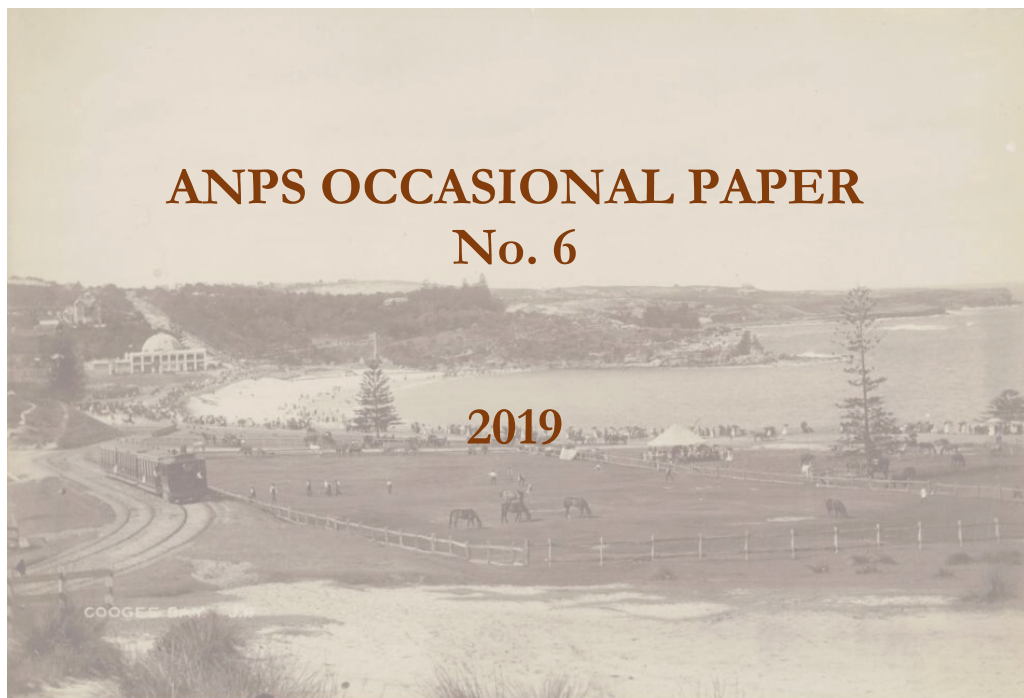


# On the scent of *Coogee*?





# ON THE SCENT OF *COOGEE*?

*Jan Tent*

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*Coogee Bay* [ca. 1890]

Source: National Library of Australia  
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## 1 INTRODUCTION

In ANPS Occasional Paper No. 4 ‘*The Cogie: a case of a conflated name?*’ (Tent, 2018), the orthographic variants *cogie* and *coogee* are noted. The question arises whether there is any connection between the two, and the various other toponyms in NSW and WA that bear or contain the form **Coogee**, or one very similar to it.<sup>2</sup> In this Occasional Paper, I examine each of these locations and consider the etymologies of their toponyms.

## 2 COOGEE IN NSW

There are seven geographic features in NSW that have (or had) the name **Coogee**, or a name very similar to it. They are: a Sydney suburb and its adjoining beach; the former purported indigenous name for Millers Point; two river swimming and picnic spots; a playa lake in the far west of the state; and two creeks, one inland from lake Macquarie, and the other just south Barrington Tops.

### 2.1 Sydney’s *Coogee Beach*

The most famous of all the **Coogee** locations is the Sydney suburb and beach, *Coogee* (pronounced [ˈkʊdʒi], with short *oo* as in ‘could’), which derives from an Aboriginal word:

- NSW Geographic Names Board, ref: Anthropological Society of Australasia (1899) *koojab~kooja* ‘bad smell caused by the decay of large quantities of seaweed washed ashore’.
- Walker & Fosberry (1900, p. 95) *coogee* ‘a stinking place’.
- Mines Department (1901, p. 192) *koocha* ‘a great stink; aboriginal name for a place now called Coogee’.
- Lands Department (1903, p. 71) *coogee* ‘rotten kelp’.
- McCarthy (1950, p. 9) claims it derives from Eora and Turawal languages *kuji~kudji* ‘bad generally; stinking; a bad smell caused by decayed seaweed washed ashore’.
- Lynch and Larcombe (1959, pp. 13-14) *coogee* ‘place of stinking sea-weed’.



**Figure 1.**

Coogee Beach [ca. 1910] showing piles of seaweed washed ashore  
(Photo by Kerry & Co.)

(Source: State Library of New South Wales [85/1284-2406], Tyrrell Photographic Collection)

The entry for *Coogee* in Wikipedia has an interesting take on its etymology. It too claims the name means ‘smelly place’, ‘the smell of the seaweed drying’, or ‘stinking seaweed’. However, it adds the intriguing claim that:

Early visitors to the area, from the 1820s onwards, were never able to confirm exactly what ‘Coogee’ meant, or if it is in fact related to Coogee Beach. Some evidence suggests that the word ‘Coogee’ may in fact be the original Aboriginal place name for the next bay to the north, now known as Gordons Bay.

The references it cites to support these claims are rather tenuous. Nevertheless, they may have some veracity.

The earliest mention I have been able to find of the toponym (although with an alternative spelling) is in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* of Wednesday 23 January, 1828. p. 2 (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2189803>):

A Coroner’s Inquest was held on Saturday and Sunday last, at the sign of the Bricklayers’ Arms, public-house Sydney, on the body of a man, named Thomas Tucker, who was found murdered at a place called Cudjee Swamp, about five miles from Sydney, near Cooke’s River. [...] On arriving at Cudjee Swamp, a dog belonging to the deceased came up with the constables and Mr. West...

The next reference to the suburb is made in the Sporting Intelligence column in *The Sydney Herald* of 30 August, 1832 (p. 3) (<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12845169>):

...the line of country was from a bridge on the Botany Bay road, about three miles from Sydney, to Cudjee Bay, and from thence up Goulburn’s road to the old look-out Post above Waverley House, a distance of five miles ...in this



manner, Captain Hunter and Mr. Thomson alternately making the play, the five first-mentioned horses arrived at Cudjee Bay; where, in passing the brook, a sheet would have covered the whole.

