), "flying fox camp"; cp. Wallamba/Wollomba (Taree), "flying fox camp."  
 Kyair (Upper Clarence), "the bathing place."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Yarromarrie (Upper Clarence), "swimming place."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Yee Warra (Woolgoolga), "the place of assembly for sport."<sup>(15)</sup>  
 Caipera (Bellinger River), "the place of meeting."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Urandangie (Bellinger River), "to meet and sit down."

<sup>14</sup> Compare *wolli*, *wolai* (*passim*), "camp."

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## FISHING

Fishing was, naturally, very common in both fresh and salt water and many place names commemorate the fish to be caught there:

- Boogoorah (Upper Clarence), "the fishing place."
- Markoo (Hastings River), "(place of) fish."
- Bugabine (Orara River), "fish, many."<sup>(d)</sup>
- Kouamirra (Grafton), "perch."<sup>(1)</sup>
- Bargabine (Woolgoolga), "perch."<sup>(16)</sup>
- Koototigee (Hastings River), "perch."
- Orara River, "(home of the) perch."<sup>(1), (17), (o), (v)</sup> (The fish is still found plentifully in this river.)
- Mougim (Clarence), "bream."<sup>15(9)</sup>
- War-com (Upper Clarence), "the catfish."<sup>(9)</sup>
- Teu-num (Clarence), "cod."<sup>(9)</sup>
- Mungil (Copmanhurst), "the place of oysters."<sup>(14)</sup>
- Beeroogan (Grafton), "the creator of shellfish," i.e. "bed of pippies."<sup>(17)</sup>
- Woy woy<sup>16</sup> (Maclean), "a porpoise."<sup>(n)</sup>
- Currikee (Port Macquarie), "turtles."<sup>(16)</sup>
- Karn (Hastings River), "shark."
- Yungi (Copmanhurst), "shark place."<sup>(14)</sup>
- Croki (Taree), "the toad fish," from *groki*, with the same meaning.

## TREES

The number of tree or plant names in the area is considerable<sup>17</sup> and furnishes an interesting picture of the general vegetation pattern in earlier centuries or at least in the period prior to the advent of the white man.

- Challuyida (Port Macquarie), "trees."<sup>(1)</sup>
- Dulegal (Orara), "place of many trees."<sup>(d)</sup>

## CONIFERS, ETC.

Since the area under investigation was the source of much of the timber cut by the cedar getters, it is natural that early native sources<sup>18</sup> would reflect particularly the presence of quantities of that tree, later cut down so ruthlessly and quickly:

- Mummelga (Copmanhurst), "red cedar."<sup>(14)</sup>
- Djin-moongah (Grafton), "cedars."<sup>(17)</sup>

<sup>15</sup> A similar toponym with this meaning is to be found in the Woodenbong region. (J. S. Ryan, i, p. 43.)

<sup>16</sup> This should not be confused with the same name in St. Vincent County near Gosford, where it means "deep water," "lagoon."<sup>(p), (s)</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Although no specific statement to this effect has been found, it may be assumed that many of these names had a medicinal herbal significance.

<sup>18</sup> It is noted in the *Australian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2 (1962 edition), p. 307, that the general aboriginal name for the cedar on the Richmond River was *woolia*. See "Pored Timbers-Hardwoods (Eucalypts)," pp. 164-171 of the *Australian Timber Handbook*, 1963.



Wool-lyee (Clarence), "red cedars."  
 Wooli (Maclean), "the cedar trees."<sup>(n)</sup>  
 Woother (Upper Clarence), "cedar trees."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Gillwingar (Bellinger River), "the cedars."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Keinga (Copmanhurst), "white cedar tree."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Koribar (Taree), "white cedar."

Although the following names are vague, they could well refer to conifers:

Chuunbal (Upper Clarence), "the pine tree."  
 Chumball (Woolgoolga), "pine trees."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Bindar-regah (Grafton), "pine."<sup>(17)</sup>

## EUCALYPTS

Many of the hardwoods of general purpose use in the modern Australian economy occur in the area and distinctive stands are recorded in the native nomenclature:

Nahdar-bee (Clarence), "blackbutt."  
 Lardah-reegah (Clarence), "stringybark."  
 Dorriga, "stringybark."  
 Gojone (Upper Clarence), "stringybark."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Piginga (Clarence), "stringybark tree."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Bargoo<sup>19</sup> (S. Grafton), "place of the stringybark tree."<sup>(h), (16)</sup>  
 Yerra-cor-dinga (Clarence), "turpentine."  
 Doon-do-gah (Grafton), "red gum."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Goonderrie (Upper Clarence), "blue gum."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Dukkan Dukkan (aboriginal name for Ramornie, Clarence River), "grey gum trees."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Warlinbang (Hastings River), "grey gum."  
 Mongurrah (Upper Clarence), "grey gum."<sup>(9), (17)</sup>  
 Mar-gerrah (Grafton), "gum tree."<sup>(k), (16)</sup>  
 Mungraga (Copmanhurst), "gum tree."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Coombuga (Bellinger River), "gum tree."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Mungarraga (Woolgoolga), "gum trees."<sup>(k)</sup>  
 Wy-eer-a-gah (Grafton), "spotted gum."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Narrule (Upper Clarence), "box tree."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Wizzah (Clybucca), "box tree."<sup>(m)</sup>  
 Gargoolgah (Grafton), "box tree."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Ulgar-lahgah<sup>20</sup> (Clarence), "grey ironbark."  
 Walloo-woggah (Clarence), "red ironbark."  
 Chickarabang (Hastings River), "ironbark."  
 Biggerah (Upper Clarence), "ironbark."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Burgerrah (South Grafton), "ironbark tree."<sup>(h)</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See also Bargo Brush near Mittagong, N.S.W., and Bargo (Picton), "thick scrub/brush."

<sup>20</sup> Freeburn, an aboriginal informant, told Dawson<sup>(17)</sup> that this name, which he spelt Ulgar-lahgah, also meant bandy-bandy snake (*op. cit.*, p. 7).

