

Nyungar Boodjera Wangkiny (The People's Land is Speaking): Nyungar Place Nomenclature of the Southwest of Western Australia

Nyungar names of the boodjar or land in the southwest of Australia and their interpretations

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Introduction

Placenames in the southwest of Western Australia (WA) are commonly derived from Nyungar, the Aboriginal language of the region. However, the story of these placenames is yet to be fully appreciated. As Nyungar language is the basis of geographical nomenclature for many names for towns, localities and landmarks in the southwest, current, comprehensive and critical research and analysis of Nyungar language documentation is required to interpret and reveal the ancient meanings of these names. Over the course of the project 'Nyungar Boodjera Wangkiny (The People's Land is Speaking): Nyungar Place Nomenclature of the Southwest of Western Australia', a range of scholarly articles and presentations have examined and investigated the contribution of local Nyungar peoples in association with government officials,

settlers and explorers in the recording of this regional geographical and cultural phenomenon of Nyungar placenames in southern WA.

This project identified official geographical names of places in the Southwest of WA derived from Nyungar language and used a variety of media to tell the unique story of the meanings of recorded Nyungar placenames. These placenames are showcased in a collection of 14 maps covering the southwest of Western Australia and based on the regional areas identified by Norman Tindale. This document is a synopsis of three years research, analysis, interpretation, presentations, fieldwork and photography. It emphasises the implicit connections between land, people, culture and language.

Background

Aboriginal people of the southwest of Western Australia use the term Noongar (Nyungar, Nyoongar, Nyungah, Nungar, Njunga etc.) to describe themselves and their language, and 'as an adjective describing their country, their way of life and other features of their culture'.¹ Southwest Australia is Nyungar country and over 50% of town names as well as countless other geographical features are Nyungar. However, few people know what these names mean. This research project has examined Nyungar place names and their meanings by utilising a range of sources – historical maps, explorers' and surveyors' journals, official cartographic material and primary Nyungar sources. The results of this project should contribute towards environmental understanding, tourism ventures and reconciliation by creating a common understanding of local Indigenous geography.

The Aboriginal landowners working as guides in the 19th century described their country using Nyungar-language placenames. This information to was recorded by colonists and constitutes the basis of the material researched and examined over the course of this project. Across the southwest of Western Australia many official names of towns, cities, rivers, creeks, hills, mountains, estuaries and other naturally occurring landscape features are derived from Nyungar language. The overwhelming presence of

¹ Douglas 1976:5.

Nyungar language in the lives of southwest Australians has created a burgeoning interest in understanding the meanings of these names, how they came to be recorded, and what relationships of conciliation existed between the original Australians and newcomers in our country. Little contemporary critical study carried out by Nyungar or non-Nyungar researchers exists on clarifying the actual meanings of placenames and interpreting the recorded data since it started being collected almost two centuries ago.

A series of placename case studies were undertaken from right across the Nyungar boodjar (Aboriginal lands) of the southwest of Western Australia (WA). The meanings of ten samples of recorded placenames from each of the 14 Nyungar dialect areas identified by Norman Tindale were examined.² This investigation centred on the history of collaboration between British colonists and Nyungar, utilising the documents left behind. These include a wide variety word lists annotated with equivalent meanings in English. Nyungar placenames can link country to dreamtime yarns and encapsulate information about natural phenomena and associated events. Nyungar, the traditional land owners of the Southwest, are central to life in Southwest WA, as the originators of the place names currently in use across the length and breadth of Nyungar lands today.

Nyungar and their Boodjar

The area referred to as the southwest of WA in this project lies in the southwest corner of Western Australia, from just west of Israelite Bay, moving in an arc north-west of Esperance and close to the small wheat-belt town of Noongar, and west-north-west towards Coorow to south of Geraldton on the west coast.³ This entire area is referred to as Nyungar *boodjar* to Nyungar people. Tindale acknowledged 14 diverse and interlinked Nyungar dialect regions: Amangu, Balardong, Juat, Kaneang, Koreng, Minang, Njakinjaki, Njunga, Pibelman, Pindjarup, Wardandi, Whadjuk, Wudjari, and Wiilman. While not authoritative, these regions were used as categories to group the Nyungar language names identified in this project (see Figure 1).⁴

² Tindale 1974.

³ Collard and Bracknell 2012; Collard and Harben 2010.