That story is mentioned again in on 24 August, 1932 in *The Sydney Mail*'s column 'Things that Happened Here a Hundred Years Ago. Extracts from the "Sydney Herald" of August 27 and August 30, 1832'. (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/166225209>). It includes a comment on the early spelling of the suburb's name:

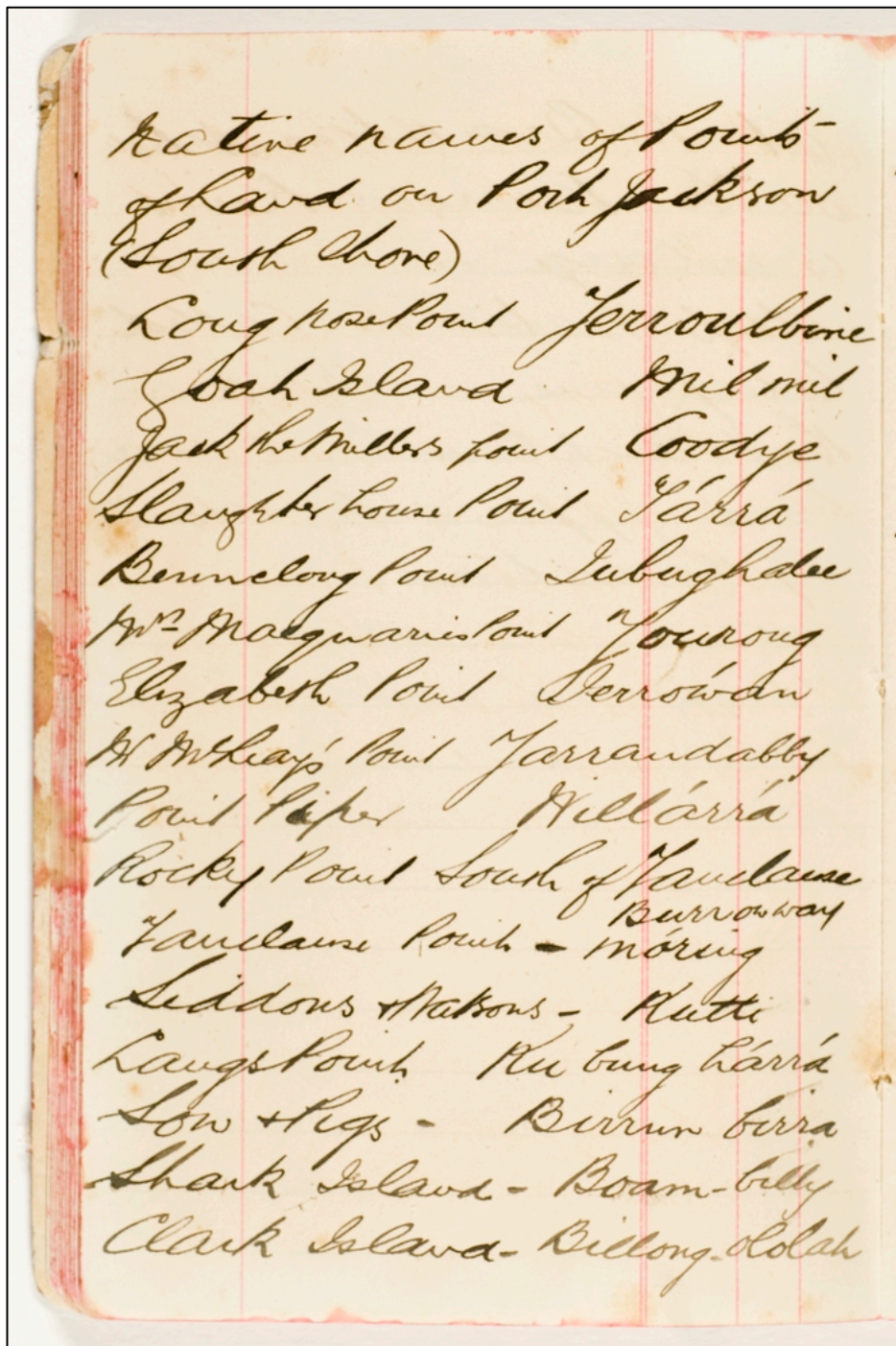
Considerable interest has been excited among the sporting gentlemen on account of a steeple-chase that was run on Saturday. The course was from a bridge on the Botany Bay road about three miles from Sydney to Cudjee Bay, and thence up Goulburn's road. (This probably gives the original spelling of Coogee Bay.)

The *Cudjee* spelling suggests a pronunciation with short *ʊ* (as in 'budgie'), ['kʌdʒi] or ['kʌtʃi]. Other early references to the location are found in:

- Larmer (1829, p. 58) – *Great Coogee* (written on a sketch map in present-day Coogee Bay)
- Larmer (1832-33, in Stack 1902, p. 52) – *Koojah*
- Miles (1854, p. 41) – *Kudjee* or *Coojee*. (See also next section)

## 2.2 Sydney Harbour's *Coodyee*

Sydney had another indigenous toponym very similar to *Coogee*, viz. *Coodyee*~*Coodye* (which became known as *Jack the Millers Point*, later *Millers Point*) (Larmer, 1832-1853; Fitzgerald, 2008; Attenbrow, 2009, p. 36; Troy & Walsh, 2009, p. 63) (and see Figure 2). The point was used by the Cadigal people for fishing and gathering shellfish from the mudflats. Large middens were left in what would become known as *Cockle Bay*. The point's 'rugged ridgeline and muddy shores initially deterred European settlers, but its exposed promontory proved the ideal location for windmills. Three wooden mills were run by John Leighton... The area became known as Jack the Miller's Point—or later, just Millers Point.' (Fairfax Media, 2014).



**Figure 2.**

Extract from James Larmer's Notebook of Australian Aboriginal Vocabularies, 1832-1853 showing indigenous name for *Jack the Millers Point* as *Coodye* (third entry down)  
(Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW – MLMSS 7213)

I have not been able to obtain any information about the meaning or pronunciation of Larmer's *Coodye*. However, a pronunciation of [ˈkud̪i] or [ˈkud̪i] (with short oo) are distinct possibilities.

### 2.3 The *Coogee* microtoponyms

There are two unofficial placenames that copied their names from Sydney's famous beach suburb. Both are microtoponyms and refer to river swimming spots (for a discussion on microtoponyms see Tent, 2014; 2015a & b).

The first is *Little Coogee*, situated on The Crescent along the Parramatta River in Parramatta Park (Figure 3). It was a very popular swimming and picnic spot as far back as the 1880s, and was the site of the Olympic Carnival of 1914. According to Ken Smith (Public Officer, Parramatta Historical Society), the name came about after a lifesaving and resuscitation exhibition that was held there in March 1912 by members of the Coogee Life Saving Club (Morris, 2014). Unfortunately, the river is too polluted nowadays to permit any swimming.



**Figure 3.**

'Little Coogee', Parramatta River ca. 1920

(Source: Parramatta Park and Western Sydney Parklands Trust)

The second microtoponym is found not far from Lake Cargelligo and its cogies, some 76 km (great-circle distance) east-nor-east. It too is a swimming spot and is located at a double right-angled bend in Goobang Creek, Condobolin. It bears the local microtoponym *The Coogee* ['kudʒi] (Figure 4). Local folklore has it that the name is an allusion to the famous Sydney swimming beach (Condobolin Police, p.c.). There is no evidence the name has a local indigenous origin or has any connection with the cogies (or *coogees/cougees*) of Lake Cargelligo.