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- Begrage (Copmanhurst), "ironbark tree."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Burra-garriga (Woolgoolga), "the ironbark tree."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Compare Tigerah (Taree), "the ironbark tree," and Tigras (Stroud district),  
 with same meaning."<sup>(k)</sup>  
 Gerroo-gumgah (Grafton), "ironbark trees."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Compare Woombe-bang (Hastings River), "tallow wood"—Wongargor  
 (Bellinger River), "tallow wood,"<sup>(12)</sup> Wongaga (Bellinger), "the tallow wood  
 tree," and Wongahgah (Grafton district), "place of tallow wood trees."<sup>(t), (17)</sup>  
 Mingaletta (Maclean), "blood-wood trees."<sup>(k), (16)</sup>  
 Koore-bang (Hastings River), "bloodwood."  
 Bono (Upper Clarence), "bloodwood."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Cooramga (place on Orara River) in Bellinger language, "the place of blood  
 woods."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Gibbera-Girra (Copmanhurst), "the mahogany tree."<sup>(1)</sup>

## NON-EUCALYPTS

There are also names indicative of the presence of quantities of many non-eucalypts:

- Chanara (Upper Clarence), "dog wood."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Beer-re-djal (Grafton), "bean tree."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Boginga (Copmanhurst), "bean tree."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Geery-djine (Grafton), "the stinging tree."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Bappen (Port Macquarie), "the stinging tree."<sup>(h), (16)</sup>  
 Barpin-bang (Hastings River), "stinging trees."  
 Barahgame (Upper Clarence), "stinging trees."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Burrageh (Nambucca), "a stinging tree."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Boygunga (Copmanhurst), "wattle trees."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Kibbi Kibbi (Upper Clarence), "black wattle."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Boigon (Upper Clarence), "green wattle."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Murengeriga (South Grafton), "the wattle tree."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Urum-abbee (Clarence), "tall turpentine."  
 Chierriegun (Upper Clarence), "red gum."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Marlee (Taree), "an elder tree."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Bellbourie (Taree), "a kind of tea tree"<sup>(17)</sup> (see under River names, above).  
 Tulonghen (Upper Clarence), "the currajong."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Konigah (Grafton), "iron wood."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Gnambibin (Copmanhurst), "cabbage tree."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Coo-rang-goorah (South Grafton), "the grass-tree."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Timbarra (Ulmarra), "grass tree."  
 Coram-gah (Grafton), "forest-oak."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Woor-ong-ajah (Grafton), "swamp oak."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Noologyee/Nonoyyee (Clarence), "forest oak."  
 Karoomang (Hastings River), "forest oak."

Nuloomga (Woolgoolga), "oak tree."<sup>(k)</sup>  
 Wyergul (Upper Clarence), "the oak."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Corunga (Bellinger River), "oak tree."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Gurrumbah (Grafton), "the oak tree."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Bulumga (Copmanhurst), "myrtle."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Tim-barra(h) (South Grafton), "fern tree,"<sup>(17)</sup> the spelling once taking the correct form of Tumgarragun.

Heavy vines and grasses are often noted:

Murrie (Copmanhurst), "vines."  
 Columbin (Clarencetown), "a hill where certain vines grow." Now known as Holmes' Sugarloaf.<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Woodong (Upper Clarence), "grass."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Gugabra (Copmanhurst), "lawyer canes."  
 Other vegetation names are:  
 Carble (Upper Clarence), "scrub."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Kobbal (Copmanhurst), "scrub."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Korundeegah (Grafton), "a flower likened to the tulip."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Moonoomgah (Grafton), "tea tree."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Woo-rong (Upper Clarence), "leaves."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Urangbil (Copmanhurst), "leaves."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Tunningah (now Whiteman's Creek, Copmanhurst), "a low bushy tree."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Bondarrabin (Upper Clarence), "flowers."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Coori (Woolgoolga), "flowers."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Marrilman (Woolgoolga), "dwarf honeysuckle."<sup>(16)</sup>

The trees would in most cases have produced edible bark, resin or berries, but some vegetation names specifically indicate the latter type of foodstuffs:

Kipang (Hastings River), "raspberry (?)."  
 Gudgberry (Copmanhurst), "native gooseberry" (a corruption of the English name ?)<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Kundibakh (Taree), "wild apples," said to be another form of Kundabung (Macleay), "where wild apples grow."<sup>(p), (s), (v)</sup>  
 Yoonggudjha (Grafton), "wild apple trees."<sup>(n)</sup>  
 Wee-golly (Grafton), "the wild apple trees."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Boibine (Upper Clarence), "apple tree."<sup>(6)</sup>  
 Malaria (Copmanhurst), "the sap from the apple tree."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Kumdibakh (Taree district), "the apple tree."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Nabitac (south of Taree), "wild fig tree."  
 Taree, so called on account of the tareebin, the fruit of the fig-tree which grew there in profusion.<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Carquinga (Bellinger River), "fig tree."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Budjaga (Copmanhurst), "fig tree."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Chumble (Woolgoolga), "fig tree."  
 Kookamerica (Port Macquarie), "wild fig tree."<sup>(1)</sup>

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Cocumbark (Taree), "a fig tree," from *cocumbang*, a Birpai word with this meaning.

Some names, if correctly recorded, refer to the trees introduced by the new settlers:

Goolalumga (Copmanhurst), "lime tree."<sup>(14)</sup>

Moombarriga (Port Macquarie), "cherry tree,"<sup>(k)</sup> and also given thus in the Woolgoolga area.<sup>(17)</sup>

#### PARTICULAR TREES

Not infrequently the name records a peculiar tree:

Woorooningah (Clarence), "the leaning tree."

Kookum-bang (Hastings River), "large leaf fig tree."

Coolabark (Clarencetown), "a piece of black oak."<sup>(16)</sup>

Yugilbar (Clarence), "log of wood or big log"<sup>(u), (v)</sup>/something caught in a tree.<sup>21</sup> <sup>(t), (17), (q), (u)</sup>

Moobalinbah (Grafton), "a log high off the ground."<sup>(17)</sup>

Kurrebi-bang (Hastings River), "a tree to split spears out of."

Dalye (Upper Clarence), "dead trees."<sup>(9)</sup>

Coorasaga (Woolgoolga), "dead tree."<sup>(16)</sup>

Clybucca (near Macleay), "crooked tallow-wood tree."<sup>(v)</sup>

Hummuthelar (Upper Clarence), "the fork in the tree."<sup>(9)</sup>

Coo-car-ah (South Grafton), "the fern growing on a tree."<sup>(16)</sup>

Marogi (Bellinger River), "the tree struck with lightning."<sup>(16)</sup>

Micke (Port Macquarie), "the tree struck by lightning."<sup>(k), (16)</sup>

Ulandi (South Grafton), "big tree/log burning."<sup>(17)</sup>

#### SKY AND WEATHER

The aborigines were always interested in the sky and the weather, as many of their names indicate:

Mungoro (Upper Clarence), "light."<sup>(9)</sup>

Corrow-weeree (Bellinger), "the light."

Gerring (Wilson River), "dawn."

Kyeewa (Bellinger), "dawn."

Yabrahgyeerie (Clarence), "sunrise"; cp. Coombagoree word *yarang*, "dawn."

