

Placenames Australia

Newsletter of the Australian National Placenames Survey

an initiative of the Australian Academy of Humanities, supported by the Geographical Names Board of NSW



What flows from *ngaka-rna* —

How naming books spread a Dieri word

Coining a new name from a word taken from an Australian language often has complex implications, even if the naming agency is oblivious to them. When the name is for a place, a suburb or a street or a park, the official approval involves the relevant local government body. Two writers went into some of the issues a few years ago:

- Tony Birch (2010 [1992]) sees the application of indigenous names to 'houses, streets, suburbs and whole cities' as 'an exercise in cultural appropriation'.

He draws a distinction between the restoration of indigenous placenames (such as *Gariwerd- Grampians* in western Victoria), and the fresh application to the built environment of a word imported from some Australian language.

- Sam Furphy (2002) discussed the role of what he dubbed 'naming books': popular twentieth century booklets of lists of 'Aboriginal words' such as Endacott (1923), Thorpe (1927), Kenyon (1930), Cooper (1952), which, for all the expressed good intentions of their compilers, have contributed to a homogenised perception of Australian languages: 'The earliest popular naming books... make virtually no reference to the variety of languages spoken by the indigenous people of Australia, such that an uninformed reader could be forgiven for believing that there was only one Aboriginal language' (Furphy 2002:62). 'Naming books simplify and romanticise Aboriginal words and remove them from their cultural and linguistic context' (Furphy 2002:68).



'Akuna' homestead on Akuna Lane, near the Lachlan River in central NSW

I've recently come upon an example which illustrates a combination of both concerns: one where official placenaming has drawn on the notorious naming booklets. This case study begins in 1865

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From the Editor



In this issue we are pleased to feature two main articles. Our front-page article on **Akuna** is by David Nash, one of Australia's experts on Aboriginal languages. And our second feature is a response to two previous articles on those placenames which begin with 'The', by Georgia May, a linguistics student at Macquarie University.

We were pleased to welcome a good number of PA members to our AGM in October. Our new committee is not very different from the old: Dale Lehner was elected President again, Greg Windsor Vice-President, Helen Slatyer and Brian Lehner are Secretary and Treasurer respectively, and committee

members are Charles Koch, Dymphna Lonergan, Kevin Richards, Stuart Duncan and Michael Walsh.

Jan Tent's article on the origin of **Humula** prompted some correspondence from David Cartwright, a descendant of Richard Guise of Casula, who has researched the history of the Guise family for 40 years. David has been able to point out that Richard Guise's date of birth is disputed, so 'c. 1757' would be more accurate; that there is no documentary evidence for Guise naming his property *Casula*, for Guise's French heritage, or for the date of his arrival in Sydney Cove; that Guise in fact joined the NSW Corps in England on 14th October 1789; and that Guise was illiterate. We thank David for this crucial information.

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We recommend...

The papers from the 2007 'Trends in Toponymy' conference at Ballarat have now been published. *Indigenous and Minority Placenames*, edited by Ian Clark, Luise Hercus and Laura Kostanski, is available from ANU Press; digital PDF versions are free for download, and hard copies can be purchased from the webpage:

<http://press.anu.edu.au/titles/aboriginal-history-monographs/indigenous-and-minority-placenames/>

Secondly, Joshua Nash's article on Phillip Island (from our December 2013 issue) has now been published in a revised version in *The Globe* (no. 75, 2014, 11-15). If your local library doesn't hold it, copies can be ordered from the Australian & New Zealand Map Society (www.anzmaps.org).

Emeritus Professor Arthur Delbridge AO

We are sad to report the recent death in Sydney of Professor Arthur Delbridge. Arthur was a mentor and friend to many of us, and the community of linguists is the poorer for his passing.

He and Professor A.G. Mitchell were the founding fathers of Australian English studies, and together were largely responsible for the acceptance of the Australian dialect as the standard variety in this country. They each chaired the Standing Committee on Spoken English of the ABC, doing much to establish Australian pronunciation and usage as the Corporation's standard. Arthur is probably best known for being the founding Editor-in-Chief of the *Macquarie Dictionary*; but he was also a great encouragement to those of us who took up the work of the Placenames Survey in the 1990s, and was a generous supporter of Placenames Australia from its inception.