**Figure 4.**  
*The Coogee*  
(Source: Google Earth)

Since this toponym uses the definite article, I am inclined to think that *Coogee* is being used here as a generic with the sense of ‘swimming spot’ as Sydney’s *Coogee* is probably perceived to be. It is very common for toponyms that start with *The* to have a generic follow them, either in form or function (see Tent, 2009; May, 2014).

#### 2.4 *Coogee Lake*

In the far west of the state is the little-known *Coogee Lake* and the nearby *Coogee Lake Station*. They can be found some 90km (great circle distance) north-east of Broken Hill. The owner of the station, Lachlan Gall, pronounces it with the long *oo*h (as in ‘Mt Fuji’), i.e. [ˈkuʊʒi], and does not know what the name means. However, the local indigenous people (the Paakantyi people) pronounce it [ˈkʊtji] (*kutji*) (with short *oo*) (Warlpa Thompson, p.c.; NSW National Parks Broken Hill Office, p.c.). Neither Warlpa, nor the Paakantyi people at the National Parks office, know the meaning of the name. Lachlan’s description of the lake conforms very much to that of a playa lake (see my description in the *ANPS Occasional Paper* No. 4). It fills with water when Treloar Creek flows, and although not circular like many playas (it has a ‘boomerang shape’), it does have a lunette-shaped sandy beach on its north-eastern perimeter (Lachlan Gall, p.c.) (Figure 5). Google Earth, though, shows that the surrounding depressions are generally circular and seem to have lunette-shaped sandy beaches on their eastern perimeters. *Coogee Lake* is one of a cluster of such lakes just south of the Mutawintji National Park.

The similarity of its geophysical environment and its geomorphology, as well as the name’s phonological and orthographic similarity to the cogies of Lake Cargelligo, suggest the possibility that *cogie* and *coogee* could be cognates in this case. In support of this contention, we note a 1902 report in the local newspaper of Lake Cargelligo, the *Condobolin Lachlander*,

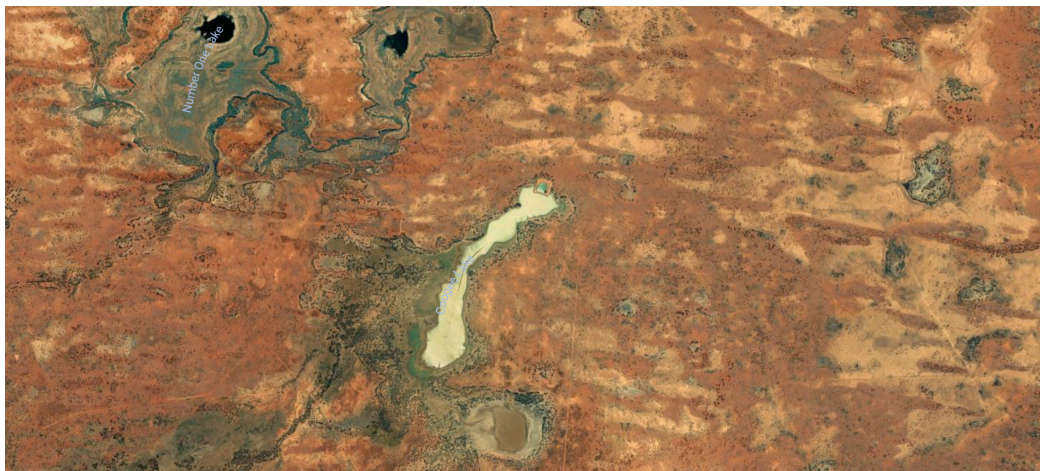
on the regulation of the Lachlan River, in which it used the term ‘coogees’ instead of ‘cogies’:<sup>3</sup>

All around the lake [Lake Cargelligo] are large basins or coogees, capable of holding vast quantities of water, some of which, strange to say, through being protected by high banks which excluded flood water, have never contained any water.

and further on,

From The Curlew (which by the way is one of the several coogees that has never contained any water), number 3 cutting commences...

Yet another spelling of the feature appears in the Lake Cargelligo local history booklet, *The Dusts of Time* (Back to Lake Cargelligo Centenary Celebrations Committee, 1973: 60), which cites ‘Native Dog Cougee.’



**Figure 5.**  
*Coogee Lake* (centre) (NSW)  
(Source: Google Earth)

Another argument may be made to support the contention that *coogee*, in this case, is a rendering of *cogie* by considering the actual syntactic structure of the toponym *Coogee Lake*. What is interesting about this toponym is its relatively unusual reverse structure. Most toponyms have the structure Specific + Generic; however, lakes, capes, mounts and points often have the reverse structure (i.e. Generic + Specific, or in other words they have an antecedent generic), e.g. *Lake Eucumbene*, *Cape Catastrophe*, *Mount Kosciuszko*, and *Point Piper*. In this case however, we have the structure Specific + Generic. In my paper on this topic (Tent, 2016), I show that 41% of lakes in Australia have the structure Generic + Specific. Often their specific element is descriptive compared to those with an antecedent generic, of which only 4% of the specific element is descriptive. In other words, in toponyms with antecedent generics, the generic is most often non-descriptive (i.e. largely eponymous or a name shift). What does this mean?

Well, many (if not most) of the lake toponyms that contain Indigenous specifics (as in our example) are actually descriptive Indigenous terms. Often, however, when these terms were adopted by European colonisers to label the new landscape, they were not cognisant

of their meanings; because the terms were often perceived and used as non-descriptive specifics they have the structure Generic + Specific (e.g. *Lake Comal*, lit. ‘Lake Lake’). In Australia, non-descriptive *lake* toponyms outnumber descriptive ones for both toponym structures; however, descriptive names increase ten times with the Specific + Generic structure. So, there is a good chance that *coogee* in this case is an indigenous geographic descriptor of an ephemeral playa lake (like *cogie*)—which *Coogee Lake* is.

## 2.5 *Cogee Creek and Bullee Cogee Creek*

There are a further two toponyms in NSW that bear a strong resemblance to the form *Coogee*.

The first is *Cogee Creek* in the Yengo National Park, some 62km (great circle distance) west of Lake Macquarie. It is a partly perennial stream of about 4km in length, and is situated in a hilly, dry-forest environment. Its spelling suggests a current pronunciation of [ˈkɔʊgi] (as in ‘Logie’, the same as for *cogie*). I have not been able to find any information regarding the meaning or origin of this creek’s name. It is not even clear whether the name derives from the local indigenous language, which was spoken by the Awabakal, Ku-ring-gai and Wonnarua peoples.

Not much further north, just south of Barrington Tops National Park and north-west of Dungog, is *Bullee Cogee Creek* (also a partly-perennial stream), which runs through much the same kind of country as Cogee Creek. Its spelling with the double *g* suggests a current pronunciation of [ˈkɔgi] (with short *ɔ*, as in ‘doggy’). However, once again, I have not been able to unearth any information regarding the origin or meaning of this toponym.