Wareelah Cohgarra (Grafton), "land where the sun rises."<sup>(m)</sup>

Weeyoucooyou (Clarence), "sunset."

Qior Nowung (Bellinger River), "the place of sunlight."<sup>(12)</sup>

Euroka (Port Macquarie), "sunlight corner."<sup>(1)</sup>

Euroka (Macleay), "the sun."<sup>(o), (u), (v)</sup>

Ea-on (Bellinger), "the sun."<sup>(1)</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Although Dawson quotes a daughter of E. D. S. Ogilvie as saying that Yugilbar meant "the place of little fish,"<sup>(12)</sup> this can hardly be correct. C. W. Bundock, her cousin, writing in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, January 1st, 1923, explained it as "the place of platypi" from yulgil, a platypus, and bar, a place—an explanation which has not been recorded by any other investigator.

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<sup>22</sup> This area had a special name in bora rites for "moon"—viz. keeriack.<sub>(7)</sub>

Burraun (Wilson River), "day."  
 Dungal (Upper Clarence), "day."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Carra (Woolgoolga), "a cloud."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Khar-ra (Orara), "clouds."<sup>(d)</sup>  
 Murrara (Upper Clarence), "the clouds."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Chulmorabie (Upper Clarence), "darkness."  
 Some of these appellatives would seem to refer to some memorable experience;  
 Kipup berrigan (Upper Clarence), "the new moon."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Iggin (Port Macquarie), "cold place."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Murrorrogun (Upper Clarence), "the frost."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Cuggar (Woolgoolga), "frost."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Warringun (Upper Clarence), "the winter."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Yarromie (Upper Clarence), "the stars shooting."<sup>(9)</sup>

## INSECTS

Insects are noted, both those which were harmless and those which were a nuisance:

Ghinyin (Copmanhurst), "mosquitoes."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Kumble (Upper Clarence), "blue fly."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Choonburrah (Upper Clarence), "common fly."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Bunjulam (Upper Clarence), "butterfly."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Kin-neon (Upper Clarence), "moth."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Waddum (Clarence), "scorpion."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Gomong (Upper Clarence), "jumping ants."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Burrnbaran (Upper Clarence), "black spiders."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Choolget (Clarence), "worms."<sup>(9)</sup>

Also to be recorded here are some delicacies:

Moorong (Upper Clarence), "rat."  
 Cereica<sup>23</sup> (Clarence Town), "the native bee."<sup>(10), (16)</sup>  
 Kuppine (Hastings River), "native bees' nest."  
 Tungarra (Woolgoolga), "honey,"<sup>(m) (17)</sup> spelt Tonga (South Grafton).<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Berdo (Clarence), "bees."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Woogin (Woolgoolga), "a bee."<sup>(n)</sup>  
 Goojerrie (Upper Clarence), "bees."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Mungah Wakaah (Kempsey), from mungah, "ants," wakaah, "a creek," hence  
 "ants' nest creek."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Mungie (Port Macquarie), "the white ants' nest."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Temagong (Kempsey), "the land of the grasshopper."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Carbu (Clarencetown), "the large grub."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Bulli (Port Macquarie), "white grubs."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Jerbam (Upper Clarence), "grubs."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Billing (Clarence), "bat."<sup>(9)</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Of this name a note (*S.o.M.*, p. 192, April, 1909) states that the bees there, "make sweet and better honey than the Goorenang."

- Gidderman (Clarence), "the flying foxes."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Congeuch (Clarencetown), "flying fox."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Condannican (Port Macquarie), "flying fox."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Walinbah (Grafton), "the place of the flying fox."<sup>(m)</sup>

The old name for Clarence River heads, North Side, Eerie-bunning, "the place where bats flit about at night,"<sup>(r)</sup> is best understood because of the adjacent valley quarry.

## MONOTREMES

The unique group of animals known as monotremes is represented by:

- Boneen (Clarence), "echidna."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Muggi (South Grafton), "echidna."  
 Charnbung (Upper Clarence), "platypus."<sup>(9)</sup>

## MARSUPIALS

As one might expect of this lush area, the largest group of animals is that of the marsupials:

- Wapponah (Hastings River), "old man kangaroo."  
 Womboomba (Taree), "that kangaroo."<sup>(n)</sup>  
 Womboin (Hastings River), "female kangaroo."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Womboyne (Macleay district), "the place where kangaroos are plentiful."  
 Komboin, "the kangaroo," a large area of brush land at the head of Thone Creek and spelt by the settlers Comboyne.<sup>24(1)</sup>  
 Coorahgie (South Grafton), "kangaroo."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Nurgoo (Woolgoolga), "the kangaroo."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Cooroomon (Upper Clarence), "kangaroo."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Warra (Hastings River), "kangaroo."  
 Marnie (Clarence River), "kangaroo."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Knoonor (Orara), "kangaroo."<sup>(d)</sup>  
 Boolkoon (Hastings River), "red wallaby."  
 Bandarrah (Hastings River), "scrub wallaby."  
 Barndoop (Upper Clarence), "scrub wallaby."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Currumbumgee (now Pumpkin Swamp, Copmanhurst), "a wallaby."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Bullean (Woolgoolga), "the wallaby."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Boobee (South Grafton), "the wallaby."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Shandock (Upper Clarence), "wallaroo."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Coril (Upper Clarence), "paddymelon."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Kuring-bar (Nymboida), "paddymelon."<sup>(1)</sup>  
 Munee (Nambucca), "paddymelon."<sup>(k)</sup>  
 Dungery (Clarence River), "native bear."  
 Yarrahapinni (Macleay), "native bear (rolling down the hill)"<sup>(8), (u)</sup> (Yarrahapinni Mountain occurs nearby).

<sup>24</sup> It is now officially known as Comboin.

