





***KANGAROOBY:***  
**THE CASE OF A HYBRID TOPONYM**

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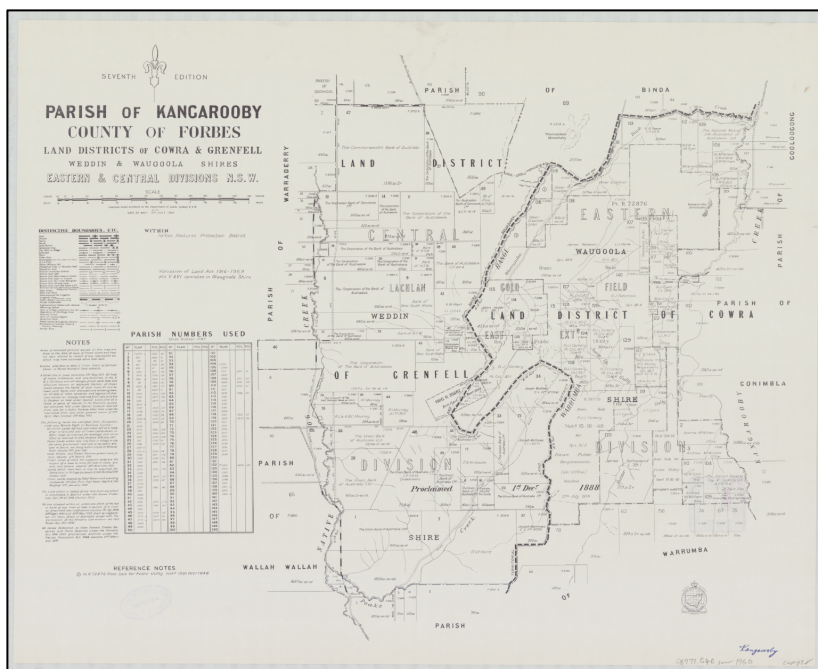
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*Parish of Kangaroooby.* (NSW Department of Lands, 1960)

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The coining of toponyms involves various processes. The most common of these involve such factors as description or association (e.g. *Coldwater Creek*, *Rocky Plain*, *Round Mountain*, *Powerline Creek*, *Shark Bay*); the naming of a feature after someone or something (e.g. *Mt Kosciuszko*, *Adelaide*, *Endeavour River*, *Collaroy* etc.); or the commemoration of an event or occasion (e.g. *Cape Tribulation*, *Agincourt Reefs*, *Whitsunday Islands*) (See Tent & Blair, 2011). In a *Placenames Australia* article (Tent, 2017), I enumerated a number of other linguistic processes that are used in the coining of new toponyms. These include: copying (more commonly referred to as ‘borrowing’) of words, names or toponyms from other languages; affixation (the addition of one or more suffixes and/or prefixes to a root); blending (the formation of a placename by joining parts of two or more words/names, e.g. *Belrose* < ‘Christmas bell’ + ‘native rose’); and compounding (the formation of a placename by conjoining two or more words, e.g. *Cooktown*, *Castlecrag*).

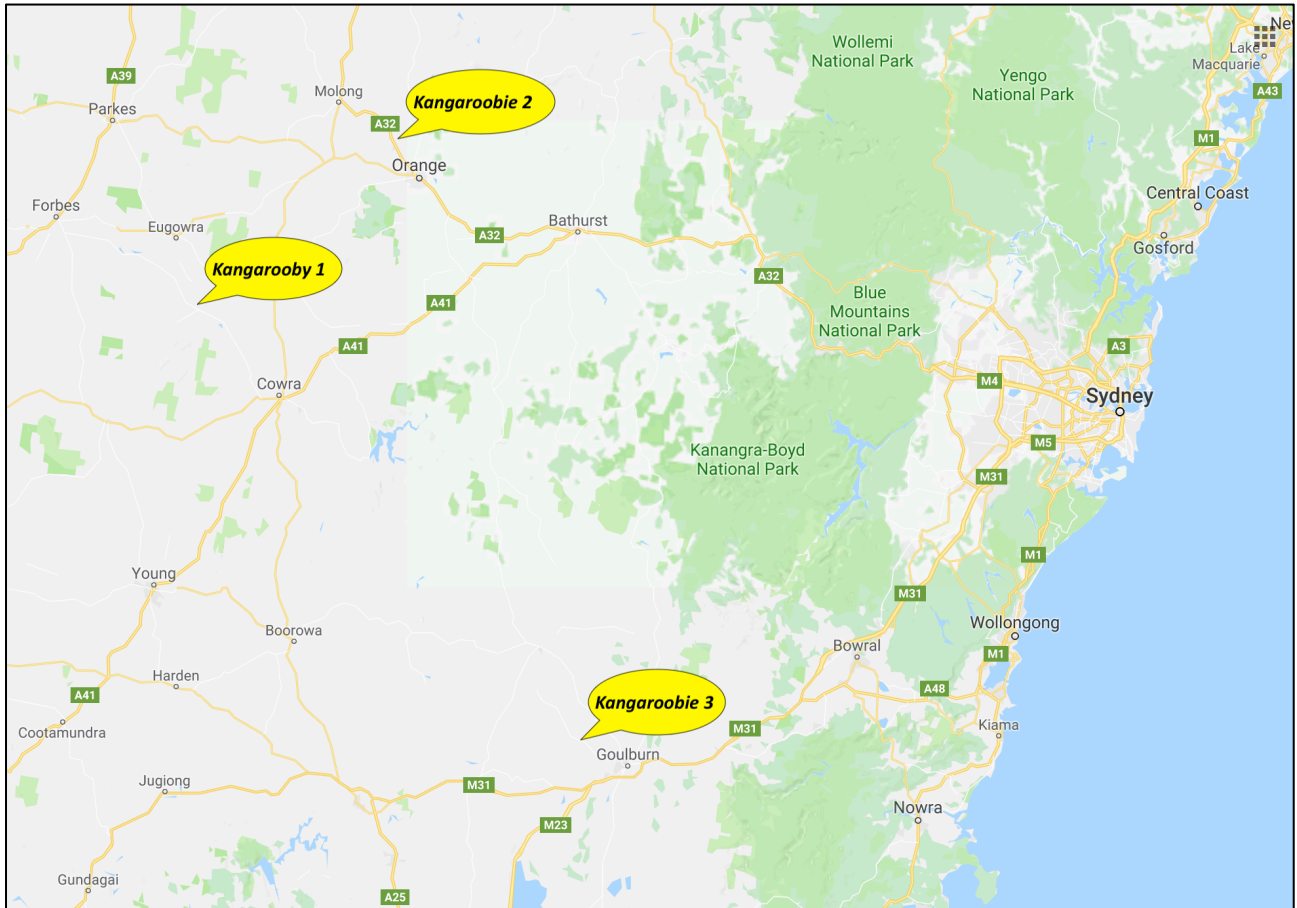
The current paper deals with a toponym, *Kangarooby* ~ *Kangaroobie*, that might be described as a ‘hybrid toponym’ because it appears to be an amalgam of at least two of the afore mentioned four processes (copying and affixation). The origin and meaning of the toponym’s root, *Kangaroo*, are well known and transparent enough (see below). However, its suffix is enigmatic. This paper examines the problem and attempts to find a resolution.<sup>1</sup>

## 2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

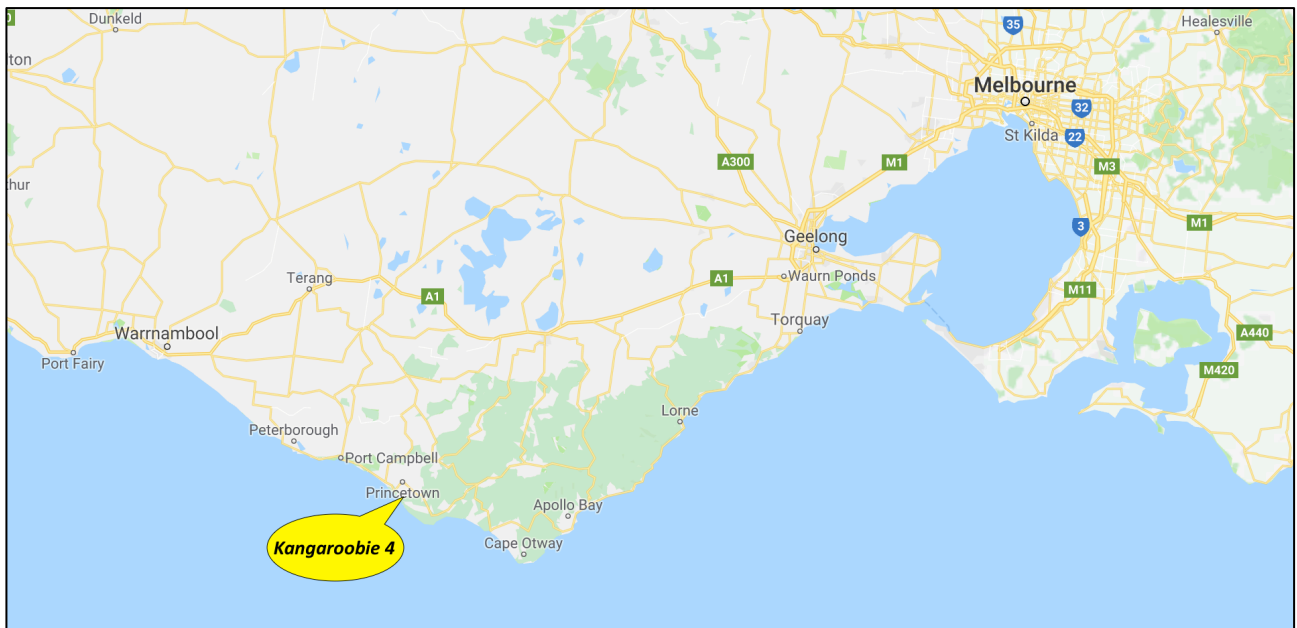
There are at least four rural properties, several geographic features (a CREEK, MOUNTAIN, and LOCALITY), an administrative district (a PARISH), and a number of roads currently bearing the name *Kangarooby* ~ *Kangaroobie*:

1. *Kangarooby* (NSW), a rural property/homestead some 40km (great-circle distance) north-west of Cowra. The local parish, a creek and mountain also bear the name.
2. *Kangaroobie* (NSW), a rural property/homestead, and a locality (see Figure 3), on the Mitchell Highway some 13km (great-circle distance) nor-nor-west of Orange.
3. *Kangaroobie* (NSW), rural property/homestead, on the Crookwell Road some 20km (great-circle distance) nor-nor-west of Goulburn.
4. *Kangaroobie* (VIC), a rural property, now a holiday camp on the Great Ocean Road near the Gellibrand River just 2.5km (great circle-distance) south-east of Princetown (see Figure 2.)