Tributes since his passing have remarked on his kindness, his tact and diplomacy, as well as his fine academic leadership. Those of us who have had the privilege of knowing him will miss him and his friendship more than we can say.



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Revisiting 'The' toponyms

The pattern in which generic elements substitute for the specific element of the placename following the definite article 'The' (as in *The Gap* and *The Island*) has not been the focus of thorough research in Australia. Joyce Miles' article 'And they all begin with *The*' in the September 2009 issue of *Placenames Australia*, and Jan Tent's 'The placenames of Australia' in the December issue of the same year seem to be the only two publications on the topic.

While Miles and Tent included a range of placenames of different grammatical structures (55 separate types) such as *The* + NOUN, *The* + ADJECTIVE + NOUN, *The* + NUMERAL + NOUN and *The* + ADJECTIVE + NOUN + (PREPOSITION + NOUN + NOUN + NOUN), I wish to revisit the topic focusing on the placement of a single generic term after the definite article 'The' (i.e. *The* + NOUN/GENERIC). In addition, my research will be restricted to NSW.

Generic elements are defined as common nouns which generally describe a topographical feature in terms of its characteristics (even though the generic does not always conform to the recognised feature class of the placename). Structurally, 'a toponym can be seen as a noun phrase which most commonly manifests as the basic formal structure of <+SPECIFIC ±GENERIC>', e.g. *Botany Bay* (Tent & Blair, 2009:1). Less commonly, placenames have a reversal of the basic pattern, resulting in <+GENERIC +SPECIFIC>, e.g. *Mount Kosciuszko*. Toponyms without the optional generic element are 'predominantly those for non-natural features, such as places of settlement', (Tent & Blair, 2009:1), e.g. *Sydney* and *Brisbane*. The generic element may also be discarded in informal reference such as *the Murray* for *the Murray River*.

This research will focus on the substitution of the specific element by a determiner (i.e. definite article) and/or a qualifier, to give such items as *The Basin*. Generic elements are defined according to the *Glossary of Generic*

Terms/Designators (Committee for Geographical Names in Australasia, 1996), the prime reference for generic terms in Australia. This glossary includes 415 generic elements.

Methodology

The collected data has been divided on the basis of the 26 feature types as listed in the 2012 *Gazetteer of Australia* (Geoscience Australia, 2010). This research is gazetteer-based, using the 'Gazetteer of Australia Place Name Search' facility provided by Geoscience Australia on its website.¹ The required criterion in the gazetteer data search was that the placename conform to the toponymic form <+*The*+GENERIC>; extracted examples therefore do not contain a specific element.



The 26 feature types (or place types) listed by the Gazetteer were used to divide the placename data topically and to allow for more efficient analysis. For each of the 26 feature types 'The' was placed in the placename search. The output for each search was manually analysed, and by cross-checking with the *Glossary of Generic Terms/Designators*, I was able to compile a comprehensive dataset of all placenames in NSW that met the toponymic form <+*The*+GENERIC>. The dataset was then used to identify particular patterns and trends regarding the use of generic terms substituting

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the specific term in placenames. For the purpose of this research, the singular and plural forms of each generic term were included together, e.g. *Meadow* and *Meadows* are counted together, as are *Sugarloaf* and *Sugarloaves*.

Results

Six hundred and sixty-one (661) instances of <+The+GENERIC> placenames were found. According

to place type, the distribution of <+The+GENERIC> placenames can be seen in Figure 1 (below).