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Coola<sup>25</sup> (Hastings River), "native bear."  
 Banjorah (Clarence), "native bear."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Toon-gari (Orara), "native bear."<sup>(d)</sup>  
 Turgaree (Woolgoolga), "native bear."<sup>(m)</sup>  
 Pucawan (Nymboida), "a native bear."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Ombudgee (Grafton), "native bear."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Dungery/Dun-gearah (Grafton), "native bear."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Turgaree (Woolgoolga), "native bear."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Coor-ahgy (Grafton), "opossum."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Cragi (a mountain near Nymboida), "opossum."<sup>(d), (16)</sup>  
 Pum-hi (Orara), "opossum."<sup>(d)</sup>  
 Budjong (Clarence River), "opossum."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Balling (Hastings River), "red opossum."  
 Guean (Upper Clarence), "opossum."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Whattoo (Hastings River), "the grey opossum."  
 Burraga (Port Macquarie), "the bandicoot."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Ullora (Woolgoolga), "the bandicoot."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Yougi (Clarence River), "bandicoot."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Balpo (Clarence River), "kangaroo rat."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Bunjum (Clarence), "native cat."<sup>(9), (14)</sup>  
 Murra-Murra wee (S. Grafton), "native cat."<sup>(17)</sup>

## MAMMALS

Several names from the class of mammals are to be found amongst these toponyms:

Dingomyall (Clarence River), "native dog."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Mirree (Hastings River), "dingo"; Merri legai (Nambucca), "the place of many dogs."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Nargund (Upper Clarence), "native dog."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Wangie (Orara), "dingo."<sup>(d), (m)</sup>  
 Waange Warraboo (Bellinger River), "dingo."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Barnet (Clarence Town), "native dog."  
 Moorong (Upper Clarence), "rat."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Bangocoobeebah (Port Macquarie), originally a village, Beechwood, Hastings River, means "a flying squirrel alighting on a limb of a tree."<sup>(16)</sup>

Some few names show that the natives were still bestowing place names after the importation of the new livestock:

Yarraman (Clarence Town), "horse,"<sup>(10), (16)</sup> from *yira*, a tooth, the enormous front teeth being the distinctive feature of this animal.  
 Yellowman (Port Macquarie), "lamb,"<sup>(11)</sup> and Jimbrick (Clarence Town), "sheep."<sup>(10), (16)</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See the Appendix.



## SNAKES AND REPTILES

The several snake names may refer to a regional infestation or a particular incident:

- Mulloawah<sup>26</sup> (Grafton), "black snake."<sup>(17)</sup>
- Konguie (Copmanhurst), "black snake."<sup>(14)</sup>
- Kurro-kurrogo (Orara), "place of snakes."<sup>(d)</sup>
- Brettar (Hastings River), "black snake."
- Congolorah (Clarence), "black snake."
- Karlenger (Hastings River), "whip snake."
- Earin (Nymboida), "the whip snake."<sup>(1)</sup>
- Yering (Copmanhurst), "green snake."
- Bundee Bundee (Port Macquarie), "a species of snake."<sup>(h)</sup>
- Berree (Hastings River), "brown snake."
- Buckra (Clarence), "brown snake."<sup>(9)</sup>
- Bundoo Bundoo (towards Kempsey), "mountain species of the tiger snake."<sup>(h)</sup>
- Toongoo (Woolgoolga), "black snake."<sup>(17)</sup>
- Toombarn (South Grafton), "the carpet snake."<sup>(k), (17)</sup>

As any archaeologist or field worker will testify, the region is one of many reptiles:

- Nana/Nana Glen<sup>27</sup> (Dorrigo), "small lizard."<sup>(p), (8)</sup>
- Gumman (Hastings River), "small yellow-mouthed lizard."
- Murramie (Copmanhurst), "big lizard."<sup>(17)</sup>
- Baryulgil (Copmanhurst), "species of large lizard."<sup>(16), (v)</sup>
- Nearram (Upper Clarence), "Jew lizard" (Agama).<sup>(9)</sup>
- Ghulon (Clarence River), "lizard."<sup>(14)</sup>
- Tooloon (Upper Clarence), "lizard."<sup>(9)</sup>
- Tarrokoe (Hastings River), "the black goanna."
- Bugolin (Upper Clarence), "goanna."<sup>(9)</sup>
- Gnarmallgo (Copmanhurst), "the iguana."<sup>(1)</sup>
- Derawong (Clarence River), "iguana."<sup>(1), (14)</sup>
- Moondregum (Clarence), "death adder."<sup>(9)</sup>
- Ghumbie (Clarence River), "death adder."<sup>(14)</sup>
- Koorah (Wilson River), "fresh-water turtle."
- Bingin<sup>28</sup> (Upper Clarence), "turtle."<sup>(9)</sup>

## BIRDS

Birds were observed everywhere and caught or speared whenever possible. Two interesting names are:

- Nourin (Clarence), "emu,"<sup>(9)</sup> and
- Cucombin (Clarence River), "emu."<sup>(14)</sup>

<sup>26</sup> This may be a separate place but is most probably a spelling of Moor-loo-wahhoo, the name for the Brushgrove and of Woodford Island (Clarence River), meaning "many black snakes."<sup>(r)</sup> Moorloo is the name of the reptile.

<sup>27</sup> There are three place names in Nana in this part of Fitzroy County.

<sup>28</sup> Budgemby (aboriginal name for Copmanhurst) probably means "the smell of the turtle."<sup>(h)</sup>

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## SOME ABORIGINAL PLACE NAMES

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Apart from the general name Teebid (Orara), "place of birds,"<sup>(a)</sup> the other names are specific.

### *Waterfowl*

Some names of waterfowl reflect the coastal species :

Cootne-uin (Clarence), "cormorant,"<sup>(9)</sup>  
but more are concerned with inland areas :

Wilpung (Hastings River), "red bill."  
Wanderribie (Upper Clarence), "ibis."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Wirrang (Macleay), "the wild duck."  
Karangi (Dorrigo), "a duck."<sup>(p), (u)</sup>  
Morrizum (Clarence), "musk duck."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Maroonghe (Hastings River), "black duck."  
Mara (Clarence), "black duck."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Killowill (Woolgoolga), "black duck."<sup>(i)</sup>  
Geeyung (Clarence), "water hen."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Coolewanga (Hastings River), "black swan."  
Danderbie (Upper Clarence), "pelican."<sup>(9)</sup>

### *Grass Birds*

Birds of the grasslands occur in many place names :

Courjong (Clarence), "kite."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Waganky (Woolgoolga), "a crow."<sup>29 (m)</sup>  
Peal-lin (Upper Clarence), "rosella parrot."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Billun (Clarence), "(green) parrot."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Waring (Hastings River), "wonga pigeon."  
Wooloolin (Clarence), "wonga pigeon."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Moom-bindoo (Grafton), "quail."<sup>(17)</sup>  
Pleatlin (Clarence), "magpie lark."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Kerrictoong (Hastings River), "black magpie"; compare Kerra-wong (same region), "the place of the black magpie."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Towallum (Grafton), "black magpies."<sup>(17)</sup>  
Goolamire (Clarence), "magpie."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Others would have had habitat in regions of woodland :  
Keenepie (Clarence), "bustard."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Wargorn (Clarence), "scrub turkey."<sup>(9)</sup>  
Nooraing (Hastings River), "black turkey."  
Miebun (Clarence), "eagle hawk."