⁴ Tindale 1974

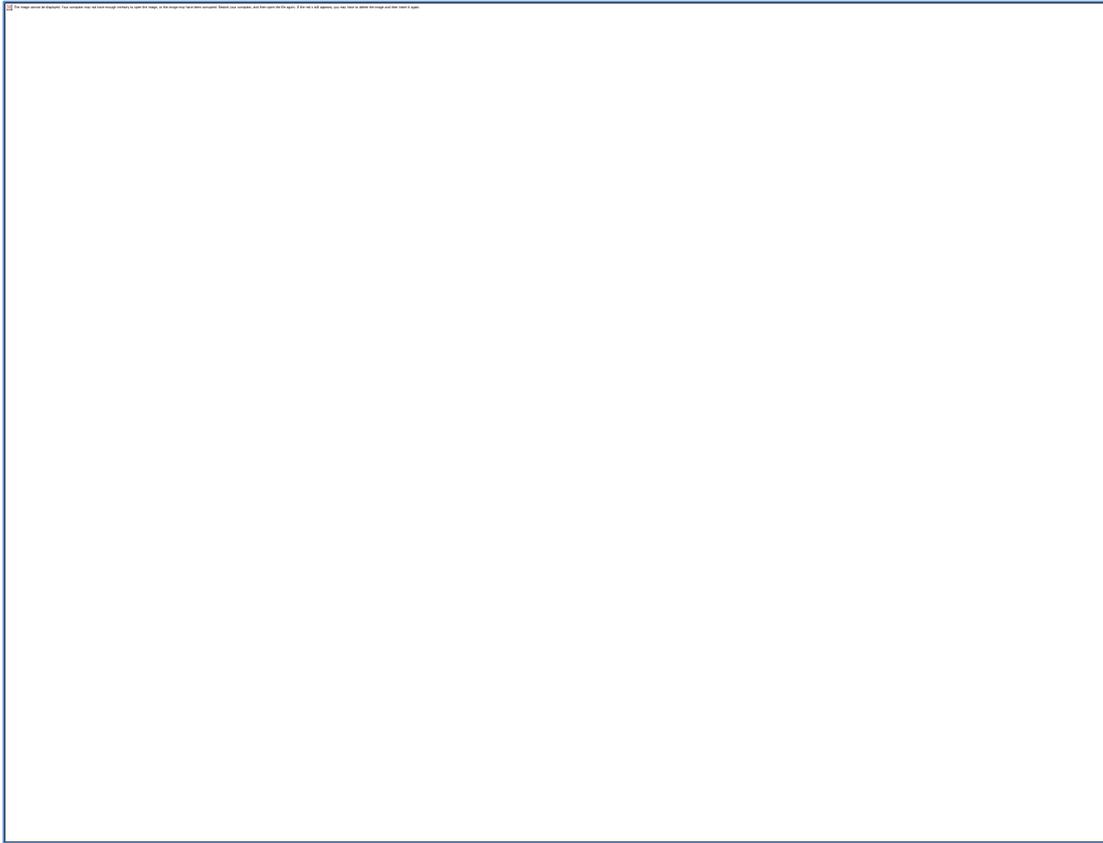


Figure 1: Dialect regions of southwest WA according to Tindale.

Purpose and Aim

Nyungar Boodjera Wangkiny (The People's Land is Speaking): Nyungar Place Nomenclature of the Southwest of Western Australia aimed to identify Nyungar place names and meanings prior to colonial settlement and to produce a number of resources to be available for the public. Various State authorities and community groups have highlighted the following: (1) The need for non-Aboriginal people to learn more about the contribution made to history by Australia's Indigenous peoples within the Southwest of Western Australia. (2) The importance of Western Australia's Indigenous peoples identifying, recording and writing their own histories of ourselves and our country.

European cartographic conventions and systems of boundary making are not directly or easily transferable into Nyungar systems of naming and land use. Western maps are usually set out in such a way as to imply that places have fixed names over time. Those with even a basic understanding of Nyungar systems of reading and speaking about boodjar (country) would

immediately recognise that introduced cartographic conventions are inadequate analytical tools for talking about Nyungar names and land use. The importance of this project was in its investigation of the history and meanings of Nyungar placenames within a flexible framework based on Nyungar knowledge systems.

Significance and Innovation

There is a sound body of knowledge related to European naming (of Dutch, French and English origin) of the geographical areas in the Swan Colony.⁵ However, little is known about the Indigenous names used to describe this area. Most of the research on Nyungar heritage has been around language and linguistic issues,⁶ history,⁷ social issues,⁸ or native title.⁹ Interpretation of Nyungar place names can inform a better understanding of the Australian environment and culture in a unique way, contribute to the building of Australian identity, and enhance the 'sense of place' in the southwest, for both locals and visitors.