However, Lissarrague’s (2006), *A salvage grammar and wordlist of the language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie* (HRLM) contains the following entry:

*kuka* ‘coolamon or wooden water bowl’ *n.* M[jiller], F[awcett]: *koka*; M[ann]: *kooka*<sup>4</sup>

In addition, there are the following entries in word lists of the local language:

- Threlkeld’s (1834) grammar of the Hunter River/Lake Macquarie language: *ko-ke-i*; *wim-bi*; *win-nung* ‘vessels made of the bark of trees &c., used as baskets or bowls’
- Branch (in Curr 1886, Vol. 3, p. 344), Birpi language (Port Macquarie): *cookee* ‘calabash’
- Miller (in Curr 1886, Vol. 3, p. 355), Wannarua tribe and language (Hunter River): *koka* ‘coolamon or wooden water bowl’

Although creeks are not water containers, similar terms (cognates?) are attested in the Wiradjuri language which I have argued in my *cogie* paper could have been a contributing source to the present day *cogie*. For example, in Grant and Rudder’s *A New Wiradjuri Dictionary* (2010, pp. 381-382) we see the entry *gudyi* ‘bucket or basin’; *gugi* ‘basin or shallow vessel, a cup (originally of bark)’. Günther (1892, p. 87) has a similar entry for Wiradjuri ‘Guggé—any kind of vessel.’

The fact that Grant and Rudder list two words for ‘basin’ with such a similar phonology suggests two possibilities: either there was variation (possibly lectal) in the pronunciation; or else the authors have misinterpreted the source form which they reconstructed as *gudyi* (they do not supply a reference for their source). In any case, the *gugi* form is also attested

in Gadang, where Lissarrague's *Grammar and dictionary of Gathang* (2010, p. 232) lists *guki* as 'calabash'. It also provides the source form (from Branch 1887), namely, 'cookee', which eliminates any ambiguity about whether the second consonant should be interpreted as a velar stop [k] or [g] or a laminal [t] or [d]. Further, *kuka* occurs in Lissarrague's (2006, p. 118) HRLM grammar as well, with the sense 'coolamon, wooden bowl [etc.]'.

Given the proximity of *Cogee Creek* and *Bullee Cogee Creek* to one another, as well as the kind of physical geography in which they occur, one may assume their linguistic forms and possible meanings are related. Because the two creeks are said to be partly ephemeral, this suggests water might be found in waterholes when they are not running. These waterholes may be seen as metaphorical 'water bowls', 'coolamons' or 'containers'. Adding further support to this notion, a possible meaning for *Bullee* is supplied in Lissarrague's Gadang grammar and dictionary, where the term may be reconstructed as *\*buli*, perhaps connected with the Gadang word *bulima*, 'to flood' (Lissarrague 2010, p. 191). If this is feasible, it would add some credence to the notion that *cogee* and *coggee* metaphorically refer to water holes or pools in the creeks.

Describing or naming geographical features via metaphorical extension is common in European naming traditions, either as a specific or generic (e.g. *Sugarloaf Mountain*, *Wineglass Bay*, *The Basin*, *Bald Knob*, *Narrow Neck*, etc.). This also seems to be a practice employed by Australia's Indigenous people. Nash's (1897, p. 17) Wiradjuri word *coogee* 'hole in rocks, or pot', shows the word is polysemous and suggests evidence of metaphorical extension. Nash's *coogee* is an example of what Evans (1992, p. 478) describes as 'metonymic polysemy'.<sup>5</sup> If we consider the containment of water either in a bowl (or pot, bucket, basin, cup or coolamon), or in a rockhole (or some other naturally occurring feature, such as a pond, lake or swamp) as a specific domain or semantic field, and if *coogee* can refer to either, then we may justifiably claim that this example of *coogee* is a case of metonymic polysemy. Evans provides various examples from Australian indigenous languages from all over the continent of this phenomenon.

In conclusion, there seems to be some reasonably good evidence to support my contention that there is a semantic link between the words for 'rockhole' and the words for 'coolamon'. It would also seem that there was considerable variation in the way that each term was pronounced: *kutji~kuki~kukayi~kuka* (using HRLM spelling with all stops written as voiceless). What we do not get (at least, not with the same meaning) is *kutja*, which appears to be a separate word altogether, meaning 'stench'.

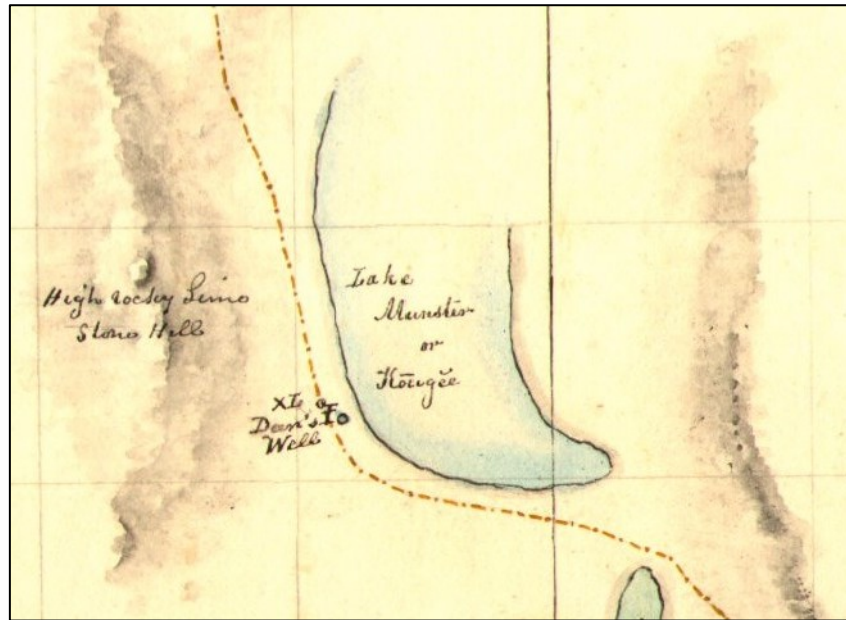
### 3 COOGEE IN WA

On the other side of the continent there is a set of other **Coogees**. The first is the lake, suburb and beach, in southern Perth; then there are four locations north of Perth that contain the specific *Coogee*; and finally there are a further five locations, in the western Pilbara, that bear the initial toponymic elements *Coogee-*, *Koogee-*, *Coogee-*, and *Coogie*.

#### 3.1 Perth's *Coogees*

The Perth suburb and beach take their names from the nearby lake, *Lake Coogee*, pronounced [ˈkuɔʒi] (with long *oo*). Originally, the lake was named *Lake Munster* after Prince William, the Earl of Munster (later King William IV). Western Australia's place-

naming authority, Landgate, claims ‘the Aboriginal name Kou-Gee was recorded in 1841 by [the surveyor] Thomas Watson and variously spelt as Koojee, Coojee and Coogee, which gradually gained pre-eminence over the old name.’ Watson’s transcription of the name on his map clearly shows that the vowel of the first syllable is long *oob*, i.e. [u] (Figure 6), unlike the Sydney suburb’s short [u] vowel.