As Figure 1 shows, Hills & Mountains, Built Structures, and Towns & Localities are the place types with the highest frequency. No instances of <+The+GENERIC> placenames were found for the following place types: Airfields, Forest & Agriculture, Glacier & Ice, Landmarks, Mine & Fuel Sites, and Ports & Docks. Further, of the 415 different

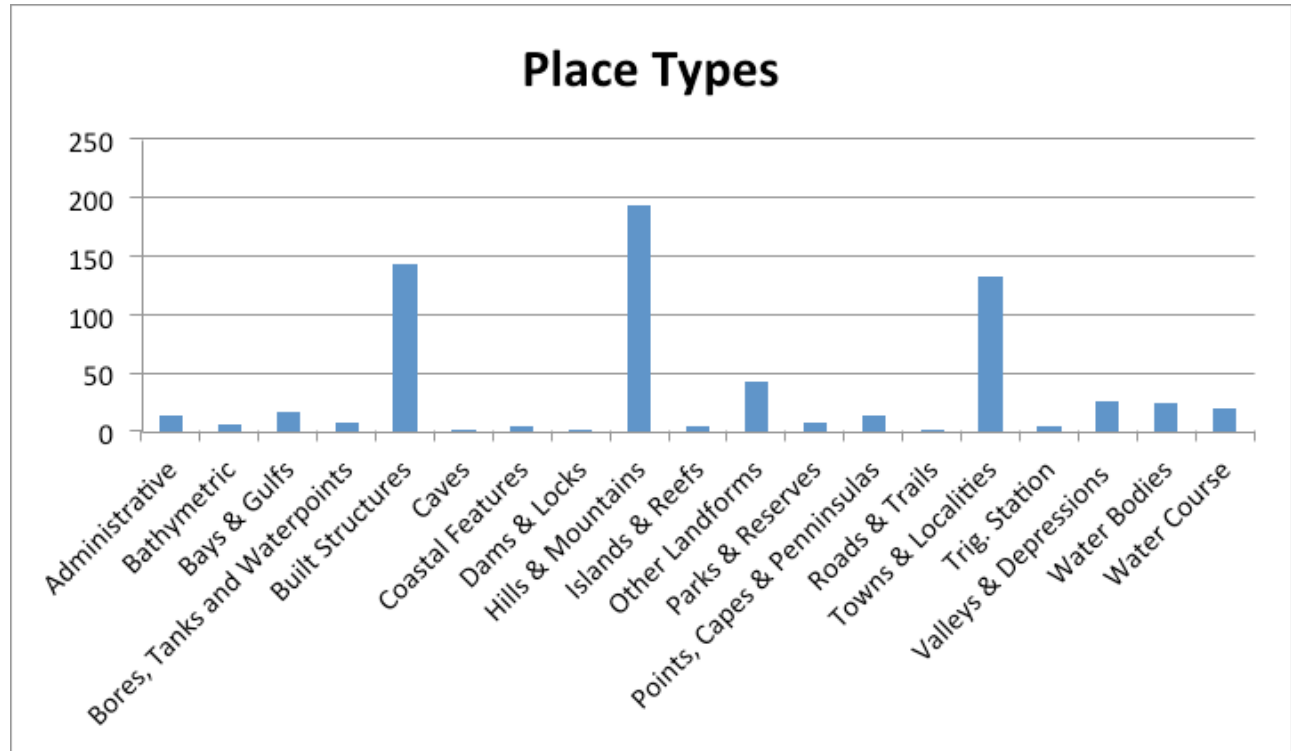


Figure 1

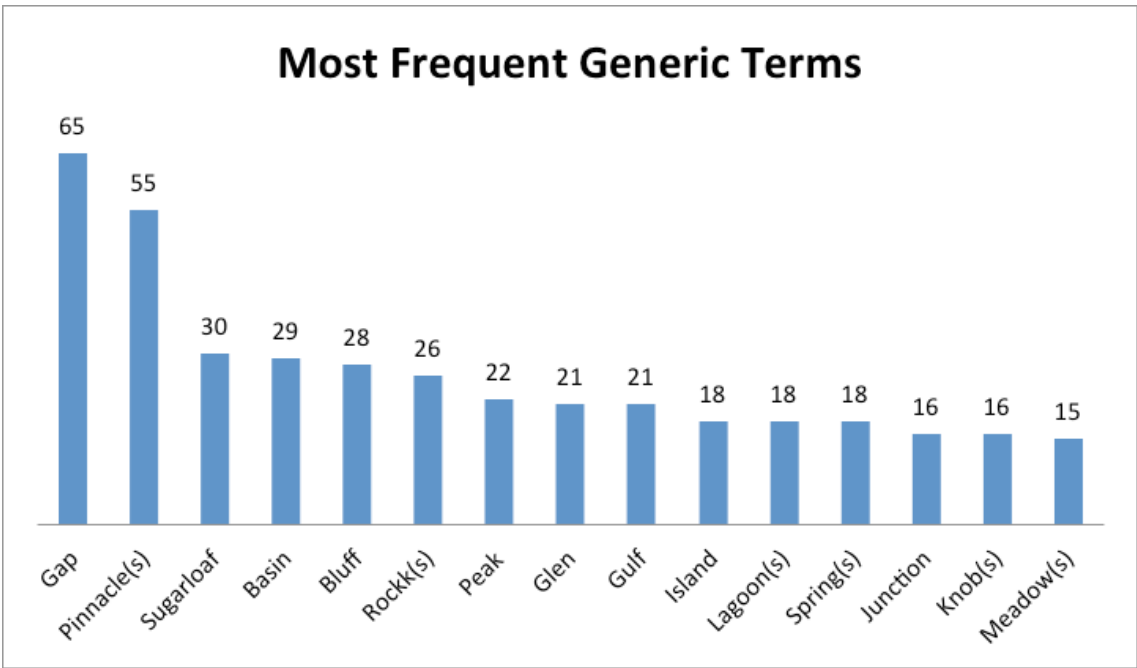


Figure 2

...'The' toponyms

generic terms included in the *Glossary of Generic Terms/Designators*, only 112 cases of <+The+GENERIC> occur in NSW.

As Figure 2 (left) shows, *The Gap* is the most frequently occurring <+The+GENERIC> form; most examples have been used in reference to Hills & Mountains, but it has also been applied to features classified as Administrative, Bathymetric, Built Structures, Other Landforms, Towns & Localities, Trig. Stations, and Valleys & Depression place types.

I hypothesised that the <+The+GENERIC> form would be exemplified more by placenames for natural features than by those for constructed features, because typically the generic term references the type of feature it is naming. This is indeed normally the case, as the data show. However, Table 1 below also shows that the constructed features, Built Structures and Towns & Localities, have a surprisingly high frequency of this form, comprising 42% of the dataset. The totals show that while there are more natural features than constructed features utilising this placename structure—358 (54%) and 303 (46%) respectively—the difference is far smaller than I had expected.

The most prominent generic terms for the constructed place types Built Structures and Towns & Localities are *The Glen(s)* (comprising approximately 12%), and *The Basin* and *The Junction* (comprising about 10% each). Hills & Mountains is the natural feature type with the

highest number of <+The+GENERIC> placenames, where *The Gap* placenames comprise 27%, with *The Pinnacle(s)* placenames contributing 21%, and *The Sugarloaf (-loaves)* 15%.

It is intriguing to find that, although the generic term is expected to reflect the feature type of the placename, this is not always the case (as foreshadowed above). For example, *The Island* is used not only for features categorised as Islands & Reefs (5 instances), but also for Built Structures (3 instances), Hills & Mountains (4 instances), Towns & Localities (6 instances). There are more *The Island* placenames than there are islands!

My research has revealed that placenames conforming to the structure <+The+GENERIC> occur throughout NSW apply to both natural and constructed features, and are present in 20 of the 26 place types outlined by the *Gazetteer of Australia*. It has become apparent that there are certain generic terms, such as *Gap* and *Pinnacle*, which are used at quite a high frequency and which refer to place types that they would generally not be associated with.