The three NSW rural properties lie within a radius of approximately 160km (great-circle distance)<sup>2</sup> (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1**  
Relative positions of the NSW *Kangaroobies*



**Figure 2**  
The Victorian *Kangaroobie*





**Figure 3**  
*Kangaroooby* (LOCALITY) and *Kangaroooby Road*, near Orange  
 (Photo: Courtesy Stephen Mackenzie)

## 2.1 *Kangaroooby* #1

The first reference to this property near Cowra and Gooloogong can be found on page 4 of the *Australasian Chronicle* of Friday 11 October 1839.<sup>3</sup> It mentions ‘Peter Dwyer’s, Kangaroooby, Lachlan River.’ In the same year, Commissioner of Crown Lands Henry Cosby’s itinerary of his inspections of land use in the Counties of King and Murray in his Report of 1839-1840 states:

8/10/1839 Goolagong to Gerarty? 4 miles  
 8/10 Gerarty to Kangaroooby 3 miles  
 9/10 Kangaroooby to Tin Pot Alley 14 miles

The Irishman Peter Dwyer was the brother-in-law of the owner of the station, John O’Sullivan, who was granted a depasturing licence for the property in 1839. On the licence renewal of 1840 (No. 40/360) (in his name), the name *Kangaroooby* appears. However, on the subsequent licence renewals of 1842 (Nos. 162 and 352) (in the name of Peter Dwyer), the name *Kangarooobay* emerges.<sup>4</sup> Dwyer was then the manager/supervisor of the property, and ran a horse stud from there. However, in 1839 he placed an advertisement in the *Australian Chronicle* for his stallion *Waverly* ‘at Peter Dwyer’s, Kangaroooby, Lachlan River...’ Dwyer held the lease on the station from 1842 to 1844. John O’Sullivan and his wife Bridget (née Dwyer) never lived on the station. Around 1844 a Hugh O’Neil leased the run, and the spelling changed back to *Kangaroooby* (*The Squatters and Graziers Index* – NSW State Archives and Records). Wells

## *Kangaroooby*

(1848, p. 218) also lists the station's owner as H. O'Neil. Later the property was listed in Hanson's *Pastoral Possessions: New South Wales...* (1889, p. 82) as follows:

KANGAROOBY PASTORAL HOLDING, No. 495. Comprising Kangaroooby Run. Leasehold Area. Land District of Cowra; County of Forbes. The Crown Lands within the boundaries of that part of Kangaroooby Run lying to the north of the dividing line, as notified in Gazette, 5th August, 1885. Resumed Area. Land District of Cowra; County of Forbes. The Crown Lands within the boundaries of that part of Kangaroooby Run lying to the south of the dividing line, as notified in Gazette, 5th August, 1885. [...] Names of Holders — Messrs. William, Robert Grieve, Thomas, and John Armstrong.

The property has been in the Idiens family for three generations now (Geoff Idiens, p.c. 10/3/2018). Geoff knows nothing of the history of the property or the origin of its name, except that the current homestead was built in 1909 or 1911 by a McWilliams, and that the property (Figure 4) was originally some 12,000 acres before being reduced to its current 2,000.



**Figure 4**

(Photo: courtesy Louise Wass, Gooloogong NSW)

The nearby geographical features (a creek, a mountain, and a road) also bear the name *Kangaroooby*, as does the local parish. As is often the case with such features, they derive their names from the rural property. The creek (Figure 5) runs for approximately 32km, and runs through the property and ultimately into the Lachlan River. The mountain rises about 340 metres from Kangaroooby Creek, and is about 9km south-west of Gooloogong and about 4 km north-west of Barabigal Trig Station.



**Figure 5**

(Photo: courtesy Louise Wass, Gooloogong NSW)

No other information about this *Kangaroooby* was able to be discovered.

## 2.2 Kangarooobie #2

This property had a number of spellings: *Kangaroo Bay*, *Kangarooobay*, *Kangaroo-bay*, *Kangaroooba*, *Kangaroooby*, and *Kangarooobie*.

Thomas Kite, who first took up this property, was one of ten farmers settled by Governor Lachlan Macquarie in March 1818. Each was allowed 50 acres on the river flats and a town allotment of two acres (Greaves, 1966). Kite (from Tilshead in Wiltshire, southern England) was a convict who was tried in London in 1812 and sentenced to death for stealing money, but his sentence was commuted to life because of his former good character (*Australian Royalty* website). He arrived in the colony in 1813, and received a conditional pardon in 1818, followed by an absolute pardon in 1836 (Spurway, 1992). Kite gradually acquired more land through grants, purchases and licences in the districts of Bathurst, Orange, Molong, Wellington, Lachlan, Parkes and Condoblin. Some of the properties (with various spellings) were *Molong Swamp* (also known as *Cobong*), *Burrawong*, *Wallamundry*, *Boramble*, *Wardy*, and *Kangarooobie*. In 1851 he held more than 200,000 acres of land and owned over 14,000 head of (mainly) cattle. From 1853, his holdings diminished by the disposing of various stations; however he retained *Molong Swamp* and *Bob's Creek* (Spurway, 1992).

*The Registers of Land Grants and Leases* for the counties of Georgiana and Bathurst, 1829-1853 (Vol. 11) shows the details of the granting of the lease for *Kangaroo Bay* to Thomas Kite. It was granted by Governor Sir George Gipps on 17 May, 1839 (Figure 6).

318	46	331	Thomas Kite & Bathurst.	680 acres Great Land B.	Bathurst. March.	Sir George Hay Sept. 1830.	17 <sup>th</sup> E. 5. 6. 8	1 <sup>st</sup> January 1832.	Kangaroo Bay.
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Figure 6

The Registers of Land Grants and Leases for the counties of Georgiana and Bathurst, 1829-1853 (Vol. 11)

Figure 7 provides details of the land grant that became *Kangaroo Bay*.

<p>Bounded on the South by a line East fifty seven chains, commencing at Mandillion Ponds; on the East by a line North one hundred and eight eighteen chains to a Gully; on the North by that Gully to its junction with Mandillion Ponds; and on the West by Mandillion Ponds to the point of commencement. Being the land promised to the said <u>Thomas Kite</u> on or before the 24<sup>th</sup> November 1829, by His Excellency Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Darling, and of which he was authorised to take possession on 31<sup>st</sup> March 1831, as an additional Grant, being in lieu of the like quantity of which he received possession on 15<sup>th</sup> September 1830, Being also the land advertised as W. 91 in the Government Notice dated 16<sup>th</sup> February 1830.</p>
--

Figure 7

Description of *Kangaroo Bay* lease

The Registers of Land Grants and Leases for the counties of Georgiana and Bathurst, 1829-1853 (Vol. 11)

James Dalton purchased 'Kangarooobie' in 1864 from Thomas Kite. The original deed to Kite was dated 6 June, 1836. The purchase price for the original 746 acres was £186/10. When James's son, Michael Francis (aka M.F.), married in 1902, James built for him the magnificent two-storey Federation filigree-style home at 'Kangarooobie'. The single-storey service wings and stable, remainders of the earlier Kite family homestead, stand to the rear. M.F. managed 'Kangarooobie' and the Dalton estate during its peak years 1910s to 1940s with his son Brian Michael. (Dalton, 1985; Australian Heritage Database).

Rutherford and Bigrigg (1973) explain that the Government Gazette of 1848 lists Thomas Kite as the owner of depasturing licence No. 61 for *Kangaroooby*, which was also one of the stations listed in the estate of Rev. Samuel Marsden. They also note that the property's name was initially rendered as *Kangaroo Bay*. In addition, the September 25

entry in the *Supplement to the New South Wales Government Gazette*, of Friday, September 22, 1848, shows the form *Kangarooba* (Figure 8):

**Kite Thomas.**  
**Name of Run—Molong Swamp and Bob's Creek,**  
**(Kangarooba.)**  
**Estimated Area—11,520 Acres.**  
**Estimated Grazing Capabilities—2,100 Sheep.**  
By Molong Creek on the north-east; on the north-west by Mr. John Smith; on the south-west by Mr. John Smith; on the south-east by Mr. John Smith.

Figure 8

Entry in the *Supplement to the New South Wales Government Gazette*, of Friday, September 22, 1848.

Figure 9 shows an example of Kite's property having the spelling *Kangaroooby*:

New South Wales Government Gazette (Sydney, NSW : 1832 - 1900), Tuesday 22 August 1871 (No.211), page 1860

[1599] Colonial Secretary's Office,  
Sydney, 21st August, 1871.