### *Forest Birds*

Still other names with reference to birds are concerned with forest species :

Kerrepi (Hastings River), "white cockatoo."  
Kiara (Woolgoolga), "white cockatoo."<sup>(1)</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Cp. Wagga Wagga (N.S.W.), the place of many crows.

- Carare (Clarence), "cockatoo."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Garrah (Copmanhurst), "cockatoo."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Eewhyaharrilay (now Maclean), "many white cockatoos."<sup>(11)</sup>  
 Carkon (Hastings River), "jackass."  
 Cargoan (Upper Clarence), "jackass."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Kargon (Copmanhurst), "laughing jackass."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Wundigin (Hastings River), "lyre bird/pheasant."  
 Chumparia (Woolgoolga), "blue mountain parrot."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Balyingini (Kempsey), "a species of parrot."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Chetierre (Upper Clarence), "fruit piegon."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Culgolung (Clarence), "honey bird."<sup>(9)</sup>

Several of the names concerned with birds would seem to indicate observation on specific occasions:

- Coombullnee (now Kenny Creek, Copmanhurst), "bird's tail."  
 Col(l)ombatti (Macleay district), "two swifts flying by."<sup>(11), (17)</sup>  
 Comal (Hastings River), "the big eagle hawk."  
 Cowal (Clarence Town), "black eagle hawk."<sup>(10), (16)</sup>

Of the bird names generally it may be said that they indicate a much greater population and diversity of species than on the Northern Tableland or in the hinterland generally. Heavy rainfall, particularly in the forest areas and swamps, and areas of inundation increased the breeding grounds and the availability of suitable habitats.

#### SOCIAL LIFE, PERSONAL IDIOSYNCRASY

Many names can only be classified as being recollections of the general social life or some personal idiosyncrasy, as far as the actual literal meanings go:

- Tabulum<sup>30</sup> (Ulmarra), "my native country/home."<sup>(9), (17)</sup>  
 Murrendowry<sup>31</sup> (Bellinger River), "the place of the vessel."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Deerah (Grafton), "teeth."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Bowra (Co. Raleigh), "(bald) head."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Cobra (Clarencetown), "head."<sup>(10), (16)</sup>  
 Mundoe (Hastings River), "foot."  
 Mundowie (Clarence Town), "foot."  
 Yulgurumle (Grafton), "eyes."<sup>(11)</sup>  
 Bogoorie (Bellinger River), "the place of sleep."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Urambi (Copmanhurst), "sleep."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Kungala (Dorrigo), "to shout/to listen."<sup>(11), (8), (17)</sup>  
 Waangee Wamble (Bellinger River), "the (place of) dog bark."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Wombah (Maclean), "tail."<sup>(13)</sup>  
 Pullgin (now Gordon Brook, Copmanhurst), "the thin bone in the kangaroo's leg."<sup>(17)</sup>

<sup>30</sup> It may be noted here that this name in the Ulmarra district is always spelt thus, while the similar name further north near Drake, with the same meaning, is spelt Tabulam.

<sup>31</sup> This word, by semantic change, acquired senses like "wheelbarrow" and "steamer."<sup>(13), (15)</sup>

## HUMAN SITUATIONS—BATTLE, ETC.

Many others reflect various human situations:

- Barrikun (Hastings River), "boomerang."  
 Bi Bi (Coastal), "tomahawk."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Wagarraga (Woolgoolga), "the tomahawk."<sup>(m)</sup>  
 Warkeera (Woolgoolga), "the old style of stone tomahawk."<sup>(m)</sup>  
 Mororo (Creek), Harwood, "fighting place."<sup>(v)</sup>  
 Goolah-gelum (Copmanhurst), "a fighting place."<sup>(i)</sup>  
 Mororo (Grafton), "a fighting place."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Boorarng (Woolgoolga), "to kill."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Belbora/Baal Bora (Taree), "place of evil" (said to allude to a massacre of natives<sup>32</sup>).  
 Cummara (Nymboida), "blood."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Burra-wang (South Grafton), "flight."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Toowalla (Copmanhurst), "buried."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Bangan (Port Macquarie), "wooden sword."<sup>(h)</sup>  
 Nulla Nulla Creek (Macleay), "large-headed club."  
 Cummin (Woolgoolga), "nulla nulla."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Cow(a)gan (Woolgoolga), "shield."<sup>(i), (16)</sup>  
 Heliman (Hastings River), "shield."  
 Lowanna (Dorrigo), "a girl."<sup>(p), (s), (u), (v)</sup>  
 Coombah (Copmanhurst), "baby boy."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Neagrea (Woolgoolga), "black man."  
 Illbooyah (now Lawrence, or The Elbow on the Clarence), "the place of coughing," from *illboo*, "a cough."  
 Doombal Boany (Bellinger River), "someone killed by a snake bite."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Nululgery (Woolgoolga), "aboriginal doctor."<sup>(k)</sup>  
 Comarra (Port Macquarie), "cut sinew."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Bungawalbin (Woodburn), "a sick person."  
 Numme Urallame (Bellinger River), "the woman's home."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Cooloni (Woolgoolga), "native liquor."<sup>(1)</sup><sup>33</sup>  
 Woomong, "that will do," the aboriginal name for South West Rocks.<sup>(n)</sup>  
 Binge (Clarencetown), "the stomach."<sup>(10)</sup>  
 Quarti (Orara), "the (place of) hail-stones."<sup>(d)</sup>  
 Ningoola (Bellinger River), "can't get out, as lake or lagoon."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Tuom (Bellinger River), "the smoke of a fire."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Tume/Tumi (Woolgoolga), "the place of smoke."<sup>(m), (17)</sup>  
 Wargy (Bellinger River), "the place of fire."<sup>(s), (12)</sup>  
 Whar-ghi (Orara), "the place of fire."<sup>(d), (17)</sup>  
 Yargin (Woolgoolga), "the place of fire."<sup>(n)</sup>

<sup>32</sup> L. A. Gilbert, *The History of Nahiack and District* (1954).

<sup>33</sup> Compare this form with the words for rain (above) and see Appendix.