While the toponymic form <+The+GENERIC> only applies to a small percentage of all placenames in NSW (and indeed throughout Australia), it is an interesting toponymic pattern. I would hope that time and resources might be available to research the motivation for these placenames and their origin. Are these placenames locally and informally endowed, or it is due to lack of

| NATURAL FEATURES | | CONSTRUCTED FEATURES | |
|----------------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|
| Bathymetric | 6 | Administrative | 13 |
| Bays & Gulfs | 16 | Bores, Tanks & Waterpoints | 8 |
| Caves | 1 | Built Structures | 144 |
| Coastal Features | 4 | Dams & Locks | 1 |
| Hills & Mountains | 193 | Roads & Trails | 1 |
| Islands & Reefs | 5 | Towns & Localities | 132 |
| Other Landforms | 42 | Trig. Station | 4 |
| Parks & Reserves | 7 | | |
| Points, Capes & Peninsulas | 14 | | |
| Valleys & Depressions | 26 | | |
| Water Bodies | 24 | | |
| Water Course | 20 | | |
| TOTAL | 358 | TOTAL | 303 |

Table 1

imagination from those who first discovered or created the features?

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Endnotes

¹ <http://www.ga.gov.au/place-name>

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James Cook and Matthew Flinders

Our correspondent Ken Gold has reminded us that **Broken Bay** (north of Sydney) is not quite the location James Cook had in view when he bestowed that name. On 7 May 1770, Cook wrote:

At sun set the Northermost land in sight bore N. 26° East, and some broken land that appear'd to form a Bay boare N. 40° West distant 4 Leagues. this Bay I named Broken Bay Latitude 33°..36' S°

By the time Matthew Flinders sailed up the coast in July 1802, the early colonists had settled on the name *Broken Bay* for a large estuary 50km north of Sydney, as the closest feature to match Cook's description. Flinders pointed out in his journal that, at the latitude which Cook had recorded, there was indeed a very small opening in the coast with hills behind it looking like 'broken land'; but the cape which supposedly formed the north head of the entrance was in fact 10-12 nautical miles further north.

Cook was disadvantaged by both the time of day and his view point: it was after sunset, and he was sailing about

12 nautical miles off the coast at the time. Flinders noted that, at Cook's stated latitude, there was 'nothing more than a shallow lagoon in that place'. In his published chart of 1814, Flinders identified as '*Broken B. of Capt. Cook*' a point which

corresponds to the entrance of what is now known as **Narrabeen Lagoon**. (Our September 2013 issue briefly noted possible origins of Narrabeen's name.)

Broken Bay is not the only disputed location from Cook's voyage, of course. We've previously noted **Moreton Bay** (June 2009); and Trevor Lipscombe's recent articles on **Rame Head** (September 2013) and **Point Hicks** (September 2014) have summarised those controversies. Flinders' omission of Point Hicks on his chart was noted by Trevor as an indication of an error by Cook; but Ken Gold has strongly supported Cook in this instance. A highly technical discussion, rather opaque to those of us who are landlubbers, is taking place behind the scenes. When the dust settles, and if some clarity ensues, we shall report in due course!



...from page 1

...What flows from *ngaka-rna*

with the posting of SA Police trooper Samuel Gason (c1842–97) at Lake Hope in Dieri country, where he made some of the earliest notes on the Dieri language (traditionally spoken in the far north of South Australia, to the east of Lake Eyre). These were published first as Gason (1874) and then reprinted a few times, notably by Curr (1886:75–107). Gason's (1874) vocabulary included the entry **Akuna** 'To flow (as water flowing or running)'. We can recognise this word as the Dieri (or Diyari) intransitive verb *ngaka-rna* 'flow (of water), blow (of wind)' (Austin 2014:20). As Austin (2013:246) observed, Gason didn't record word-initial velar nasal /ŋ/ (*ng* in the modern orthography), he just omitted it; and he often wrote the letter *u* for the low vowel /a/ (and wrote *oo* for the high back vowel /u/).