**ARSON—£100 REWARD.**

**W**HEREAS on the night of the 31st ultimo, a shed, at Kangaroooby, near Orange, containing about 40 tons of hay, the property of Thomas Kite, junior, was, with its contents, destroyed by fire: And whereas at an inquest held on the 2nd instant, before the District Coroner, the following verdict was returned,—“That the premises were feloniously, unlawfully, and maliciously set on fire, but by whom there is no evidence to show”: Notice is hereby given, that a reward of Fifty Pounds will be paid by Government (in addition to a reward of Fifty pounds offered by Mr. Kite) for such information as shall lead to the apprehension and conviction of the guilty person or persons.

In addition to the above reward, His Excellency the Governor will be advised to extend a free pardon to any accomplice, not being the person who actually committed the act, who shall first give such required information.

**JOHN ROBERTSON.**

National Library of Australia <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article223592505>

Figure 9

Kite's *Kangaroooby*

## *Kangaroo*

This notice seems to contradict the information provided by Dalton (1985) and the Australian Heritage Database, which say Kite's *Kangaroo* was purchased by James Dalton in 1864. Although the spellings of the property differ between Dalton, the Database, and the £100 reward notice, they do appear to refer to one and the same property. The ownership uncertainties of the property are, however, not the concern here; other research may well resolve those questions.

Kite's last will and testament lists his numerous properties and to whom they were bequeathed. Among the properties is mentioned the rural property of *Kangaroo Bay* (Figure 10, next page).

Wells (1848) lists both *Kangaroo* and *Kangaroo Bay*. It is not quite clear whether they refer to the same property or two separate ones:

KANGAROOBA. In the district of Wellington, N.S.W., on the Macquarie river, 36 miles from Bathurst. T. Kite's station.

KANGAROO BAY. Is situated in the county of Wellington, N.S.W., 165 miles from Sydney.



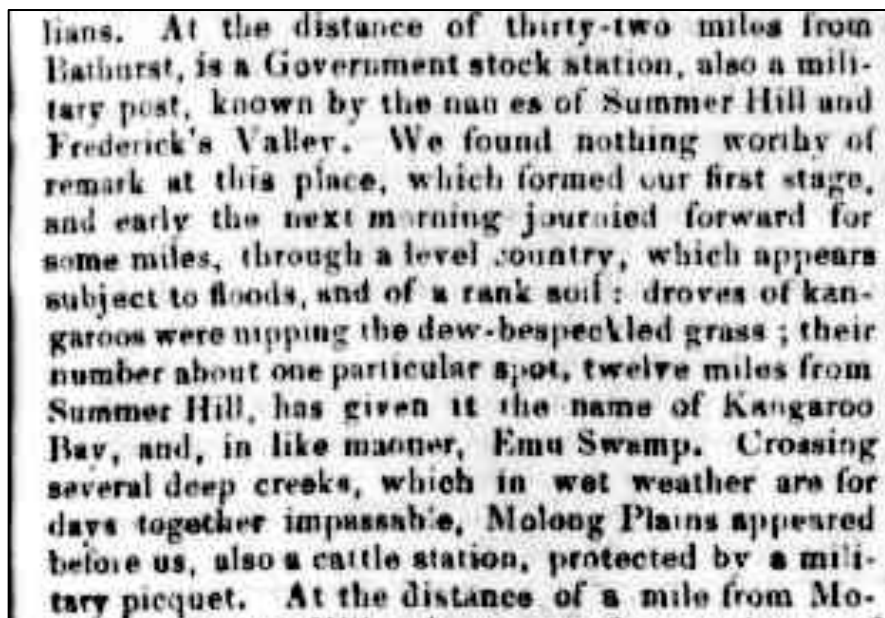
The Molong Historical Society's list of properties and local names also attributes the following spellings of the property:

Name	Parish	County	Remarks and Notes
Kangaroo / Kangaroo Bay	March & Gamboola	Wellington	Part of Molong Run licensed by Thomas Kite in 1837. It is said that the name came from the fact that droves of Kangaroos would gather in the area. The land later became part of the Dalton Family properties.

**Figure 11**

Entry from *List of Property and Locality Names in the Molong District New South Wales*.  
(Source: Molong Historical Society Inc. <http://www.users.on.net/~quincejam/mhsres.html#prop>)

In a report on an excursion from Bathurst to Wellington Valley in the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Thursday 19 January 1832, the correspondent (H. 1832) reports on the large number of kangaroos at a particular spot, such that the spot had been given the name *Kangaroo Bay* (Figure 12).



lians. At the distance of thirty-two miles from Bathurst, is a Government stock station, also a military post, known by the names of Summer Hill and Frederick's Valley. We found nothing worthy of remark at this place, which formed our first stage, and early the next morning journeyed forward for some miles, through a level country, which appears subject to floods, and of a rank soil: droves of kangaroos were nipping the dew-speckled grass; their number about one particular spot, twelve miles from Summer Hill, has given it the name of Kangaroo Bay, and, in like manner, Emu Swamp. Crossing several deep creeks, which in wet weather are for days together impassable, Molong Plains appeared before us, also a cattle station, protected by a military picquet. At the distance of a mile from Mo-

**Figure 12<sup>5</sup>**

Extract from 'An Excursion from Bathurst to Wellington Valley.'  
Bathurst, 21st December, 1831.  
*Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 19 January 1832, No. 2078, p. 3.





**Figure 13**  
Today's 'Kangaroooby' near Orange.  
(Photo: Courtesy Stephen Mackenzie)



**Figure 14**  
'Kangaroooby' homestead, built by James Dalton in 1902 for his son, Michael Francis  
(Source: <https://gilmandykeangus.com.au/gallery>)

## *Kangaroooby*

Current owners of this ‘Kangarooobie’ are the Bateman family, who bought the property in 1993. An enquiry at the property was unsuccessful in determining the origin or meaning of the name.

As is evident from the above, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century press and Government Gazettes, the property was often variously spelled *Kangaroo Bay*, *Kangarooobay*, *Kangaroooba*, *Kangaroooby*, or *Kangarooobie*. A discussion of these various renderings is provided below.

### **2.3 *Kangarooobie #3***

The Masterton Pastoral Company, operated by Jim Masterton and his family (of Masterton Homes) currently owns this rural property of 2125 hectares near Goulburn. Masterton has owned ‘Kangarooobie’ for about 25 years. A previous owner was Andrew Lederer, and before that an Adam Gordon Singer (the property was then about 7,000 acres). Singer had a mail run to the nearby Narrawa in 1902 where he then resided, and was the president of the Goulburn Chamber of Commerce in 1924. The first owner of the property seems to have been an Irishman, Patrick Durack, of Scarriff, County Clare. He arrived in Australia in 1853, and settled in the Goulburn area. After a stint of gold prospecting in the Ovens River district (VIC), he bought land at Dixons Creek which later became known as ‘Kangarooobie’. In 1863 he moved to Queensland and then to Western Australia.<sup>6</sup> It is not clear whether he was the one who named the property.



**Figure 15**  
‘Kangarooobie’ near Goulburn, NSW  
(Photo: Jan Tent)

An enquiry at the property was unsuccessful in determining the origin or meaning of the name.

## 2.4 Kangaroobie #4

The Victorian ‘Kangaroobie’ has been in the hands of the Bowker family for seven generations—ever since its establishment. The run, on the Great Ocean Road at Princetown, was taken up in about 1858, either by the blacksmith Christopher Hodgson Bowker, who arrived in Melbourne from Ingelton, Yorkshire in 1841, or by his son John. Its name is said to mean ‘kangaroos’ resting place’.<sup>7</sup> The current owner, Matt Bowker, claims the region around his property is well-known for its abundance of kangaroos. Neither Christopher or John ever ventured into NSW, so there is no apparent or transparent connection between this *Kangaroobie* and those of NSW. The property currently has a dual role as a working cattle property and a camp for school groups.



**Figure 16**

*Kangaroobie* sign, Princetown, Victoria

(Source: [www.facebook.com/pg/kangaroobiecamp/photos/](http://www.facebook.com/pg/kangaroobiecamp/photos/))

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Determining the meaning and origin of the first element of the placename is uncomplicated and straightforward. Revealing the meaning and origin of the second element is more of a challenge. The following sections endeavour to address these issues.

### 3 KANGAROO

The origin of *kangaroo*, and its current meaning, are probably the most well-documented of any Australian Indigenous-derived words. It originates from the Guugu Yimidhirr (Cooktown, QLD) word *ganurru* ‘a large black or grey kangaroo, probably specifically the male *Macropus robustus*’ (Dixon et al., 2006, pp. 57-58). It is one of the first Australian Indigenous words copied into English, and was first recorded by Cook and Banks in 1770 when the HM Bark *Endeavour* was beached (by a river which Cook named *Endeavour River*) for seven weeks to undergo repairs after sustaining damage incurred by running aground on a reef (now bearing the name *Endeavour Reef*).

When Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet arrived in Port Jackson in 1788, he had with him Banks’ vocabulary of the ‘New Holland language’. Phillip used the word *kangaroo* thinking it had been recorded in Botany Bay in 1770 and so assuming that the local Eora people would understand its meaning. However, they thought they were being taught the English word for ‘edible animal’, because when cattle were unloaded from the transport ships, they enquired whether the cattle were ‘kangaroos’.

As European settlement spread, *kangaroo* was adopted into other Indigenous languages, e.g. Baagandji, *gaangurru* ‘horse’ (Dixon et al., 2006, pp. 57-58). *Kangaroo* is therefore an introduced term that has undergone what could best be termed ‘serial copying’ into numerous Australian Indigenous languages.

### 4 THE OLD SCANDINAVIAN TOPONYMIC SUFFIX -by<sup>8</sup>

One conceivable origin of the suffix *-by* / *-bie* that *Kangaroo* obtained is the toponymic Old Scandinavian (*OScand.*) suffix **-by**. Indeed, the Bowker family folklore asserts that the *-bie* suffix of its property name is a Scottish toponymic suffix meaning ‘resting place’ (Matt Bowker, p.c. 7/10/2017).<sup>9</sup> If this etymology is accurate, then the Bowkers’ *Kangaroobie* may have been named independently without any connection or reference to the NSW ones, and the name forms should be seen as a coincidence.