**Figure 6.**

Watson’s map ‘Road from the Dandalup Bridge to Fremantle, Sheet 3.

From 32 mile peg to Fremantle by T. Watson’ [Tally No. 005039].

AU WA S234- cons3844 253

(Source: <https://archive.sro.wa.gov.au/index.php/road-from-the-dandalup-bridge-to-fremantle-sheet-3-from-32-mile-peg-to-fremantle-by-t-watson-tally-no-005039-253>)

Additional earlier and more comprehensive information from Landgate (Geonoma Enquiry) claims the name means: ‘place of bad smell (rotten weeds or seaweed)’, and that the Nomenclature Advisory Board adopted the present spelling exclusively in 1955. It states further that it is possible the spelling used may have been influenced by that used for Sydney’s beach and suburb, but that ‘the WA pronunciation differs greatly from the short vowel used in the East.’ This latter statement is intriguing and suggests there may be some unwarranted melding of the Sydney and Perth word forms, not to mention their meanings.

The ‘place of bad smell’ etymology is questionable for another more convincing reason—in the local Indigenous language, Nyungar, the terms for ‘stink’ and ‘stinks really bad [sic]’ are *noort* and *noordoowoorliny* respectively (Whitehurst 1997), neither of which shows any relationship to *Coogee*.





**Figure 7.**

*Coogee Beach* (Perth, WA)

(Source: <http://www.remark.com.au/listing/495265/5-81-mayor-road-munster>)

Moreover, there is a disparity in the recording of the name and its supposed meaning. Firstly, according to Murray and Hercock (2008, p. 67) it is an Aboriginal word (i.e. Nyungar) for the nearby lake, and that the name was first recorded by Thomas Watson as *Kou-gee*; but they say Watson recorded it in 1845, not in 1841 as claimed by Landgate and others. In addition, Wikipedia provides an unsubstantiated etymology declaring it is a Nyungar word meaning ‘body of water’. So, there appears to be no consensus of the toponym’s original meaning.

The first published use of the name (although spelled *Kudjee*, thus suggesting a pronunciation of [ˈkʌdʒi] with short *ɪ*) I have been able to unearth is made in 1854 by W. Augustus Miles (the then Commissioner of Police in Sydney) in the *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*. His article argues that Aboriginal languages (as well as some of their cultural and religious practices and beliefs) are related to Sanskrit, ancient Egyptian, and Biscayan (a dialect of Basque). As evidence he cites a small number of select terms that have comparable orthographic forms. However, he does not supply any rigorous historical or comparative linguistic evidence to support his contention other than the supposed graphological (and implied phonological) similarity of his select few lexical forms. In support of his claims he cites the work of Sir Thomas Young (a well-known polymath, 1773-1829) who, in 1819, was the first to make explicit statistical calculations in an attempt to correlate genetic affiliation of languages. His mathematics may have been correct, but his application of it is not (see Kendall, 1968; Posner, 2002). Miles does not provide a specific reference for Young’s work.<sup>6</sup> However, of relevance here is one form which Miles cites from Young’s data, and which subsequently extends Young’s alleged link between Sanskrit, Egyptian and Biscayan to some of Australia’s indigenous languages:

*kudchi*, ‘little,’ in Egyptian, and *gutchi* in Biscayan. ‘Kudjee,’ however, is a Sanscrit word of the same meaning [i.e. ‘little, small’]; and it is an extraordinary fact, that on the eastern coast, and at Swan River on the western coast of Australia, ‘kudjee’ is the native word denoting ‘little.’  
Miles (1854, p. 42)<sup>7</sup>

Miles’ assumption that both the Sydney and Perth *Coogees* are cognates of some ancient Egyptian word meaning ‘little’ is somewhat specious.<sup>8</sup> In an erudite paper, Rosenfelder

(1998-99, 2002) shows that in order to apply the mathematics correctly, one must also take into account, among other things, the languages' inventories of sounds, phonotactics (i.e. permissible sound sequences), vocabulary sizes, and word senses. Young and Miles do not do this. Rosenfelder shows that chance resemblances between languages are much smaller than most of us expect. He also demonstrates that the more leeway (or margin for error) is allowed in supposed phonetic and semantic correspondences between similar looking words between languages, the probability of finding a so-called 'match' increases exponentially. As Posner aptly puts it, *Sprachvergleichung ohne Lautvergleichung ist gedankenlose Spielerei*: 'Language comparison without phonetic/phonological comparison is unmindful tinkering'.

However, more adversative for Miles is that in the language of the 'Swan River' (i.e. Nyungar) the word for 'little' is *nyit* (Whitehurst 1997). Curr (1886, Vol. 1, pp. 333, 335) adds to this two further words for 'little' in the languages 'in the neighbourhood of Perth'. He does not identify the 'tribes' or languages spoken other than to say a number of them are spoken in around Perth. The words are: *bottene* and *newmap*. I shall have more to say about this below.

The *Koojee* spelling of the name first seems to occur in an advertisement in an 1868 issue of Fremantle's *The Herald* (Figure 8).

Figure 8.

First attested published use of *Koojee*  
(Source: *The Herald* (Fremantle), Saturday 19 December, 1868)

### 3.2 The northern Perth *Coogees*

The next four toponyms are found in the northern outskirts of Perth (all presumably pronounced with the long *oo* vowel, [ˈkuɔʤi]), three of which have the designation SWAMP. Landgate (Geonoma Enquiry) provides the following information for the toponyms:

- *Little Coogee Flat* (SWAMP). Source: P.P Camm (6.11.1900) – Field Book 23 p. 11 (10 acres for D.B. Clarkson).
- *Little Coogee Swamp*. Source: W.H. Brown (1904) Field Book 6 p. 1 – Diagram 16703.

Both are located in the City of Wanneroo, Pinjar (LOCB), just north-east of Banksia Grove.

The second pair are just to the east of Eglinton, and are:

- *Coogee Spring*, near Bernard Road North, in the City of Wanneroo, Carabooda (SUB). Source: Alexander Forrest (1874) Field Book 11 p. 99 – Original Plan Swan 110.
- *Coogee Swamp*, off Bernard Road South, in the City of Wanneroo, Carabooda (SUB). It has two alternate names: *Kudji* and *Kuji*. Source: James Cowle (1867) Field Book 2 p. 10 – Original Plan (OP) Swan 76 & 78. OP Swan 110 – by Alexander Forrest (1874) Field Book 11 p. 99.

Landgate offers an etymology for *Coogee Swamp*: ‘Aboriginal derivation of the name is possibly “musk ducks” or “a bad smell”’. Once again, it is likely the second etymology is based on or derived from Sydney’s *Coogee*.