- Wahgai (Bellinger), "fire."  
 Wattah (Clarence Town), "place of fire."<sup>(g)</sup>  
 Kooyal (Hastings River), "fire."  
 Cubaway (S. Grafton), "the big bush fire."<sup>(16)</sup>

## ADJECTIVE TYPE

A few are adjective types whose original association would seem to be irretrievably lost;

- Chuckgungee (Woolgoolga), "to hand, nearby."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Whiporie (Copmanhurst), "fine/choice."<sup>(p), (s), (u), (v)</sup>  
 Marook (Coastal), "good."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Chumburrah (Upper Clarence), "heavy."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Midgee (Clarence Town), "small."<sup>(10)</sup>  
 Burrowy (Bellinger River), "big."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Cubborn (Clarence Town), "large."<sup>(10), (16)</sup>  
 Koomarga (Bellinger River), "plenty/many."<sup>(12)</sup>  
 Coorroo (Woolgoolga), "black."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Bucca (Clybucca district), "crooked," must be considered alongside Bucca.  
 Bucca (Nambucca district), "a crooked creek."<sup>(h)</sup>

## GEOGRAPHY

Over and above all the special classifications of toponyms so far noticed, it is true to say that locations or features, which did not associate themselves with the flora, the fauna or some special incident or situation, were given the generic tribal term for "hill," "rock" and the like. A problem with some names is that informants of another day, not always familiar with the special interpretation of a name, gave a general explanation and thus there arises apparent conflict in the meaning given. Yamba (below) is an example of hopeless diversity of native opinion.

A number refer to depressions in the ground.

A hole on the top of Mount Cairncross was called Kowala Bittambah,<sup>34</sup> because there was always water on the top; from *kowala*, "an eagle," and *bittambah*, "drinking."<sup>(1)</sup>

Cubbletrenak (head of Manning River), "narrow stony gorge" (this in Clarence-town language).<sup>(16)</sup>

Marlo Merrikan (Kempsey), "thunder hole."<sup>(16)</sup>

## EMINENCES

Many others are names for hills and the like:

Wah-mun (Clarence), "hill."

Berberong nugun (Copmanhurst), "small hill."<sup>(14)</sup>

<sup>34</sup> There is a place of similar name, Kootapatamba, near Mount Kosciusko and another somewhat similar near Port Macquarie.<sup>(1)</sup>

place

Djo

- Toomal (Clarence Town), "small hill."  
 Gheanbin (Copmanhurst), "nob, hillock."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Ghingi Ghingi (Kempsey), probably means "hills."<sup>(e)</sup>  
 Cumboyne (Coastal), "the broken-topped mountain."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Joor-lum (Clarence), "mountain."  
 Tuggin (Copmanhurst), "the mountain."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Bulkara (Hastings River), "mountain."  
 Tulong (Bellingen), "a mountain."<sup>(m), (17)</sup>  
 Taloumbi (Maclean), "a mountain."<sup>(13)</sup>  
 Uloom (South Grafton), "a big mountain."<sup>35(t), (m), (17)</sup>  
 Duganmorigara (Copmanhurst), "the large mountain."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Dugalbin (Copmanhurst), "small mountain."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Toomal (Clarence/Port Macquarie), "small hill."<sup>(10), (16)</sup>  
 Prowomba (Woolgoolga), "a large high mountain."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Dewrang, "high" (the railway siding is situated in very mountainous country).<sup>(p)</sup>  
 Mourabimerri (now Mount Lookout, Bellinger area), "the view from a high hill."

## ROCKS OR STONES

Many place names refer to distinctive rocks or stones, and doubtless indicate places of local reference in defining particular spots:

- Kora (Orara), "(a specific) rock."<sup>(d)</sup>  
 Chara (Upper Clarence), "place of rocks."<sup>(9)</sup>  
 Charo (Upper Clarence), "stones."  
 Garro (Copmanhurst), "place of stones."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Bilmah (Copmanhurst), "rocks."<sup>(14)</sup>  
 Moneim (Bellinger River), "rock."  
 Lumbar-run (Clarence), "stone."  
 Coorari (Woolgoolga), "stone."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Gool-boorah (Grafton), "stone."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Barokee " (place of) stone." <sup>(p), (w)</sup>  
 Turra-birran (now Myall Creek, Copmanhurst), "the place of broken stone."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Yar-room (Grafton), "the river shingle."<sup>(17)</sup>  
 Wid-lah-rah (Clarence), "big stone/rock."  
 Another group describes rough walking country:  
 Bretti (Clarence Town), "hilly, stony, (gold-bearing?) country."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Gin (Clarence Town), "hilly country."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Lebuc (Clarence Town), "stone strewn country."<sup>(16)</sup>  
 Nowendoc (Clarence Town), "rough country."<sup>(16)</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Compare Burrowy taloom (Woolgoolga), "mountains,"<sup>(15)</sup> Taloom (Woolgoolga), "hill,"<sup>(15)</sup> Djoo-loom (Grafton), "the mountains."<sup>(17)</sup>

## PLAINS

Others refer to open country :

Cullo (Copmanhurst), "plain."<sup>(14)</sup>

Ah-nah-mon (Clarence), "plain."

Wat-ja-ra (Orara), "(flat) ground."<sup>(d)</sup>

Bummi (Copmanhurst), "a plain."<sup>(h)</sup>

## PROMONTORIES AND ISLANDS

Many place names have a special association with the coast and indicate an awareness of physical features in such a setting :

Lulidworri (Grafton), "the sea-beach."<sup>(14)</sup>

Urunga (Bellingen) or Uringa<sup>(m)</sup>, <sup>(17)</sup>, <sup>(p)</sup>, <sup>(s)</sup>, <sup>(u)</sup> means "a long beach."

Several refer to places where the land juts into the water :

Coogik (Port Macquarie?), "the nose."

Worru (Grafton), "the neck."<sup>(14)</sup>

Woorsroomiddah, the old name for Grafton, "the human neck," presumably so called from the neck of land upon which the town was later built.<sup>(r)</sup>

In Clarence River language *worru* means "neck"<sup>(r)</sup>

Yamba (Harwood), "a headland."<sup>(p)</sup>, <sup>(n)</sup>, <sup>(17)</sup>, <sup>(s)</sup>, <sup>(u)</sup> But it is given<sup>36</sup> by "a South Grafton aboriginal" who knew words used by Maclean blacks as "come here."<sup>(13)</sup>

Weoomyarroon (Woolgoolga), "the headland."<sup>(15)</sup>

Karribi (Copmanhurst), also means "headland."<sup>(14)</sup>

Wyn yabba (Maclean district), "a small island."<sup>(n)</sup>, <sup>(16)</sup>

Chulga (Woolgoolga), "the island."<sup>(15)</sup>

Coyinguine (Port Macquarie), "the island."<sup>(16)</sup>

The exact meaning has not been discovered for the Woolgoolga natives' designations—Boonyoongoody, the South Solitary Island, and Atoonda, North Solitary Island.<sup>(15)</sup>

## RITUAL

Various important ceremonies are noted in the place-name vocabulary for the area. J. F. Small records<sup>(5)</sup> of the Clarence River aboriginals that

"When a man dies he is immediately tied, hands and feet, slung on a pole and carried away to the chosen burial place. On the way to the grave the Yooloorie (an old man/a great doctor) walks beside the corpse and instructs it how to act in the world of spirits."