Ekwall’s *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names* (1947: 76) provides the following entry for the *OScand.* suffix:

OE **by** from ON [Old Norse] *býr, bæ*, ODan [Old Danish], OSw [Old Swedish] *by* is a common second el[ement] in the parts of England where Scandinavians settled. [...] *OScand* [Old Scandinavian] *by* denoted a village or a homestead. In English [place names] both these senses are to be reckoned with, but the exact sense cannot be determined in the actual instances. [...]

During the Middle English (*ME*) period **-by** obtained variant spellings ranging from *-bi* / *-bii* / *-bij* / *-bie*, and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century could also have the form *-bye* (*Oxford English Dictionary*).<sup>10</sup> Examples of current toponyms include: *Lockerbie* (VIC), *Crosbie* (VIC) *Abercrombie* (NSW), *Willowbye* (NSW), *Saxelbye*~*Saxelby* (Leicestershire, UK).

The suffix is currently not normally productive,<sup>11</sup> but occasional examples are extant. The Sydney suburb of *Hornsby*, for example, was named after Constable Samuel Henry Horne, a policeman granted land for an act of bravery in apprehending the bushrangers Dalton and MacNamara on 22 June, 1830 (Hornsby Shire Council; O'Reilly, 1963, p. 11).<sup>12</sup> Evidence of other such archaic toponymic suffixes being employed in the coining of (eponymous) toponyms in Australia include: *Hillston* (NSW) named after the hotel owner William Hill; *Mortdale* (NSW), after the merchant Thomas Sutcliffe Mort; and *Thornleigh* (NSW), after Constable John Thorne who, like Horne, was granted land for the apprehension of the bushrangers Dalton and MacNamara. All show that *some* ancient toponymic generic suffixes were still productive in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Given its full nativisation into English, *kangaroo* can function as verb, adjective and, of course, a noun.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, it will permit the affixation of the tense and aspect inflexional suffixes **-s**, **-ed** and **-ing**, as well as the plural **-s**. If *kangaroo* allows these inflexional suffixes would it not also permit the affixation of an English derivational or toponymic suffix?<sup>14</sup>

An example of an Australian Indigenous word combining with an introduced toponymic suffix is *Bundaberg* (QLD), which is said to result from 'combining the Aboriginal name, *Bunda*, bestowed on assistant surveyor by the Aborigines, with a corruption of "burgh", meaning town or borough' (Appleton & Appleton, 1992, p. 48). Reed (1973) and Nolan (1978, p.85) offer a similar etymology, as reported by Queensland's Department of Natural Resources and Mines online search page:

Probably an artificial combination by John Charlton Thompson (1827-1878) surveyor, January 1869, using *bunda*, a Kabi word denoting important man and the German suffix "berg" indicating mountain. *Bunda* was the name local Aboriginal people gave to A.D. Edwards, Thompson's assistant.

Whether *berg* or *burgh* was the intended suffix is not the issue—it is the fact that an introduced toponymic suffix is shown to be affixed to an Indigenous word.

A similar example of amalgamating an Indigenous name and an introduced specific, resulting in compound toponyms, involves *glen* (especially in homestead names), e.g. *Maraglen* (WA), *Nooraglen* (WA), and *Kalaglen* (SA). The Melbourne suburb of *Yarraville* and the town north-east of Melbourne, *Yarra Glen*, are other examples. Hercus & Simpson (2009, p. 5) provide an example of the reverse, where an Indigenous locative suffix is affixed to an introduced word—the Adelaide suburb of *Glenunga* (Scots *glen* + the Kurna locative *-nga*). This last example suggests that there may be another potential candidate for the etymology of the **-by** suffix. The ensuing discussion will consider this scenario.

## 5 THE INDIGENOUS CASE SUFFIX *-bi* /*-ba* <sup>15</sup>

The study of Australian Indigenous placenames is very challenging. Hercus (2002, p. 63) observes:

The formation [of Aboriginal placenames] varies from region to region, they may be analysable or not, [...]. We can also never be sure we are right about a placename unless there is clear evidence stemming from people who have traditional information on the topic. In the absence of such evidence we have to admit we are only guessing.

Sadly, the latter is too often the case. And because of this diversity in Indigenous place-naming practices we cannot make generalisations about these traditions.

To add to this complexity, the incorporation of placenames derived from Aboriginal languages into the introduced system has been done to varying degrees of accuracy. Prior to European occupation, Australia had an estimated 200 to 300 distinct Aboriginal languages (Dixon, 1980; Yallop, 1982). After European occupation, many Indigenous names were recorded erroneously. Some of the factors that led to this include:

- (a) Europeans who recorded these names had no knowledge of or training in phonetics, and therefore did not know how to properly transcribe the names.
- (b) Aboriginal languages have sound systems quite distinct from English, or any other European language. Most Aboriginal languages lack the fricative consonant sounds /f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h/,<sup>16</sup> and generally make no distinction between voiced and voiceless stops (plosives), they being in free variation, i.e. /b/~p/, /d~/t/, and /g~/k/, distinctions crucial in English. In addition, many Aboriginal languages have sounds not present in English, such as two or three *r*-type sounds that are considered distinct sounds, or a palatal nasal /ɲ/ (as in the Spanish *ñ* in *señor*), whilst other languages have a palatal plosive consonant (similar to the English sound represented in spelling by *ch*) (Yallop, 1982). Such differences cause difficulties for the untrained ear to transcribe with any accuracy or consistency.
- (c) The result of these differences is the difficulty in rendering words into English orthography,<sup>17</sup> which contains only 26 symbols. A consequence of this is the multiple ways a single, specific sound is represented in English spelling, e.g. /ɲ/ may be written as *ny*, *nj* or *gn*.

The free variation of voiced and voiceless stops is commented upon by Threlkeld (1834, p. 2) in reference to the Awakabal/Awabagal-Gadjang language (of the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie district):

Europeans often confuse D with T owing to a middle sound which the natives often use in speaking quickly; so also the T and J arising from the same cause as Won-tiwon-ti the name of a place is often called by the English Won-je-won-je.

and more specifically (p. 130) with regards to the locative suffix:

Note it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether, this particle should be spelt Pa or Ba, in the conjugations of the verb, it is spelled Pa. But many natives say it should be Ba, whilst others affirm that it ought to be Pa.

When recording vowel sounds from an unknown language, and one which has not been codified (i.e. one that has no writing system), they can be represented in various ways. Even in English the vowel /i:/ (as in *heed*), can be represented in the following ways:

- *see*
- *sea*
- *she*
- *baby*
- *leigh*
- *siege*
- *key*
- *police*
- *suite*
- *people*
- *quay*

Attenbrow (2009) documents the numerous occasions when Indigenous placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay were recorded by different authors between 1788 and 1911 using different spellings. She notes (p. 23) this ‘was perhaps due to the recorders’ varying levels of linguistic expertise, to the way individual recorders heard the placenames spoken, or the orthography [spelling] they used.’ Incorrect recollection of a name is yet another cause. Attenbrow gives the following example relevant to the issue of the *-by* / *-bie* / *-ba* / *-be* spelling:

[...] the north head of Botany Bay is given as ‘Bunnabee’ by Larmer (in Stack 1906: 52) but as ‘Bunnabi’, ‘Bunnabee’ and ‘Bunnabri’ at different times by Thornton (1892 [1893], p. 7, 1896 in Organ 1990, p. 358, and 1899, p. 210 respectively) [...]. Similarly, are ‘Yaranabe’ and ‘Eurambie’ incorrect recollections of ‘Yarrandabby’, although the former two names were recorded as the placename for Darling Point, and the latter for Macleay Point [...].

So, when an uncodified language is encountered its words and placenames can be rendered in numerous ways using the English 26-letter alphabet. And, as any Australian placename dictionary or catalogue of placenames will show, many Indigenous-derived toponyms end on *-by*, *-bi*, *-bye*, *-bai*, *-bee* and *-bie* (currently pronounced as /bi:/ or /bai/), as well as *-ba*, *-pa*, *-bah*, *-baa* and *-bar* (/ba:/ or /pa:/).<sup>18</sup> What these publications also show is that many of these placenames have the purported meaning ‘place of *x*’, or ‘resting place of *x*’. Tables 1 and 2 catalogue a small number of them by way of illustration.<sup>19</sup>

The various spellings of *Kangaroooby*’s suffix suggests it has a possible Indigenous origin.