Akuna was repeated (on page 88) in the Curr (1886:75–107) reprint of Gason's work, and then in turn appeared as the very first entry, **Akuna** 'Flowing water', in Sydney John Endacott's (1923:7) influential naming booklet:

Australian Aboriginal Words

AKUNA—Flowing water.
ALIE—Us.
ALKOO—Visitors.
ALKOOELIE—Nice.
ALKOOPINA—Delicious.
ALKOOMIE—Very nice.
ALLAMBEE—To remain awhile.
ALLAWAH—I came here

Top of page, Endacott 1923:7

Akuna kept the leading position in at least the first four editions (to 1944) of Endacott's booklet, and was excerpted in a list of suggested house names published in a letter to an Adelaide newspaper (Anonymous 1937). By the 9th enlarged edition (Endacott 1955) **Akuna** had dropped to ninth position, still high on the first page of names—and just below an added entry **Akoonah** 'Flowing water'. We can infer, by the way, that Endacott's booklets provided the name for Akuna St in central Canberra (Civic and Reid),¹ gazetted in 1956, because the stated origin 'Aboriginal word meaning "flowing water"' matches the gloss. Similarly, a booklet offering 'musical Aboriginal words' (Anonymous 1980) must have copied **Akoonah** 'Flowing water' from Endacott.

The spelling *Akoonah* was introduced, it appears, by Kenyon (1930:9) who listed **Akoonah** 'Water (running)

([C[entral].A[ustralia].). The entry was repeated in the later editions Kenyon (1951:7) and Kenyon (1982:2) as **Akoonah** 'Water running' (C.A.). Cooper (1949:5) and Cooper (1952:5) had **Akoonah** 'Running water', which was excerpted in a list of suggested house names published twice in the *Australian Women's Weekly* (Anonymous 1961:29 and Anonymous 1966:35). The reference to flowing or running water has clearly appealed to many agencies when they were selecting a name, because 'Akuna' or 'Akoonah' has been applied to over forty suburban streets, avenues, drives, closes, courts, and a rural lane.

Notice that just about all the geographic features bearing these names are in the built environment. Even one feature which from the name appears to be natural turns out to be partly artificial: the name **Akuna Bay** was applied around 1970 when a marina and associated development was planned for what had been the mouth of a tributary of Coal and Candle Creek in Ku-Ring-Gai Chase National Park, NSW. The name *Akuna* also has been, and is, borne by a ship, boats, houses, racehorses, and dozens of businesses and registered companies (often having to do with water).

In addition, the name has been applied privately to at least 17 homesteads across eastern Australia. (Those are just the larger properties which have been listed in Geoscience Australia's gazetteer;² there would be a number of smaller farms, 'lifestyle blocks' and holiday houses also with the name.) As an aside, note that the homestead names with the spelling *Akoonah* are in SA or adjacent parts of Victoria (and one in WA), whereas none of the *Akuna* homesteads are in SA, and seven of the nine are in NSW and Queensland. This fits with the SA connections of Cooper (he was employed at the SA Museum where his booklet was published). It would appear that the Endacott and Kenyon booklets were used predominantly in Victoria, NSW and southeast Queensland.

And as if Dieri *ngakarna* 'to flow' couldn't get more mangled, it looks as if it morphed in another way. On the first page of the 4th edition of Australian Museum's compilation of NSW 'Places and Pastoral Stations' (McCarthy 1952:5), the third entry was **Akuna** 'To follow'. (There was no corresponding entry in the earlier editions, Thorpe 1927,1938.) This meaning has been

continued next page

Top of page, McCarthy 1952:5

repeated in the entry for **Akuna Bay** in a popular reference book on Sydney suburb names, Anderson (1989:9): “Said to be from an Aboriginal word meaning ‘to follow’”, which was then cited in the official NSW Register of Geographic Names,³ and this in turn is cited in the Wikipedia entry.⁴ My best guess is that McCarthy’s addition (likely from Endacott, though possibly Curr or Gason) involved a misreading of ‘flow’ as ‘follow’ (I have not otherwise found a match for it). Also, when Akuna Bay was named (around 1970) the bestowers would have had in mind the meaning ‘flowing water’ rather than ‘to follow’.