Toponyms to be associated with this are :

Bucka Wauka (Taree), said to be "to lie down with the knees up" (a mode of burial?); the Birpai word for knee was *bucker*.

<sup>36</sup> Perhaps the most likely explanation is that of Freeburn,<sup>(r)</sup> who said that the Clarence River Heads, South Side, should be called Yum-Bah, meaning "a rough shell about as big as a man's fist, which clings to rocks and is edible." (It is not an oyster shell.)

Bumble Berang (Bellinger River), "the burying ground."<sup>(12)</sup>

Towalla (Copmanhurst), "buried."

Waaalee (Bellinger River), "dead."<sup>(12)</sup>

Small commented on the local initiation ritual:

"At eighteen to twenty years the young men are tatoored on the arms and breast with deep cuts which are filled with clay . . . The Bora was held in a large ring in which were two or three grotesque figures made of clay, on each of which one of the young men was seated. The christening was done in the midst of unearthly yells and frantic gesticulations."

Names which are probably to be related to these ceremonies are:

Borra Creek (several in County Fitzroy).

Boro (Clarencetown), "place where the rites of making men were performed."<sup>(13)</sup>

Dualibee (Copmanhurst), "the bora ground."<sup>(14)</sup>

Kaparra (Upper Macleay),<sup>(15)</sup> name of bora circle.

On the Hastings River the ceremony of making men was called Kiparra and the name<sup>37</sup> Boora-pung was given to the outside ring of earth thrown up for the ceremony.<sup>(1)</sup>

Gnaribee (Copmanhurst), "the dancing ground."<sup>(14)</sup>

Tungrimee (Copmanhurst), "the corroboree ground."<sup>(17)</sup>

Both for initiations and art work clay was important and some of these names designated suitable sources for obtaining it in quantity.

Nieal (Copmanhurst), "clay."<sup>(14)</sup>

Dullungul (Copmanhurst), "pipeclay."

Duppo (Port Macquarie), "pipeclay."

Mogo (Bellinger), "pipe clay," is the aboriginal name for a tributary of the Bellinger now known as Pipe Clay Creek.<sup>(16)</sup>

Mahna (Grafton area), meaning "hands," may refer to the "hands in the cave,"<sup>38</sup> i.e. the use of silhouette hand outlines on the walls of sandstone caves.

Since the location of the place Targan (Woolgoolga area) is uncertain, the meaning "the white colour"<sup>(17)</sup> may not refer to any aboriginal art.

#### ANCIENT LEGEND

The folklore of the tribes of the mid-north coast contains a number of names for places either specifically located or deliberately left vague and placed somewhere about or beyond the tribal boundaries.

The place where the first man was made on earth for the Grafton district was named Djooki-jarug-harri<sup>(1)</sup> according to one authority, but another gives it as

<sup>37</sup> Special Bora names are not uncommon and one from the area is Weengin, used in the rites of Roland Plains, Wilson River, for the sun.<sup>(7)</sup>

<sup>38</sup> A. C. McDougall, writing in the *Science of Man* (November 21st, 1899, p. 194) of the North Coast peoples, referred to the fact that "Ulitarra (the Good Spirit) . . . made the red hands in the caves."



Marralmeedah,<sup>(k)</sup> with, perhaps, the sense "the first place that was created on earth."<sup>(16)</sup>

The Coombyngura tribe had a name for a mythical spot somewhere between the Clarence and Bellinger Rivers. Although its meaning and whereabouts are not recorded, the name, Yooladuma Gahra, is given some indication of its associations by "the good spirit lives on earth" and

"the first man and woman were first in the west, where they taught the people to hunt and make weapons; from thence they went along the coast in canoes, and landed and lived in the north."<sup>39</sup>

As has already been noted, the Good Spirit for the area was Ulitarra. For the Grafton district, McDougall<sup>(8)</sup> states that the natives believed that the Good Spirit of the tribe was once on earth there, but that he now lived somewhere up above them. Nabbe (Hastings River), which may not be a place, is the name of the Good Spirit in that region, but "he lives above and is believed to appear in a mist or fog when communicating to the aborigines."<sup>(1)</sup> On the Macleay River Biami may be the Good Spirit, although this is unlikely since the name really applies to western New South Wales. Cooramman (Upper Macleay) is given as "the place Biami came from" (possibly near the River Hunter).<sup>(3)</sup>

Other names of religious significance are less specific:

Coomburra (Woolgoolga), "a spirit."<sup>(18)</sup>

Myngawin (Nymboida), "a ghost,"<sup>(11)</sup> is a place name, vaguely located, but refers to a mythical being "supposed to be a wild hairy man wandering about the bush on the tops of the mountains (i.e. edge of New England plateau), but is perfectly harmless and only frightens people."<sup>40</sup>

A toponym which may indicate a spot held in religious veneration is Minane (Nymboida), which is translated as "the last man" (i.e. the last man of the tribe to die).<sup>41</sup> Another name to be taken here is Eerie-eerie-idjah (now Elizabeth Island, near Grafton), which means literally "edible people." It is said<sup>(17)</sup> to be derived from an ancient fable or legend to the effect that, in the dim past, people were killed and eaten upon this island.

#### REACTION TO INQUIRER (?)

Some terms are in the tradition of "slyly bluffing the surveyor"<sup>42</sup> or questor after the name of a place or feature:

Goonum (Clarence), "excrements."<sup>43</sup>

Wurawil (Copmanhurst), "fleas."<sup>(14)</sup>

Tooloom (Ulmarra), "louse."<sup>(e), (17)</sup>

<sup>39</sup> This translation is given at the conclusion of a vocabulary list for the Coombyngura tribe, *The Australian Anthropological Journal*, Vol. 1, Sept. 12th, 1896, p. 13.

<sup>40</sup> F. Brown, *S.o.M.*, Vol. 3, October 22nd, 1900, p. 151. The place name Mucki-win normbin (now Myrtle Creek, Copmanhurst) has the same meaning.<sup>(17)</sup>

<sup>41</sup> See in *Science of Man*, (i), Vol. 3, October 22nd, 1900, p. 151; Vol. 11, August, 1909, p. 80.

<sup>42</sup> See J. S. Ryan, (ii), *Oceania*, XXXIV, p. 52.

<sup>43</sup> This reminds us of the Breeza informants' cheerful translation of Goonoo-Goonoo as "dung." (J. S. Ryan, (i), p. 37.)