**Table 1**  
Toponyms with the **-bi** suffix

| Toponym                 | State | Purported meaning                                                       | Source                                                                 |
|-------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Adaminaby</i>        | NSW   | camping place                                                           | Appleton & Appleton, 1992                                              |
|                         |       | camping place or place of resting                                       | Anon., 1981                                                            |
|                         |       | camping place, or place for resting                                     | Reed, 1969, 1973                                                       |
| <i>Allambee</i>         | VIC   | quiet resting place                                                     | Reed, 1969, 1973                                                       |
|                         |       | to remain a while                                                       | Reed, 1977                                                             |
| <i>Allambie Heights</i> | NSW   | quiet resting place                                                     | Appleton & Appleton, 1992                                              |
| <i>Bimbi</i>            | NSW   | (abbrev. of <i>Bimbimbi</i> ) place of many birds                       | Anon., 1981                                                            |
|                         |       | place of many birds                                                     | Martin, 1943                                                           |
| <i>Dowgimbee</i>        | NSW   | a mussel ground                                                         | Reed, 1977                                                             |
| <i>Jilliby</i>          | NSW   | a contraction of <i>Jilliby Jilliby</i> , meaning where two creeks meet | Reed, 1969, 1973                                                       |
| <i>Kuraby</i>           | QLD   | place of many springs                                                   | Potter, 2014                                                           |
| <i>Numby</i>            | NSW   | from <i>ngumby</i> , a sleeping place                                   | Reed, 1977                                                             |
| <i>Quamby</i>           | OLD   | a camp                                                                  | Endacott, 1963                                                         |
|                         |       | to stop; a camp                                                         | Reed, 1977                                                             |
| <i>Quamby</i>           | VIC   | < <i>guwambi</i> a sleeping place                                       | Clark & Heydon, 2002                                                   |
| <i>Taloumbi</i>         | NSW   | a windy place                                                           | Reed, 1977                                                             |
| <i>Toongabbie</i>       | NSW   | near water                                                              | Reed, 1969, 1973                                                       |
|                         |       | place near the water                                                    | McCarthy, 1950                                                         |
| <i>Tumbiumbi</i>        | NSW   | place of big trees                                                      | Reed, 1969, 1973                                                       |
| <i>Urambi</i>           | NSW   | sleep                                                                   | McCarthy, 1950                                                         |
| <i>Wollombi</i>         | NSW   | meeting of the waters                                                   | Martin, 1943; Appleton & Appleton, 1992; Reed, 1969, 1973; Anon., 1981 |
| <i>Wombye (Wumbai)</i>  | QLD   | place of black snake                                                    | Sunshine Coast Regional Council; Potter, 2014                          |
| <i>Woorbai</i>          | NSW   | place of scrub                                                          | Ryan, 1963                                                             |
| <i>Yallambie</i>        | VIC   | to rest; to remain                                                      | Appleton & Appleton, 1992                                              |
| <i>Yallambee</i>        | NSW   | to dwell or stay                                                        | McCarthy, 1950                                                         |
|                         |       | to dwell at ease                                                        | Endacott, 1963                                                         |



**Table 2**  
Toponyms with the **-ba** suffix

| Toponym                                  | State | Purported meaning                           | Source                                                |
|------------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Buaraba</i>                           | QLD   | place of dry bushes                         | State Library of QLD                                  |
| <i>Bulimba</i>                           | QLD   | place of magpie larks/peewees               | State Library of QLD                                  |
| <i>Bundamba</i>                          | QLD   | axe place                                   | State Library of QLD                                  |
| <i>Burringbar</i>                        | NSW   | place of the long boomerang                 | Endacott, 1963; Ryan, 1963                            |
| <i>Cannonba</i>                          | NSW   | place of shingle-back lizard                | McCarthy, 1950                                        |
| <i>Elimbah</i>                           | QLD   | place of grey snakes                        | State Library of QLD                                  |
| <i>Gadumba</i><br>( <i>Katoomba</i> )    | NSW   | place of gaduu fern                         | Barrett, 2015                                         |
| <i>Kalbar</i>                            | QLD   | place of brightness or a star               | Potter, 2014                                          |
| <i>Kureelpa</i> ( <i>Kurilba</i> )       | QLD   | place of rats and mice / place of water rat | Sunshine Coast Regional Council; State Library of QLD |
| <i>Mooloolaba</i>                        | QLD   | place of black snake                        | State Library of QLD                                  |
| <i>Mudjimba</i>                          | QLD   | place of midyim shrub                       | Sunshine Coast Regional Council                       |
| <i>Murwillumbah</i>                      | NSW   | native camping place                        | Ryan, 1963                                            |
| <i>Noorumba Reserve</i>                  | NSW   | hunting ground                              | Endacott, 1963                                        |
| <i>Tarampa</i>                           | QLD   | place of wild lime trees                    | Potter, 2014                                          |
| <i>Tingalpa</i>                          | QLD   | place of fat (kangaroos)                    | Potter, 2014                                          |
| <i>Tumbarumba</i>                        | NSW   | sounding ground; place of big trees         | McCarthy, 1950                                        |
|                                          |       | hollow sounding hills; sounding ground      | Frew & Frew, 2012                                     |
| <i>Uralba</i>                            | NSW   | place of quartz stones                      | Ryan, 1963                                            |
| <i>Warrumba</i><br>( <i>Warragamba</i> ) | NSW   | place of big tortoise                       | Barrett, (2015)                                       |
| <i>Wollongbar</i>                        | NSW   | place of the cunjevoi lily                  | Sharpe, 1992                                          |
| <i>Yaamba</i>                            | QLD   | camping ground                              | Reed, 1977                                            |
| <i>Yandembah</i>                         | NSW   | home of ghosts                              | Reed, 1977                                            |

The **-bi /-ba** suffix (and its variants) has been noted by various authors as a locative, genitive, dative or allative case suffix.<sup>20</sup> A selection of these are noted below.

- Threlkeld (1834, pp. 10-11) on the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie language states that Indigenous placenames are generally descriptive, and form the genitive by affixing *-ba*. He provides several examples of geographical names (pp. 50-52) containing the *-ba* suffix denoting ‘place of’, e.g. *Góroinba* ‘the female-emu place’, *Gurránba* ‘a place of brambles’, *Kona-konaba* ‘place where the stone called *kona-kona* is found’, *Mulubinba* ‘fern place’ (the name of the site of Newcastle), *Purribágba* ‘ant’s-nest place’, and *Tulkaba* ‘soft ti-tree place’.
- Lissarague (2006, p. 63) on the same language also notes that *-pa* occurs with a noun to indicate place, e.g. *Kuparrpa* ‘the name of place where the kuparr (red ochre) is found’, *Talkapa* ‘the soft tea-tree place’. On p. 129, she states that *-pa* is a nominal suffix indicating a place.
- Steele (2005) provides numerous examples of *-ba* being a locative ‘place where at’ and genitive ‘of, belonging to’ suffix, for the Sydney language.

- In the Yugambah language and its neighbouring dialects (northern and coastal NSW) *-ba* is also a locative ‘place of’ (Sharpe, 2013).
- In the Gandanguorra language of the Blue Mountains (west of Sydney): *-ba* ‘place of’ (Barrett, 2015, p. 69).
- In the language of north-east NSW and south-east QLD: *-bi:nj* ‘place of’, *-ba* ‘association with’ (Geytenbeek & Geytenbeek, 1971).
- Though rather further afield from NSW and southern Queensland where *-bi /-ba* are found as locative suffixes, Haviland (1979, p. 51), notes that nearly all nominal stems for general dative and locative/allative cases in Guugu Yimidhirr (northern QLD) have the main suffix variants (i.e. allomorphs)<sup>21</sup> *-bi /-wi*, and for many older speakers, *-bay /-way*.

Such locative suffixes are extremely common among Aboriginal languages, as is noted by Blake (1979, p. 332) who claims Australian languages typically exhibit an allative case ‘to’, a locative case ‘at’, ‘near’, etc. and an ablative case ‘from’. Some examples of varying suffix forms from other languages include:

- Gamilaraay–Yuwaalaraay (northern NSW) where it indicates the generic name of a place as well as a place in time: *walay* ‘camp, nest’ becomes *walay-ba* ‘camping ground’ (Lissarague, 2006, p. 63).
- Yolngu (north-eastern Arnhem Land) where the suffix *-puy* or *-wuy* ‘place of’ is common placename ending, e.g. *Nhulunbuy*, named after the hill that stands in the middle of the town. In earlier spellings of the name it appears as ‘boi’ or ‘woi’.
- In Warlpiri (as in some other Aboriginal languages), a deceased person may be referred to by their place of death, e.g. in the form of a suffix, as with *-wana* ‘general locative’ (Myers, 1991 [1986], p. 132).
- Kurna (Adelaide district) has the locative suffix *-ngga*, e.g. *Parnangga* ‘autumn star place’ or ‘place of the procession leader’ (Schultz, 2013).<sup>22</sup>
- Nyoongar/Nyungar (Perth region) *-up* ‘place; place of’ is a common suffix (Collard, Goodchild & Marinova, 2011; Milne, 1992).

## 6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

As is so often the case when researching the etymology of toponyms, especially ones derived from Indigenous words or names, a definitive conclusion is elusive. Without documentary evidence of the motivation and/or mechanism of the naming of a place, the toponymist has little choice but to hypothesise as to the name's origin and meaning.

As mentioned in the previous section, a number of factors are responsible for the erroneous recording of Indigenous words and names. Koch (2009) echoes these reasons and adds several more:

- Variable intra- and inter-dialectal pronunciation of Indigenous speakers.
- Different Indigenous phonotactics (i.e. rules governing the allowable sound sequences in a language) interpreted differently by Europeans.
- Differences in attention by Europeans to phonetic detail of original Indigenous words.
- Individual dialectal differences between European recorders.
- Diachronic changes (i.e. changes over time) in spelling and pronunciation.

All these factors contribute to the tenuousness of researching Indigenous-derived names, as well as the inaccurate and disparate recording of them. Koch provides various examples of the variability in reconstructed Indigenous placenames. One in particular (pp. 139-40), is of relevance to our toponym *Kangaroooby*—that of a Monaro pastoral run (now designated by the NSW GNB as a RURAL PLACE) *Mowenbah - Mowenbar* (see Figures 17 and 18).<sup>23</sup> He shows different spellings, along with phonetic and phonemic reconstructions, of the pastoral run's name (notice the spellings of the highlighted final syllable):<sup>24</sup>

|   |     |   |   |   |    |         |          |
|---|-----|---|---|---|----|---------|----------|
| M | ow  | e | n | b | ar | 1840    | Lambie   |
| M | o   | e | n | b | ar | 1844    | Robinson |
| M | ow  | e | n | b | ah | 1848-50 |          |
| M | oo  |   | n | b | ar | 1848-50 |          |
| M | o/u | V | n | b | a: |         | phonetic |
| M | u   | w | i | n | b  | a       | phonemic |



Figure 17

Section of map 'Squatter's Runs and Homesteads 1885'  
(Source: [https://khuts.org/map\\_data/1885/Homesteads\\_1885\\_350K\\_F.pdf](https://khuts.org/map_data/1885/Homesteads_1885_350K_F.pdf))

Notice also the spelling of the run *Mowenbah*, the homestead *Mowenbar* (now *Mowamba*), and the adjoining run *Moonbar*, (now *Moonbah*)—all different spellings of presumably the same name. It is also worth noting that *Mowenbah* lies on the *Mowamba River*, clearly another spelling of the name.<sup>25</sup> And it is likely the final *-bah* /*-bar* /*-ba* syllables are forms of a locative or allative suffix.