### 3.3 The western Pilbara *Coogees*

There are five locations in the west of the Pilbara, near the coast, that have the form **Coogee** or a form similar to it in their toponyms (Figure 9).

The first three are a WATERHOLE and two BORES in the Ngayarta language region. The first is *Coogeenariner Pool* in the De Grey River approximately 90km due east of Port Hedland, in Ngarla and Nyamal country. The De Grey River flows through more than 30 semi-permanent pools of water on the way to the coast, *Coogeenariner Pool* being just one of them. When full, it covers an area of around 22 hectares. The pool is in Ngarla country. Landgate (Geonoma Enquiry) states that the name appeared in Alexander Forrest’s Field Book 25 1878 p. 46 as the ‘*Coogeenariner Pool*’.

The toponym’s form is clearly strongly anglicised with the final *-er*. The medial *n* is also suspicious given only velar nasals /ŋ/ (*ng*) occur before vowels in Ngarla (Westerlund, 2015: 9-10), if we assume the name derives from this language.

To the south-east of Port Hedland in Nyamal country, on Wallareenya Station, is *Coogearrina Well*, pronounced [ˈkuɔʤi.əˈri:nə] (with short *oo*). The only information Landgate (Geonoma Enquiry) has on this toponym’s origin is that the name ‘[a]ppeared on the Wallareenya Pastoral Plan (updated to 31/05/1979). Situated on the south bank of the Beebingarra Creek 13.50 kms north-north-east of the Wallareenya Homestead.’

Then, south-west of Port Hedland in Kariyarra country, on Mundabullangana Station, there is *Coogemarina Well*. Landgate (Geonoma Enquiry) only gives the following information for this toponym: ‘Shown on the 1974 and 1978 Mundabullangana Station Plan. Confirmed during 1985 Army field check.’

The graphological similarity of the initial and final elements these three toponyms is evident, but not surprising given their proximity to each other. One conceivable etymology of their final elements can be formulated by combining two entries in the *Ngarluma Dictionary English-Ngarluma Wordlist and Topical Wordlists* (2008):

*muri* noun ‘river’; ‘creek’

and

*-nba* noun suffix. UNSPECIFIED NOUN SUFFIX.<sup>9</sup>

It is conceivable *-nariner*, *-arrina*, and *-marina* are all forms of *muri* + *-nba*. Alternatively, they could be compounds of the polysemous:

*ngurra*<sub>1</sub> noun ‘camp’; ‘place’; ‘home’

or

*ngurra*<sub>2</sub> noun ‘land’; ‘country’; ‘ground’

+ the *-nba* suffix.

The final two **Coogee** toponyms are south-east of Karratha in Ngarluma country: *Koogebuntare Pool* (a WATERHOLE) and the nearby *Koogebuntare Well* (a BORE), situated on Warambie Station. Landgate’s (Geonoma Enquiry) information on the well’s origin and history merely states ‘the name and position was taken from the Warambie Station Plan. (20/04/1979) (1982). approved 4.1.1989.’ The information for the pool’s name, though a little more comprehensive, still does not hint at a meaning for the name:

‘There have been many variations of the spelling over the years. On p. 43 of 2570/58 it was recommended that ‘Koogebuntare Pool’ be the spelling retained. This spelling was approved on p. 50 on the 11.2.1966. Alexander Forrest was the first to record this pool when he named it ‘Coogabuntare Pool’ on page 49 of f.b. 14, 1875. The early survey plans o.p. de Witt 8 (20.12.1875) and tn 17 (April 1879), show a ‘Koogeebuntare Pool’, as the early public plans north 15 (July, 1879) and 14g no. 1. (12.10.1887). The spelling ‘Koogebuntare Pool’ was first used on public plan 110/300 on the 20.4.1910. This spelling was retained and was used on the current plan Roebourne 1:250,000.’

The *Ngarluma Dictionary English-Ngarluma Wordlist and Topical Wordlists* (2008), contains the entry:

*-buntharri* derivational suffix. ‘thing for’; NOMINALISING SUFFIX.

which provides a plausible source and meaning for the suffix *-buntare* in the two toponyms.



**Figure 9.**  
Approximate positions of the five Pilbara **Coogees**

It is possible that the wells (i.e. BORES, if they are constructed features and not natural ‘native wells’) would have been named after their neighbouring natural pools.

Enquiries of the Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre<sup>10</sup> regarding the first three toponyms were unable to shed any light on their meanings or origins. Unfortunately, enquiries at Wallareenya Station as to the origin of *Coogiearrina*, at Mundabullangana Station regarding *Coogemarina*, and at Warambie Station regarding *Koogebuntare* were unfruitful as well.

#### 4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

It is intriguing that in NSW and WA there are more than twenty locations that currently bear the name or name element **Coogee** (or some close variant thereof), and that all of them refer to a water source or body of water.<sup>11</sup> Is this sheer coincidence or is there some connection between these names? All the languages under investigation are Pama-Nyungan languages so the words and names of places from which the modern toponyms derive could be cognates.<sup>12</sup> If ever there was a strong and likely candidate for a basic vocabulary item with cognates across languages in a dry continent it would be a term for water source such as ‘pond’, ‘lake’, ‘body of water’, and even ‘swamp’.

There is an intriguing hint that Sydney’s *Coogee* may also be linked to a body of water. On the Randwick City Council’s website page ‘History of the Randwick area – History

overview’, the following statement is made regarding Coogee: ‘White settlement was sparse in the area for many years, owing to the poor soil and swamps.’ The report of Thomas Tucker’s murder and the mention of ‘Cudjee Swamp’ in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* of Wednesday 23 January, 1828 (see above), confirm the existence of a swamp at Coogee. Cartographic evidence is provided on an 1860 map of Port Jackson and the Parramatta River (Brownrigg, 1860) which clearly shows an extensive area of swamp running down to Coogee Bay (Figure 10).



**Figure 10.**

Section of *Map of Port Jackson and the Parramatta River* (Brownrigg, 1860)  
(Source: NLA <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-229945455/view>)

The existence of this swamp supports the reluctance of the Wikipedia entry to be confident about the referent of the name *Coogee*; it may indeed be linked to the swamp, rather than to the smell of rotting kelp. Swamps can be smelly places and could potentially lead to confusion as to what was causing the bad smell in the area. It is not unusual for the referent and/or meaning of an indigenous toponym or name to be misinterpreted or misunderstood.

At this point, it is worth investigating in some more detail the theory that **Coogee** means ‘bad smell’ or ‘place of bad smell’, especially with regards to the WA **Coogees**. Firstly, there is no evidence that **Coogee** in WA could have had the sense ‘bad smell’. I have not been able to find any WA Indigenous language that has a word with this sense that even vaguely resembles the toponym. A few examples will suffice here.