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## CORRUPTION OF FORMS

The likelihood of misunderstandings about meaning, mistranscriptions of names of spots in the tribal run, or corruptions in forms with the passage of time, is very considerable. Without earlier information as to the form of the name, the scholar could not be expected to divine that Farrell (County Raleigh) was a slip for Warral,<sup>(4)</sup> "bee,"<sup>(16)</sup> or that Buckets (near Gloucester) is from the Birpai and Kattang word *buckan*, "stone."<sup>44</sup>

That such corruption of names is very common, this memorandum<sup>45</sup> from a Mr. Bowden of the South Grafton area makes clear :

"Camira (previously stated to mean "come on here"), is not an aboriginal name; the aboriginal name of the Camira head station is 'Boorkinbah.' Gulmarrad, I think, has its original in Greece, the name having been given, if I mistake not, to the Parish by Mr. Surveyor Wilson. Mr. Wilson served in the Greek Army during the war of Independence, under General Woodford (hence Woodford Island). There are several places in the counties of Clarence and Fitzroy which have their originals in Greece, such as Laritza, Lavadia, Canonlan, Kremnoss, etc. Many of the other names are mere 'judgeon' names, corruptions, either of aboriginal dialects improperly pronounced or equally corrupted names given by Europeans. It is exceedingly difficult to obtain meanings for aboriginal names of places. The aboriginal explanation usually is that it is the name of the particular piece of ground, but the why or the wherefore of that name they seem unable to explain. Besides that, it is difficult to fix the exact locality to which a given name applies. One particular spot, for instance, may be known to the aborigines of the locality by a name, while another spot not fifty yards away, may be known by quite a different name. Hence, with regard to 'Brookinbah,' although that is the name of the spot where the head station stands, there are a dozen other names applied to places within a radius of half a mile. The difficulty, therefore, is not only to find the meaning of the names applied to any given spot, but also to find to which particular spot in making aboriginal explanation of terms, the name or term applies."

It is some consolation to the collector and codifier of place names that he is able to record the odd scraps of evidence which might otherwise go neglected and not yield up their item of information.

## CONCLUSION

These aboriginal names for places either still or only briefly occupied, specifically known or only vaguely located, are probably a mere percentage of those in use less than two hundred years ago. In view of this it is, perhaps, the more remarkable that a coherent pattern of meanings emerges from them. No defence for drawing

<sup>44</sup> L. A. Gilbert, *The History of Nabitac and District* (1954).

<sup>45</sup> *Science of Man*; Vol. 6, February 21st, 1903, p. 7.

conclusions is needed, for, in the recent words of an eminent English student of toponomy :

"This is especially important, for without it (analysis of the material) volumes on place names are well-nigh useless."<sup>46</sup>

These groupings are as valid as any yet devised and such a presentation affords us a workable classification of material which arose spontaneously in the everyday lives of the aborigines. A completely objective approach in recording the names has been succeeded by a written-up representation of their relationships. As has been the case in other countries, the study of toponomy, particularly in a regional context, can afford considerable information about the fabric of the life and circumstances of another age.

#### APPENDIX

##### A. *Etymology*

An interesting note on the etymology of this word is contributed by P.H.C., writing in the *Science of Man*, Vol. 3, November 21, 1900, pp. 167-8. After noting the amount of curious legendary lore which is bound up in words, particularly place names, he continues as follows :

"The adoption of the words into the language which wrap up in themselves allusions to beautiful and significant legends of ancient peoples, is often the sole cause of keeping the legend or tradition alive. Of course, owing to the complete isolation of Australia for so many ages, we find few illustrations of such origin of words. Nevertheless, occasionally we find instances where the folk lore or legend of one tribe gives origin to a word, which perhaps in time is adopted into the dialect of a neighbouring tribe. In the appellation 'coola'—native bear—and the place name Coolawin, meaning big bear, there would appear to be an instance of the legendary origin. In searching for the root of the said two names one is struck with the significant fact, that particularly in the northern river districts of N.S.W., are a number of names all connected with water, and apparently derived from the same stem as 'Coola'—native bear. Here are a few :

Cool. Water.

Coolaeon or cooloon. Rain.

Coolamin. A basin made from a swelling in a tree.

Coolwannia. A black swan.

Coolmangar and Coolman. Water gum-tree.

Coolabah. Tree that thrives near water.

Coolone. A native liquor.

Coolingup or Coolup. Any watering place (W. Australian dialects):

Coolabulamba. Well where the eagles drink.

<sup>46</sup> K. Cameron, commenting in *Medium Aevum* (Vol. XXXII, 1963, No. 2, p. 162) on A. H. Smith's seven volumes on *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*.

"As the so-called bear is in no sense a water animal, this connection might be looked upon as a mere coincidence but for an old legend of the Coombangrie tribe, and variations of it, which have extended to other Northern River tribes. The said legend described how the rivers and the sea first came into existence, and tells how, when Uli-tarra's (the first man's) tribe was shut off from their hunting grounds by a wide stream, that they eventually crossed the water by means of rope manufactured from the native bear entrails. Further, the legend tells that the entrails of that animal became phenomenally strong because of the important part they played in the crossings of the waters. Thus we see by the legend that the bear is traditionally connected with water, and it is probable that the appellation 'Coola' was given to it by more recent generations of blacks, and so we may safely consider the word as a derivative of the primitive root—'cool'—water. And furthermore, may we not attribute the derivation to the influence of the legend?"

Various names beginning with the element Cool- are given in the text. There is no means of disputing his version of the words and names, nor would this seem to be at all necessary. Other New South Wales place names with this element which come to mind are:

Coolac, "native bear."<sub>(u), (v)</sub>

Coolah, "the (water) junction."<sub>(u)</sub>

Coolamatong, "water near a hill."<sub>(u), (v)</sub>

Cooloowal, "the name for Fig Point, Middle Harbour, Port Jackson."<sub>(u)</sub>

#### B. Names of Tribes

The names of the tribes, given above in a standardized form, have been spelt in many ways. Some of the more commonly encountered forms are as follows:

For the Badjelang—Bunjellung, Bundela, Bundel, Watchee, Bandjalang, etc.

For the Jiegera—Yiegera.

For the Bunbai—Bahnbi, Ahnbi, Dandai, etc.

For the Kumbaingiri—Kumbaingeri, Kombaingheri, Koombanggery, Koombanggher(r)y, Koombainga, Coombangree, Kombinegherry, Coombyngara, Coombagoree, etc.

For the Dainggati—Dang-getti, Dhangatty, Thangatti, Thangatty, Dangati, Tang-getti, Burgadi, Boorkutti, etc.

For the Ngaku—no common variation.

For the Ngamba—no common variation.

For the Birpai—Birripai, Bripi, Birrapee, Birippi.

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