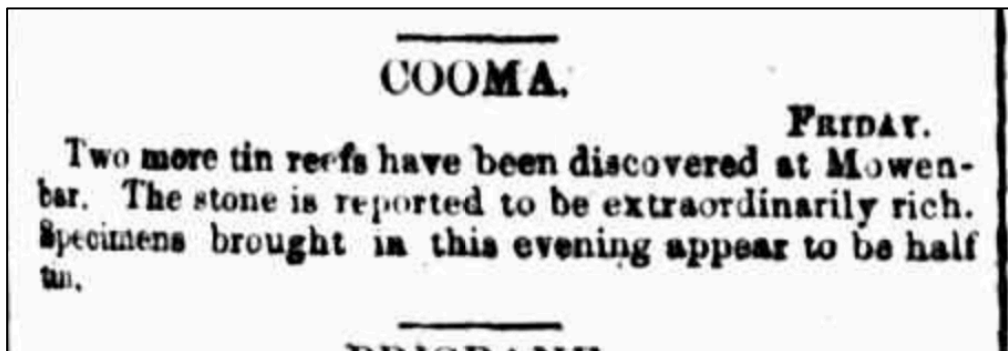


Figure 18

Notice in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August, 1873, p. 13.  
(Source: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/1449425>)

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So what of the etymology of the **-bi /-ba** suffix in our toponyms? I can only hypothesise. As I have outlined above, there are a few possibilities.

Of the four properties, the strongest candidate for the *OScand.* suffix **-by** would have to be the Victorian *Kangarooobie*—that is if the Bowker family’s folklore of the name’s origin is valid. The bestower of the name, Christopher Hodgson Bowker, came from Yorkshire, where there are at least 58 placenames that have the **-by** suffix. (The spelling of either *-bie* or *-by* is not an issue because both are common for this suffix.) It may be, however, that some confusion has occurred in the interpretation of the meaning of that suffix. Clearly the *-bie* suffix in Indigenous placenames is a locative or allative suffix sometimes referring to a resting place, and this may have been the source of the purported meaning assigned by the Bowker family. However, the *OScand.* suffix denoted a ‘village’ or ‘homestead’ in English placenames, ‘the exact sense [of which] cannot be determined in [...] actual instances’ (Ekwall, 1947, p. 76). If this is indeed the case, ‘resting place’ may be a legitimate interpretation for the *OScand.* suffix since kangaroos have neither villages nor homesteads.

Nonetheless, the suffix in the Victorian *Kangarooobie* could still be of Indigenous origin. The **-bi /-ba** locative case suffix is also employed by a number of Victorian Indigenous languages, as is illustrated in Table 1. This is highlighted by Hercus (1969) and Blake (1981) when they argue that the name of Melbourne’s *Moomba Festival* does not mean ‘let’s get together and have fun’, but ‘up your bum’ (< the Wuywurung language *mum/moom* ‘buttocks, anus’ + *-ba* ‘at’, ‘in’ or ‘on’).

The varying spelling of locative/allative case suffix as **-bi /-ba** is not really problematic. As in every language, Indigenous languages have various forms of affixes. In English, for example, the regular past tense suffix, **-ed**, has the allomorphs /əd/, /d/ or /t/, depending on the type of sound that precedes it (as in *wanted*, *warned* and *walked*). Similar kinds of rules exist in Australian Indigenous languages. Hence, in some circumstances the locative/allative case suffix would be /bi:/ and in others /ba:/. Similarly, different Indigenous languages, dialects and individual speakers will have different forms of these kinds of suffixes. In commenting on the locative **-ba** suffix, Livingstone (1892, p. 10) observes:

Ba is simply a locative form. Probably there is some connection between it and -bo and -by, which may be regarded as little more than ornaments. It is sometimes found as a termination to names of places. Its principal use as a noun-suffix is to strengthen the simple forms of life-nouns, and thus form a new base for the addition of the suffixes.

As a toponymic illustration, we see that *Warragamba* was first recorded as *Warragombie* (the name first recorded for the lower Cox River). It was later changed to the current *Warragamba*. Dixon *et al.* (2006, p. 73) also demonstrate that *wallaby* ‘[f]ormerly [had] much variety, as **wallaba**, **wallabee**, **wallaby**, **wollaba** and **wollabi**.’

Perhaps the most interesting of the four toponyms is the one that belonged to Thomas Kite. Its various spellings are a little puzzling. They certainly hint at the variability in the

form of the **-bi /-ba** suffix. The fact that the spelling of the *OScand.* suffix regularly varied between *-bie* or *-by*, may explain two of the spellings.

Nonetheless, all of the spellings raise the issue of ultimate origin of the name. The first recorded version of the name is *Kangaroo Bay* (1835), and is what Kite wrote in his will of 1871, 36 years later. That spelling was regularly used in government gazettes, notices in the press and other articles in the press until the late 1850s. During the intervening period, the other spellings were also used: *Kangarooobay* for a short period between 1837 and 1845; *Kangaroooba* in 1848; *Kangaroooby* in 1838 and 1852; and *Kangarooobie* was first used in 1838, though initially very sparingly until the late 1800s.

Given *Kangaroo Bay* was the first rendering of the name, and was used in Kite's will, in his own handwriting, it could be argued this was Kite's intended name and that the other spellings, used by others, are incorrect, or misprints. Indeed, Kite may have taken the name for his property from a locality named *Kangaroo Bay*. The extract from 'An Excursion from Bathurst to Wellington Valley' of 1831 in the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (Figure 12), hints at this, as do these following citations.

In his book *The Good Old Days of Molong*, Fitzpatrick (1913, p. 20) cites a letter from H.C.L. Anderson, the late Principal Librarian of the Public Library, who hints at the abundance of kangaroos in the Molong district:

[..] If Molong had any other names in the early times, such as Kangaroo Flat, which I notice in one place is apparently synonymous with Molong, we shall be very glad to know of it, so that we may make the necessary cross references in our index.

Anderson's assumption is in fact incorrect—according to the NSW GNB, *Molong* means 'all rocks'.

In a description of the early colonial days of the Molong district, Fitzpatrick (p. 56) provides an interesting sketch of the environs and wildlife which can be seen as a hint to the motivation for the naming of *Kangaroo Bay* as a locality/location:

In the early days, and before there was much settlement in the vicinity, this part of the environs of the Molong of to-day grew grass up to the saddle flap, and was a favorite browsing-ground for innumerable kangaroos, emus and other game; whilst the local blacks established here their camp on the verdant slopes, in the neighborhood of a copious supply of game and water.

And on page 142, Fitzpatrick cites an entry from the *NSW Calendar and General Post Office Directory* of 1835, which refers to what was then known as the 'Western Road'. It provides another suggestion that *Kangaroo Bay* referred to an area or locality before Thomas Pike named his property:

151 Mile Peg.—Place called Kangaroo Bay, where a village reserve has been marked. The road winds between two streams; on the south is the Molong River; on the north the Nandillion Ponds.

Other similar clues of *Kangaroo Bay* designating a locality rather than the name of a rural

property can be found in various periodicals of the time:

- *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 2 February, 1833, p. 2:  
In seasons of the most protracted drought, the pasturage has invariably maintained its luxuriance, and several eminent sheep-holders have already formed stations in the neighbourhood of the Macquarie, from Kangaroo Bay to Burrandong.
- *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 19 January, 1832, page 3:  
We found nothing worthy of remark at this place, which formed our first stage, and early the next morning journied forward for some miles, through a level country, which appears subject to floods, and of a rank soil: droves of kangaroos were nipping the dew-bespeckled grass; their number about one particular spot, twelve miles from Summer Hill has given it the name of Kangaroo Bay, and, in like manner, Emu Swamp.
- *Sydney Herald*, 9 August, 1839:  
To Let as a lease  
3328 acres of land situate at Kangaroo Bay, near Molong, in the County of Bathurst.
- *Australasian Chronicle*, 18 March, 1841, page 1:  
JOHN FITZPATRICK.  
Bathurst, 8th March, 1841.  
I, the undersigned, hereby give notice to constables and others that I have lost my Certificate of Freedom, and therefore give my personal description as follows, that I may not be molested by them, viz.: ship, *Captain Cook* (1), seven years, free by servitude, height 5 feet 3½ inches, complexion ruddy, eyes grey, hair light brown; remarks, burn on back of tight hand.  
And, further, I will give a reward of Two Pounds to any person restoring said Certificate and following Orders, which I lost between Kangaroo Bay and Molong, [...]