Throughout the 20th century a better record of the word was buried in Reuther’s monumental c1901 dictionary: *ngakana* (v) = ‘to flow downstream,’ etc. (<III,174> 2069), with examples involving water, blood, mucus, tears, perspiration, fat, resin, drizzle, wind, and cold air. But Reuther’s work was effectively unavailable to the popular compilers, as it was not translated (from German) until Reuther and Scherer (1973:1467), or published until Reuther (1981 [1901]) (and then only in a limited way on microfiche). On a comparative note, closely related words in other languages of the same subgroup were also recorded by Reuther: Ngamini *ngakana* ‘to flow, to run over’, and Yawarrawarrka (Yawarrawarga) *ngakindri* ‘to flow’; and *ngaka* is a word for ‘water’ in a couple of languages of southwest Queensland (Pirriya and Wangkumarra). In Paakantyi (Darling River), *ngaka* means ‘tears’ (Thieberger and McGregor 1994:45).

In short, in modern Australian usage as a ‘euphonious’ name **Akuna** or **Akoonah**, the word *ngakarna* has been anonymised from its linguistic and geographic origins. It has further been dislocated from its part of speech and authentic pronunciation (beyond the demands of English loan phonology). All that remains is some connection to flowing water (and even that has been lost where it has been glossed as ‘to follow’), and this

What flows...

esoteric attribute is appreciated now only by the few who have informed themselves of it.

Acknowledgement

I have made appreciative use of the February 2013 version of the Pama-Nyungan etymological database funded by NSF grant 0844550 ‘Pama-Nyungan and Australian Prehistory’ awarded to Claire Bowern. [16 July 2014]

A fuller version of this paper can be found at the *Endangered Languages and Cultures* blog. This longer blog post version includes distribution maps of the *Akuna* and *Akoonah* occurrences, as well as a chart displaying ‘Lineages of Publication’: <http://goo.gl/qA3ZIo>

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Endnotes

- ¹ ACT Place Names Committee. http://www.actpla.act.gov.au/tools_resources/place_search
- ² *Gazetteer of Australia* 2012. <http://www.ga.gov.au/place-name>
- ³ Geographical Names Board of NSW. *Register*. Extract: www.gnb.nsw.gov.au/placename_search/extract?id=JPIOWyUI
- ⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akuna_Bay,_New_South_Wales

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Microtoponymy

Notice the small things. The rewards are inversely proportional (Liz Vassey)

We rarely see much published on microtoponymy—that is, the names of small features such as fields, pastures, fences, stones, rocks, marshes, bogs, ditches, houses, sections of roads, localities etc.¹ These tend to be used only locally, by a limited group of people, or by special interest groups, such as bushwalkers, fishers etc. Microtoponyms are not often officially recognised or gazetted, and do not generally appear on any published maps. They comprise features that are part of a larger geographical entity, such as the name for the bank on a lake, or for a feature on such a bank, or a waterhole in a river, or the name of a feature on the side of a mountain. A microtoponym is in essence the name of a feature that is itself part of a larger named entity. Because they are usually unofficial placenames, microtoponyms evade the rules of official naming and standardisation that normally apply to official toponyms.

It is important to record these toponyms and their histories because they are equally as important as officially recognised toponyms designating larger features. They all deserve to be documented because, as I have written elsewhere, placenames are not just labels—they are reminders of who we are, and whence we came, and are a

rich source of information about a region's history.

In this and future issues of the newsletter I shall highlight some well-known and less well-known microtoponyms and their stories. We invite you to contribute to our database if you know of or have information on microtoponyms from your area or social group.

My interest in microtoponymy was first kindled in the early 1980s when I used to go fly-fishing at Lake Eucumbene with a group of friends. We had our own names for particular bays, inlets and sections of the lake, e.g. *Dead Cow Bay* (because we came across a carcass of a dead cow there once), and *Big Bay* (because it was big compared to other bays). Other groups of fishermen had their own set of names. In a sense, these names were a code: when we referred to *Dead Cow Bay*, no one else knew to what bay we were referring. Fishermen like to keep their good fishing spots secret. But there were also names in common, such as *Homestead Bay* (because of the presence of ruins of an old homestead). These sometimes appear on various maps, but they remain unofficial names.

continued next page



Sally-Anne's (Photo: Jan Tent)

Recently, I became aware of a very colourful microtoponym, 15 km south of Khancoban along the Alpine Way. It is a road siding known locally as *Sally-Anne's*. The name is now used only by the few remaining Snowy Mountain Scheme workers still living in Khancoban. Few others are aware of it.