- **Non-specified WA languages**
  - Moore (1842) (Note: for most entries in his dictionary he does not specify from which language the term derives): *bidjak* ‘stinking, offensive’; *min-ya* ‘a smell’; *minya-djul* ‘a stink’
- **Ngarluma**—(a Pilbara language)
  - *Ngarluma Dictionary* (2008): *barndigu* ‘to smell; it smells bad; have odour’
- **Nyungar** (Perth region)
  - Whitehurst (1997): *noort* ‘stink’
  - South West Aboriginal Land & Sea Council (2018) Noongar Word List: *noorti* / *noortawooliny* ‘smelly, stink, dirty, very very dirty’

The last examples from the Nyungar language are the most relevant here, since the Perth *Coogees*, which are in Nyungar country, are purported to mean ‘bad smell’. These Nyungar dictionary entries do not support this notion.

On the eastern side of the continent, we find languages that have much more promising candidates.

- **Wiradjuri** (central NSW)
  - Grant & Rudder (2010, pp. 381-382): *gudya* ‘stink or stench’ (Confirmed by: *Wiradjuri Language – A collaborative tool for language teaching* and Grant & Grant (n.d.))
- **Kogai**—dialect of Bidjara (Warrego and Paroo Rivers—northern NSW & southern QLD)
  - Hollingsworth, in Curr (1886, Vol. 3, p. 284): *cutcha* ‘a stink’
- **Wargamay** (Hinchinbrook Island, QLD)
  - Dixon (1981: 119): *nygi*, adj. ‘stinking, bad smell’

But more significantly:

- **The Sydney language**
  - Troy (1994) reconstructs \**guji* ‘stink or bad smell’ based on *kuja* (M); *kuji* (also ‘bad’) (R). Note also: *gudjibi*, *godie-by* ‘decayed or rotten’ (A); *go-iy*, *go-jay-by* (C).<sup>13</sup>
  - From John Hunter’s Journal (in Curr 1886, Vol. 3. p. 407): *godieby* ‘rotten’

All the latter examples all show a remarkable phonological similarity to **coogee** and thus establish quite firmly that Sydney’s *Coogee* most likely means ‘bad smell’.

The only reference to any term in WA languages I have been able to find that is anywhere near phonologically similar to **coogee** is *kuji* / *guji* / *koodji* which is commonly a word for ‘bone’, e.g. see Whitehurst (1997), Rooney (2011) *koodji* ‘bony’, and Moore (1842) *kot-ye* ‘bone’. There are early recordings of the Perth variety of Nyungar that have variant spellings of *kuji*, though *kwej* / *kwetj* ‘bone’ (an originally eastern Nyungar dialect variant of the same word) is more commonly used nowadays. *Kuji* also means ‘bone’ in a number of Pilbara languages, including Ngarluma (*guji*) (*Ngarluma Dictionary* 2008), Panyjima and Yindjibarndi (*kujhi*), but is also ‘leg’ (by plausible semantic shift from femur?) in some other languages, e.g. Nyamal (Alan Dench, p.c.). Additional entries for ‘bone’ in WA vocabularies are found in:

- Harper (in Curr, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 293)—Ngarla: *koogey*, *quagy* ‘bone’
- Barlee (in Curr, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 295)—Shaw River, Weedookarry tribe: *koo-gi* ‘bone’
- Richardson (in Curr, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 301)—Nickol Bay: *koojee*, *koochee* ‘bone’
- Salvado (in Curr, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 319)—New Norcia and Leschenault Bay: *cuegie* ‘bone’
- Monger (in Curr, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 323)—Victoria Plains, Minnal Yungar tribe: *quage* ‘bone’
- Whitfield (in Curr 1886, Vol. 1, p. 327)—Newcastle, yungar: *quegie* ‘bone’
- Armstrong (in Curr, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 335)—Perth: *goodjee* ‘bone’
- Hackett (in Curr, 1886, Vol. 1, p. 345)—York district, Ballardong tribe: *gidjee* ‘bone’

All this brings us back to Miles' (1854, p. 42) contention (via Young) (see above) that *kudchi* means 'little'.<sup>14</sup> What is relevant here is that Miles is citing a Nyungar word, the word for 'bone'. What seems to have happened in this instance is a misinterpretation of the word's meaning. Through metaphorical semantic extension the word for 'bone' in several WA languages also means 'thin; bony' (just as in English *bone* → *bony*, i.e. 'skinny; thin'); see for instance:

- Moore (1842) *kot-ye* 'a bone', *kot-yedäk* 'bony', *kot-yelara* 'thin; bony'
- Symmons (1892 [1842], pp. 50, 51) *kotye* 'bone', *kotyelarra* 'thin'
- Rooney (2011) *koodji* 'thin, bony, skinny, wasted'

Alan Dench also tells me that the suffix *-nba* is common in toponyms across many WA Pama-Nyungan languages and that it has at least two etymological sources:

1. *-nba* is a common marker of proper names (personal as well as toponyms); it can also serve a derivational function, elevating a common noun to the status of proper name: e.g. *juju* 'old man' > *juju-nba* 'Old Man'
2. *-nba* is a verb inflection in some languages, which finds its way into toponyms as part of noun + verb compounds (or incorporations) of various kinds. An example from the Pilbara is *Karlangarrinba* 'Red Hill' < *karla* + *ngarri-nba* 'fire + lie-PAST' (a hill that has a fire laying inside it, as seen in the dream-state). Noun + noun compounds are not so common.

As for *Koogebuntare*, Alan suggests (as I do above) that it likely has a source in *kuji* + *puntharri*, where *-puntharri* is a suffix in Ngarluma, Ngarla, Nyamal (and probably Kariyarra) used either to nominalise (i.e. make into a noun or adjective) an intransitive verb (i.e. to create an habitual) or on nouns, to create a noun describing something used in an instrumental function associated with the noun stem: e.g. *warrari-puntharri* 'fly screen' (fly-PUNTHARRI) (Alan Dench p.c.). Without knowing how *Koogebuntare* got its name(s), we believe it is very tenuous to hazard a guess at its etymology. However, it may have something to do with 'bone' or 'leg', and there is perhaps an associated mythological history that explains the name. The *Ngarluma Dictionary* (2008) offers a term very close to the toponym, viz. *gyjinbarri* 'bony', so Alan's hypothesis seems to be supported by this. Nevertheless, more research needs to be carried out on this to come to any definitive conclusion.

There is no evidence to support the statement in the Wikipedia entry that Perth's *Coogee* means 'body of water'. It is rare for languages to represent such a wide concept as 'body of water' as a simple lexeme rather than as a phrase; lexical items are much more likely to represent specific features such as 'lake', 'pond', 'pool', 'lagoon', and 'swamp'. The South West Aboriginal Land & Sea Council's 'Noongar Word List' (2018), notes that *Binjar* / *Pinjar* is the term for 'swamp' or 'lake'. Moore's *Descriptive Vocabulary or the Language in Common Use Amongst the Aborigines of Western Australia* [...] (1842) also does not contain any terms for 'bodies of water' that are vaguely similar to *coogee*. (Apart from K.G.S., 'King George Sound', he does not specify from which language the term derives).