A further snippet of evidence that shows *Kangaroo Bay* may have originally been a location is provided by Wells (1848: 218) in his *A Geographical Dictionary or Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies* (Figure 19):

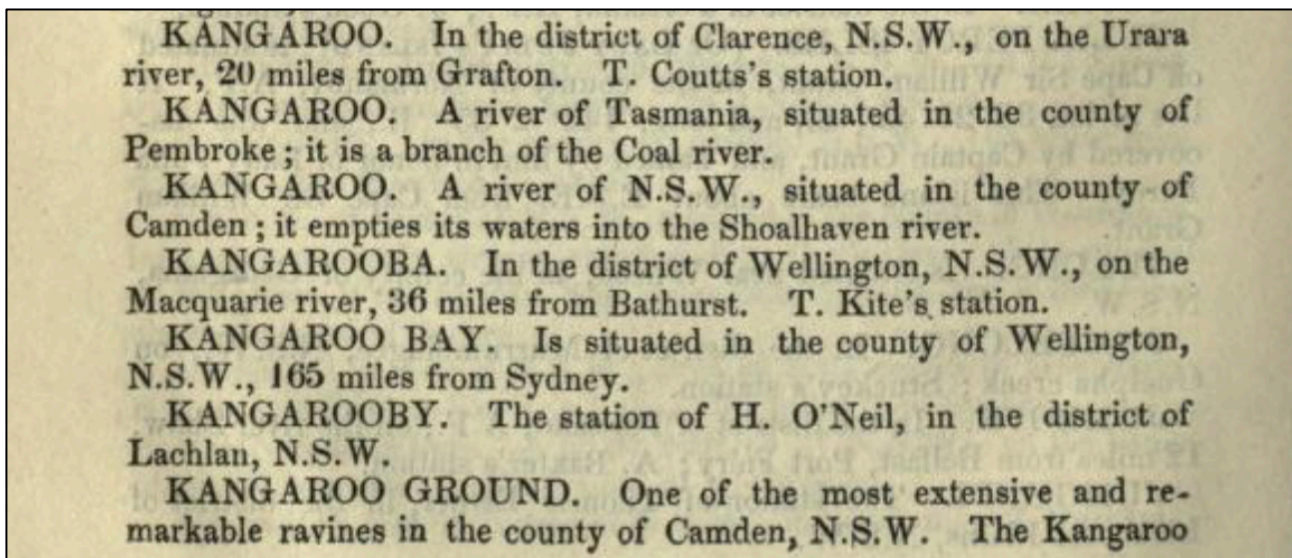


Figure 19

Page 218 of *A geographical dictionary or gazetteer of the Australian colonies*  
(Source: <https://archive.org/details/geographicaldict00wellrich>)

Wells notes *Kangaroooba* being Kite's station, but implies *Kangaroo Bay* is a locality or location. The *Kangaroooby* of H. O'Neil is the current property of the Idiens family.

The use of the toponymic generic *Bay* needs some comment. It is not necessarily one reserved for MARINE features. The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* contains the following two definitions, and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century citations, for **bay**:

3. An indentation, recess in a range of hills, etc.

1853 G. Johnston *Terra Lindisfarnensis* I. 9 The hills... stand out generally well-defined by bays and vales, which run in about their bases.

4. An arm of a prairie extending into, and partly surrounded by, woods.

1850 W. Colton *Three Years Calif.* 370 Still, in some of its bays, the evidences of fertility exist.

1874 B.F. Taylor *World on Wheels* 17 In the bottom of a bay of land bounded... by wooded hills.

Notice that the first recorded citations of **bay** having the meaning of 'an indentation, recess in a range of hills, etc.' or 'an arm of a prairie extending into, and partly surrounded by woods', are from the early 1850s. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that this sense is a possible source for *Kangaroo Bay*. The predating of the *OED* citation by the toponym does not discount an earlier use of the term, since it takes some time for a new expression to find its way into print, or indeed into a dictionary.

The use of regular MARINE feature generic being employed as a VEGETATION & DESERT feature is not extraordinary. Indeed, another feature term sometimes used to describe a RELIEF feature (such as a hill) is *Island*. The *OED* gives the following senses for **island** (there are many others of course, but these are not relevant here). Sense #2 and three of its citations are of most interest here:

1. A piece of land completely surrounded by water. Formerly used less definitely, including a peninsula, or a place insulated at high water or during floods, or begirt by marshes, a usage which survives in particular instances, as Portland Island, Hayling Island, Mochras or Shell Island, etc.

2. An elevated piece of land surrounded by marsh or 'intervale' land; a piece of woodland surrounded by prairie or flat open country; a block of buildings [= Latin *insula*]; also an individual or a race, detached or standing out by itself; †*to stand in island*, to be detached or isolated (*obsolete*).

1638 in D.G. Hill *Dedham (Mass.) Rec.* (1892) III. 51 Abraham Shawe selleth vnto Ferdinando Adam one portion of Grownd called an hill or Iland as it lyeth to his home lott.

1785 W. Cowper *Task* iii. 630 The shapely knoll, That, softly swelled and gaily dressed, appears A flowery island, from the dark green lawn Emerging.

1794 S. Williams *Nat. & Civil Hist. Vermont* 35 The small islands in these intervalles, are of a different soil, and...are evidently the tops of small hills, which have not been covered by the inundations of the rivers.

Sense 2 is of course figurative; some instances of this sense can be seen in the following small selection of NSW toponyms (extracted from NSW GNB online 'place name search'):



***Archies Island***

Designation: Hill

Description: A hill almost completely surrounded by Wollondilly River. It rises about 140 m from the river and is situated about 3km S by E of Horse Flat and 4km SE by E of Chalker Trig Station.

***Ball Island***

Designation: Hill

Description: A sandhill which lies to the west of Yantabulla Plain and 9 km S by W of Kilberoo Tank.

***Bogeys Island***

Designation: Hill

Description: A hill about 6 km NE by N of Wamboyne trig station and about 5 km WNW of Calalgulee trig station.

***Box Island***

Designation: Hill

Description: A small hill 4.8 km SSW of Pine Ridge.

This means that the generic of the toponym does not always need to equate to the standard feature designation of the geographic feature. *Reef* is another such example.

As mentioned above, Haviland (1979, p. 51), notes that locative/allative case suffixes in the QLD language Guugu Yimidhirr have the allomorphs *-bi /-wi*, and that for many older speakers, these are *-bay /-way*. Could similar allomorphs have been a feature of older speakers of languages in NSW? If so, this may be another explanation for Kite's *Kangaroo Bay*.

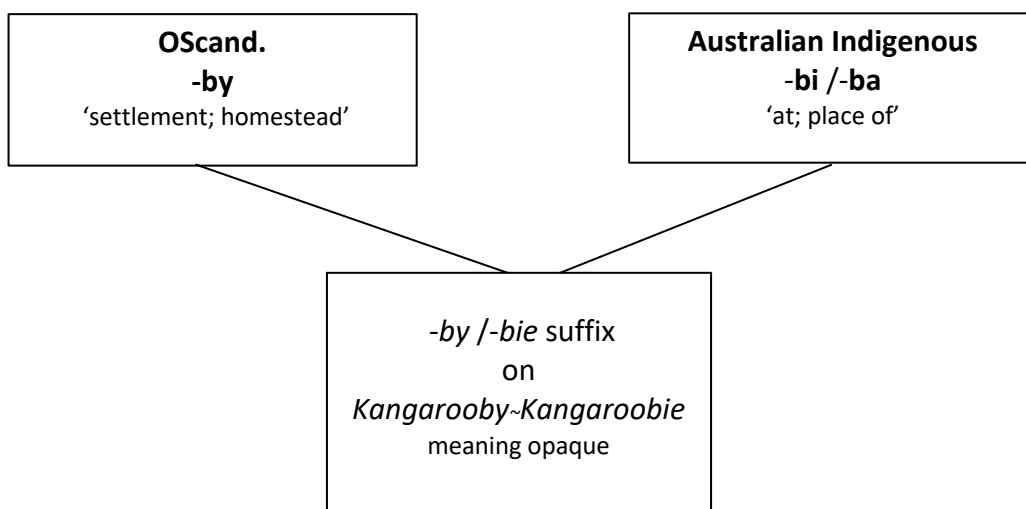
As noted above, there is an instance of *Kangaroooby* #1 being spelled *Kangarooobay* on licence renewals of 1842 (Nos. 162 and 352) in the name of Peter Dwyer, who was the then manager/supervisor of the property. Was this spelling merely an aberration, a mix-up with Kite's property's name, or was it a result of Dwyer's Irish accent? Wells (1982: 425) reports that there are sporadic rural and conservative urban working-class accents that pronounce /i:/ as /e:/ (similar to /ei/ as in *bay*). Thus *steal* is homophonous to *stale*, and *meat* with *mate*, *eat* with *ate*, and *beat* with *bait*. Wells reports that people sometimes put on an Irish pronunciation with this feature as a joke or as a conscious Hibernicism. He also claims that the pronunciation trait maybe an archaism surviving from medieval Hiberno-English from Fingal, Forth and Bargo. We do not know whence Dwyer came in Ireland, nor how 'thick' his accent was, so this is all mere conjecture.

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It would have been useful to have determined whether the **-bi /-ba** suffix was Indigenous or Old Scandinavian, because it could tell us something more about the formation of toponyms involving two languages. Nevertheless, what is certain is that *Kangaroooby* and *Kangarooobie* were formed through a process of amalgamating a word from one language and a word element from another. Two scenarios are possible (Figure 20):



There is a fourth scenario that could explain *Kangaroooby-Kangarooobie*, at the very least the NSW ones. In *ANPS Occasional Working Paper 4 'The Cogie: A case of a conflated name?'*, I argue that *cogie* may well be the result of a process termed 'phono-semantic matching' (PSM). This is the adopting of a word or word element into one language (in the current case, English) from another (in the current case the Australian Indigenous **-bi /-ba** suffix) where the word element's non-native quality is hidden by replacing (matching) it with a phonetically and semantically similar word or word element (in the current case *OScand.* **-by**) from the adopting language. This preserves the approximate sound and meaning of the parallel expression in the source language. The process for a PSM for **-bi /-ba** and **-by** may be schematically represented thus:



**Figure 22**  
Possible phono-semantic matching of **-bi /-ba** and **-by**

The process of phono-semantic matching may also explain *Kangaroo Bay*. Could it originally have been a corruption of an Indigenous form of the **-bi /-ba** suffix? The Gamilaraay-Yuwaalaraay language (which neighbours Wiradjuri country where the NSW *Kangarooobies* are located) has a comitative suffix *-baraay* (Austin, 1993; 1997, pp. 33).<sup>26</sup> This may have been corrupted to *bay* and then undergone the process of phono-semantic matching to turn it into the separate generic *Bay*.