Just across the road from the Blinking Light was the site of Artransa Park Film Studios which produced the *Whiplash* television series in the early 1960s starring Peter Graves.² The bush scenes from this show were filmed in the local bushland. I remember the area being referred to as *Whiplash*, the name remaining in common local use

The siding was the place where the prostitute Sally-Anne and her caravan could be found in the 1960s during the construction of the Murray 1 and 2 Power Stations.

Another microtoponym that is rapidly becoming forgotten is the *Blinking Light(s)*, now known only to those who lived near (or drove through) the Sydney suburb Frenchs Forest before the 1960s. It referred to the intersection of Warringah Road and Wakehurst Parkway. Before the installation of modern traffic lights, an amber blinking light was suspended above the intersection to warn motorists of the dangerous junction.



The Blinking Light, Frenchs Forest NSW (Photo: www.panoramio.com/photo/25227658)

... 'notice the small things'

until the bush was bulldozed for housing in the mid-1980s.

On the other side of Sydney's harbour, we find *The Spot*—a locality in the south-eastern part of the suburb of Randwick. It consists of a collection of shops, restaurants, cafes and a cinema. *The Spot* is a heritage conservation area and has many heritage-listed buildings, such as The Ritz Cinema and Pan Arcadian House, a 1930s Masonic Temple and most notably the façade of shops on the corner of Perouse Road and St Pauls Street which follows the curve of the tramlines that used to extend to Coogee Beach. Some maps identify *The Spot* as *St Pauls*. The post office



The Spot, Randwick NSW (Photos: Jan Tent)

there is also officially designated 'St Pauls 2031.' Neither of the names is recognised by the Geographical Names Board of New South Wales. Despite wide use, even on bus stops, *The Spot* remains unofficial.

Jan Tent



Endnotes

¹ But see Joshua Nash's paper 'A clash of toponymies: Phillip Island, Norfolk Island Archipelago' (*Placenames Australia*, December 2013) which deals with many microtoponyms.

² See <www.classicaustraliantv.com/whiplash.htm>

Placenames Puzzle Number 52

Mineral:

The clues reveal placenames of towns whose names contain reference to some type of mineral, whether natural or manmade. Disregard spelling. e.g. (NSW) Lignite rock face.... Coalcliff

1. (WA) Harold's shock
2. (QLD) Jagger or Richards
3. (NSW) Bare earth
4. (SA) Oranges are ripe on these trees
5. (WA) Prince Charlie's style of music
6. (ACT) Ebony hill
7. (NSW, QLD, SA) Pleased kernel
8. (NSW) Where your bacon is cooked
9. (NT) He whom Stanley presumed
10. (NSW) What's left when the cane is burnt
11. (SA) Rocky highlands
12. (VIC) Where rocks are safe
13. (TAS) A dune
14. (WA) Rub down this area
15. (QLD) Tins or rock piles
16. (NT) Pam's back and forth movement
17. (TAS) Where the Druids meet
18. (TAS) Fred or Wilma
19. (QLD) Preserve a hopper
20. (NSW, VIC) Hudson after execution

Fun with Words Group, Westleigh Probuss Club

- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 5. Bonnie Rock | 15. Cairns | 10. Ashfield |
| 4. Golden Grove | 14. Sandparch | 9. Livingstone |
| 3. Barren Ground | 13. Sandhill | 8. Frying Pan |
| 2. Rollingstone | 12. Stonehaven | 7. Gladstone |
| 1. Holt Rock | 11. Stoneyfell | 6. Black Mountain |
| 16. Ayers Rock | 17. Stonehenge | 18. Flintstone |
| 19. Tinaroo | 20. Hanging Rock | |

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