- *mulur* 'lake'
- *ngura* 'lake, small or basin'
- *bura*, *mulhin*, *yalgor*, *gotyn* 'swamp'
- *ngura*, subst. 'a small lake or basin of water; a native well'
- *mul-yin* '(K.G.S.) a swampy place'
- *zapornia*, *warrajá* 'swamp, little'



I am going to venture some tentative conclusions regarding the etymologies of the various **Coogees** in Australia based on the evidence collected and presented above. The data seem to suggest that Sydney's *Coogee Beach* (and neighbouring suburb) derives its name from the word for 'bad smell', 'stench' or 'stink'. Perhaps there was a confusion between the source of the bad smell—was it the rotting seaweed on the beach, or the smell of the swamp? The *Coodyee* at Millers Point is more problematic because there is so little information on it other than its appearance in Larmer's notebook. However, an etymology parallel to that of the beach suburb is not implausible. The other **Coogee** toponyms in NSW are conceivably the result of metaphoric extension of the word for 'coolamon' or 'basin'. The origin of the WA **Coogee** toponyms seems to point to a metaphorical extension of the word for 'bone' or 'bony'. However, more research needs to be carried out before we can come to any definitive conclusions.

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## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper I shall use **Coogee** as the canonical form (or lemma) for all its various forms. There is one homestead/rural property in NSW and one in QLD that bear the name *Coogee*, both pronounced ['kʊdʒi] (with short *oo* as in 'could'), the current owners of which do not know the origin of the names. These toponyms will therefore be excluded from the current discussion.
- <sup>3</sup> The local indigenous language spoken in the Lake Cargelligo region is Wiradjuri.
- <sup>4</sup> Fawcett, J.W. (1898a). Customs of the Wonnah-ruah tribe, and their dialect or vocabulary. *Science of Man*, 1(7), 152-4.
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- <sup>5</sup> *Metonymy* refers to a word or expression designating a concept of a specific domain or semantic field to designate another aspect of the same domain or semantic field on the basis of contiguity, e.g. 'Wall Street' referring to the US financial market; or 'the Crown' referring to the monarchy. *Polysemy* refers to words having a range of different meanings, e.g. plain 'clear; unadorned; obvious'. Thus metonymic polysemy means a particular word *X* can refer to two concepts *Y* and *Z* (polysemy) and those two concepts in the same semantic domain (*YZ*) (metonymy). Polysemy sometimes results from relations of metonymy. *Metaphor*, on the other hand, refers to word or expression designating a concept of a specific domain or semantic field to designate another aspect of another

domain or semantic field, e.g. *virus* ‘microscopic agent causing infection’ and ‘destructive computer code’. Both metonymy and metaphor involve the substitution of one term for another, however, in metonymy, the transfer qualities from one referent to another is not the intended aim, it is with metaphor.

<sup>6</sup> However, he would be referring to: Young, Thomas (1819). Remarks on the probabilities of error in physical observations, and on the density of the earth, considered, especially with regard to the reduction of experiments on the pendulum. A letter to Capt. Henry Kater, F.R.S. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 109, 70-95.

<sup>7</sup> It is worth citing Miles in full here:

Dr. Thomas Young has made the calculation, that if three words in two different languages coincide, it is ten to one they must be derived, in both cases, from some parent language, or introduced in some other manner. Six words would give 1700 to 1, and eight nearly 100,000. He then instances six words connecting the ancient Egyptian with the modern Biscayan. One of the words quoted is *kludchi*, “little,” in Egyptian, and *gutchi* in Biscayan. “Kudjee,” however, is a Sanscrit [*sic*] word of the same meaning; and it is an extraordinary fact, that on the eastern coast, and at Swan River on the western coast of Australia, “kudjee” is the native word denoting “little.” There is a small bay between the large bays of Port Jackson and Botany Bay called by the natives “kudjee” or “coojee.” (p. 41)

Sanscrit, *kudjee*, “small;” Swan River on western coast, and Port Stephen, *kudjee*, “small;” Adelaide, *kuti-yo*, “small;” ancient Egyptian, *kudebi*; Biscayan, *gutchi*. (p. 42)

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion and explanation of pseudo-linguistic comparison (which is what Miles, and to a certain extent Young, are engaging in) see: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pseudoscientificlanguagecomparison>. I should not be too harsh on Young and Miles for Comparative Linguistics was in its infancy in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>9</sup> The justification for citing the *Ngarluma Dictionary* (2008) in this instance is based on Ngarluma and Kariyarra being members of a dialect continuum, which is itself belongs to the Ngayarda language group.

<sup>10</sup> [www.wangkamaya.org.au](http://www.wangkamaya.org.au)

<sup>11</sup> I include in this list the *Cogies* discussed in ANPS Occasional Paper 4.

<sup>12</sup> A ‘cognate’ is a word that has the same linguistic derivation as another (e.g. English *father*, German *Vater*, Latin *pater*, Sanskrit *pitṛ*). Terms for basic vocabulary for universal elements and natural features and processes, such as kinship terms (e.g. ‘father’, ‘mother’), body parts (e.g. ‘hand’, ‘foot’), numerals, ‘water’, ‘house’ etc. usually have cognates in related languages.

<sup>13</sup> (M) refers to Mathews, R.H. (1903). The Dharruk language. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol. 35, pp. 155-160.

(R) refers to Ridley, William & Rowley, John (1875). Language of George’s River, Cowpasture, and Appin. In William Ridley. *Kámilarói, and other Australian languages, second edition, revised and enlarged by the author, with comparative tables of words from twenty Australian languages, and songs, traditions, laws and customs of the Australian race* (pp. 103-108). Sydney: Thomas Richards. N.B.

Both sources deal with the inland variety, and are rather late in the record of the Sydney Language.

(A) refers to a list (pp. 270-274) within Philip Gidley King’s journal, which appears in: Hunter, John (1968 [1793]). *An historical journal of events at Sydney and at sea 1787-1792, by Captain John Hunter, Commander H.M.S Sirius; with further accounts by Governor Arthur Philip*,

*Lieutenant P.G. King and Lieutenant H.L. Ball* (pp. 196-298). New edition edited by John Bach, first published 1793. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

(C) refers to Collins, David (1975 [1798]). *An account of the English colony in New South Wales, with remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners, etc, of the native inhabitants of that country*. 2 vols. New edition, first published 1798. Sydney: A.H. & A.W. Reed. pp. 506-513 and elsewhere in text.

<sup>14</sup> The fact that he sees this as evidence that Australian indigenous languages (or at least Nyungar) are linked to Sanskrit, Egyptian and Biscayan, is not an issue at this juncture.