All this still leaves us with a couple of issues that have yet to resolved:

1. How did the various spellings of Kite's property's come about? Were they merely misspellings or misrepresentations of his original name?

Unless further information comes to light, these questions will remain unanswered.

2. If the **-bi /-ba** suffix is derived from an Indigenous language, which one was it? Given the NSW *Kangarooobies* are located in Wiradjuri country, would not this language be the logical donor?

The problem with Wiradjuri is that it does not seem to have a locative suffix of the form **-bi /-ba**. Gamilaraay-Yuwaalaraay, on the other hand does, and therefore may be the donor language for both the *-bie /-by /-ba* suffix forms as well as the generic *Bay*. The *Gamilaraay-Yuwaalaraay-Yuwaalayaay Dictionary* (2013), for example, has the following entries:

**-araay** [comitative] *suffix* 'with; having'

**-baraay** [comitative] *suffix* 'with; having'

This suffix is attached to nouns, meanings include accompaniment (e.g. with mum), property (e.g. with hair/hairy) and weak instrumental (e.g. walked with a stick). The variant also occurs in the language name Kamilaroi, **Gamil-araay** (no-having); so 'the language that has gamil (for no)'. The ending is often used to form new words, particularly placenames such as Boggabri, **Bagay-baraay** (creeks-having).

However, more significantly, it also has the entries:

**-baa** [locative] *suffix* 'place of'

Occurs in **walaay-baa** (camp-place of) meaning 'a person's country or home place'. *Gayaay-baa-ga ngiyani yanaa-waa-nha*. 'We are walking through a sandy place.'

**Gaawalbaa** *placename* Yuwaalayaay, Cowelba

On the Collarenebri-Angledool road. From **gaawal** (creek) and **-baa** (place of, time of).

Expanded information for these entries can be found in Ash *et al.* (2009).

Wiradjuri does have a comitative suffix (see Nash, 2014; Grant & Rudder, 2010. p. 351), but none of its various written forms on toponyms (*-dera*, *-dra*, *-dry*, *-drie*, *-darie*, *-thery* *-dgery*, *-gerie*, *-gery*, and *-jerry*) are suggestive of the source for *Kangaroooby* suffixes.

Of course there are various other languages along the NSW coast that have the **-bi /-ba** locative suffix, any of which could have been the donor language. Threlkeld (1834, pp. 50-52), for instance, catalogues 37 Awakabal/Awabagal-Gadjang (Hunter River/Lake Macquarie)<sup>27</sup> geographic names, 17 (46%) of which contain the suffix *-ba* which are glossed as 'place of *x*'.

As I have outlined above, several sources and scenarios may have been responsible for the formation of suffix on *Kangaroooby* and *Kangarooobie*, some perhaps more plausible than others. Whatever the source or process, what we can be certain about is that the toponym is a 'hybrid name', much like the Adelaide suburb of *Glenunga*. Another term that we may employ is a 'macaronic compound toponym' (see Tent & Blair, 2018).<sup>28</sup>

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The *Kangaroooby* (and its associated geographic features) near Cowra (NSW) have another, rather obscure, yet beautiful claim to fame. A new species of orchid, *Corunastylis systema*, was first identified and described by Jones (1991). The specific epithet (*systemum*) is derived from the Greek *systemos* 'tapering to a point', referring to the shape of the labellum of the orchid. It flowers from February to April. Since this orchid is restricted to ranges near Cowra and Forbes, it has been given the common name 'Kangaroooby Midge Orchid'.



**Figure 23**

The 'Kangaroooby Midge Orchid' (*Corunastylis systema*)

(Source: Mischa and Colin Rowan. <http://www.orchidspecies.com/corusystema.htm>)

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## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> The approximate great circle distances between #1 and #2 is 70km, that between #2 and #3, 160km, and between #1 and #3, 155km.
- <sup>3</sup> Cosby, Henry. 22 Sep-13 Oct 1839, 1 Jan-26 Feb 1840. ‘Half yearly return of population and livestock in the Lachlan district from 1 Jan 1840’ [X813], Reel 2748.
- <sup>4</sup> Could Dwyer’s Irish accent have contributed to this spelling? For further comment on this, see section 6, **Discussion and Conclusions**.
- <sup>5</sup> *At the distance of thirty two miles from Bathurst, is a Government stock station, also a military post known by the names of Summer Hill and Frederick’s Valley. We found nothing worthy of remark at this place, which formed our first stage, and early the next morning journeyed forward for some miles, through a level country, which appears subject to floods, and of a rank soil droves of kangaroos were nipping the dew-bespeckled grass, their number about one particular spot, twelve miles from Summer Hill has given it the name of Kangaroo Bay, and, in like manner, Emu Swamp. Crossing several deep creeks, which in wet weather are for days together impassable, Molong Plains appeared before us, also a cattle station, protected by a military picquet [i.e. picket ‘A pointed stake driven into the ground for use in the construction of a fence or stockade’].*
- <sup>6</sup> This was the same Patrick Durack of Western Australian pastoral fame and the grandfather of Dame Mary Durack, author of the novel *Kings in Grass Castles*.
- <sup>7</sup> <http://www.kangaroobie.com/history>
- <sup>8</sup> The various orthographic forms of this suffix will be represented by the canonical form **-by**.
- <sup>9</sup> Although ‘resting place’ is not the accepted meaning of the *OScand* toponymic suffix *-by* /-bie so ubiquitous in Britain denoting a homestead or settlement, the Bowkers’ slightly garbled ‘etymology’ may nevertheless be linked to it.

- 10 Middle English was spoken from approximately the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century to the late-15<sup>th</sup> century.
- 11 A productive affix (prefix or suffix) contributes to the formation of new words or names, e.g. *un-*, *-ness*.
- 12 There is also a *Hornsby* in Cumbria in the UK, so this may have served as a model for the coining of Sydney's *Hornsby*.
- 13 For example, 'the car kangarooed down the road' and 'kangaroo care', 'kangaroo court' or 'kangaroo-like'.
- 14 An inflexional suffix signals grammatical relationships such as PLURALITY, POSSESSION, TENSE etc. A derivational suffix changes the grammatical class of a word (e.g. from a VERB to a NOUN).
- 15 I shall use **-bi** /**-ba** as the canonical form of the suffix.
- 16 All of which occur in English: *fee*, *vase*, *thin*, *this*, *see*, *zoo*, *shoe*, *measure*, and *how* respectively.
- 17 The orthography is the conventional spelling system of a language.
- 18 These suffixes could just as easily be spelled with a *p*, as they occasionally are.
- 19 No guarantee can be given for the accuracy of the meanings of the toponyms.
- 20 *Locative* = 'a form taken by a noun when it typically expresses the idea of location of an action'; *genitive* = 'a form taken by a noun when it typically expresses a possessive relationship, or some other similarly close connection'; *dative* = 'a form taken by a noun when it typically expresses an indirect object relationship'; *allative* = 'a form taken by a noun when it typically expresses the meaning of motion *to* or *towards* a place.'
- 21 An *allomorph* is a variant form of a unit of meaning, such as a suffix, which varies in pronunciation in different contexts without changing its meaning.
- 22 The *-nga* form is often the locative suffix on placenames in Australian languages (David Nash, p.c.).
- 23 Notice the spelling of the run (*Mowenbah*), the homestead (*Mowenbar*), and the adjoining run (*Moonbar*), all different spellings of the same name.
- 24 I cite him in full: 'The last syllable uses two notations to indicate what was perceived as a long *a* (as in *bar* or *bah*); the perceived length may simply reflect a real long vowel phoneme in the original language or merely indicate that the vowel is not the reduced vowel found a similar position in English words such as *member*. The first vowel is apparently perceived either as the *o* of *tow* or the *u* of *too*, followed by an indistinct vowel, possibly spelled with *e* or not perceived at all. The uncertainty of the Aboriginal vowel is shown by the V (for vowel) of the reconstruction. Since vowels do not occur adjacent to one another in Aboriginal languages, we posit a glide *w* after the *o/u* sound, which is spelled *u* in the orthography we are using. The most likely sequence of phonemes is \**Muwinba*, but \**Muwunba* and \**Muwanba* are also possibilities.' (Koch, 2009, pp. 139-40).
- 25 The change in spelling from <*n*> in *Mowenbah* to <*m*> in *Mowamba* is due to the natural phonetic process known as 'assimilation', i.e. a sound change due to the influence exercised by one sound segment *A* upon the articulation of a neighbouring sound *B*, which results in *B* becoming more like, or even identical to, *A*. The NSW GNB notes that the previous names for the *Mowamba River* were *Mowamba River* and *Moonbah River*.

- <sup>26</sup> A comitative suffix indicates a meaning akin to ‘with’, ‘having’, ‘accompanied by’, etc. (Nash 2014: 11).
- <sup>27</sup> Lissarague (2006) has labelled this the ‘Hunter River-Lake Macquarie (HRLM) language.’
- <sup>28</sup> ‘Macaronic’ refers to a text or word using a mixture of languages (usually two). It can also be used to refer to hybrid words (i.e. internally macaronic); a good example being TELEVISION from Greek τῆλε (*tēle*) ‘far’ + Latin *visio* ‘seeing’ (from *videre* ‘to see’).