Anecdotal support from tourism operators and land developers indicates that there is a considerable interest in local Aboriginal culture/s, from interstate or international visitors and locals alike. There are a few cultural centres in the region to showcase local Nyungar culture and provide access to cultural information.¹⁰ However, there remains a need to further understand the role of Nyungar culture in contemporary Australia. Western Australia's southwest is unique in the sense that Nyungar language has contributed significantly to the naming of geographical places (e.g. Karrinyup, Yokine, Yallingup and Nannup). Landgate estimates that more than half of these names are of Nyungar origin;¹¹ however, substantial understanding of their meanings and cultural significance are yet to be fully established in the public consciousness.

⁵ Rienits 1971.

⁶ Douglas 1976.

⁷ Green 1984; Haebich 1992.

⁸ Haebich and Delroy 1999.

⁹ Host and Owens 2009.

¹⁰ Collard 2007.

¹¹ Collard, Goodchild and Marinova. 2011.

Investigating Nyungar Placenames

The Nyungar Trilogy,¹² a theory based on a deeper connection and relationship with the country that emphasises a Nyungar ideological world-view or epistemology, underpins this investigation of Nyungar placenames. Trying to interpret the meaning of placenames is a complex and challenging exercise that draws upon the Nyungar Trilogy elements of:

- *Boodjar* or Country,
- *Moort* or Relations, and
- *Katitjiny* or Knowledge.

Boodjar or country is the first critical theoretical notion. Focusing on Nyungar country clearly identifies the geographical boundary to be investigated. Moort or relations, also meaning family or kin, is the second element that links the people from the location investigated to that country and therefore, to the place names being interpreted. These initial considerations help determine a process of considering katitjiny or knowledge, *about* the right locality and *from* the appropriate people. It is fundamental for researchers investigating Nyungar people, places and ideas to appreciate the content, method and context of Nyungar theory as a basis for research. Nyungar boordiers or elders and leaders play a role as custodians of all knowledge, both theoretical and practical, which may be passed on in oral and written forms. The boodjar (country), moort (relations) and katitjiny (knowledge) trilogy is a necessary tool in framing and interpreting Nyungar placenames and navigating the complexities of place in terms of space, time, history, geography, language and politics.

To understand Indigenous place name networks is to comprehend the link to the dreaming, ‘...that place where all things began and all things continue to be’.¹³ With katitjiny (knowledge) derived from the story of the Waakarl – or Nyungar Rainbow Serpent, who created the shape of the boodjar and Nyungar and gave foundation to the meaning of life – all peoples’ relationships, responsibilities and obligations to one another and to all things connected to their boodjar can be explained.¹⁴ Through unpacking place

¹² Collard and Harben 2010.

¹³ Ibid: 5.

¹⁴ Ibid.

name meanings, a deeper understanding and 'sense of place' can be revealed; specifically, how creation events that may have occurred at a site may link into the ideology of the Dreaming.

Notes on Orthography

In the context of this project, it is important to understand that Nyungar was originally an oral language.¹⁵ Since 1801, writers from a variety of language backgrounds, including Spanish, French, Dutch and English have transcribed Nyungar wordlists, placenames and other texts. A trained linguist did not record Nyungar language using the International Phonetic Alphabet until 1931.¹⁶ Before and since, other writers have used a range of diverse, inconsistent and sometimes unorthodox spelling systems (orthographies), based on their own various language experiences.

In 1992, community meeting held in the southwest of Western Australia led to the establishment of a standard Nyungar/Noongar orthography, which is used to teach the language in schools today.¹⁷ However, due to the basic inability of Roman script to effectively represent various sounds found in Nyungar, the best way to write the language remains a contentious issue. Furthermore, the official public spelling of many Nyungar-language placenames rarely adheres to the standard orthography. Usually, these placenames went through various permutations (eg. 'Jeer-a-mun-gup', 'Jerrymungup') before the official spelling was set (Jerramungup). In light of this, the official spelling for some placenames of Nyungar-language origin are sometimes significant distortions of the original utterances recorded.

Data Gathering and Database Development

Landgate is Western Australia's primary source of land information and geographic data. Geonoma is Landgate's database containing all official names of places. Each entry in Genoma includes the official spelling of a geographical name, its coordinates and any alternative and historical

¹⁵ Whitehurst 1992.

¹⁶ Henderson et al. 2006.

¹⁷ Whitehurst 1992.

names.¹⁸ The data gathering process for this project began with a search for placenames within the boundaries of the Nyungar language region and subsequent analysis of whether these names were of Nyungar language origin.

In a comprehensive desktop study, archival sources of information on Nyungar place names and meanings were collated, especially historical material on old maps and surveyors' journals. The study also collected primary source reference material mostly consisting of Nyungar-language wordlists dating back to 1801 (these sources are listed at the end of this document). This material was spread across Nyungar boodjar to attempt to get a representation of dialectic differences from a range of colonial sources. Data from Genoma and the desktop study was filtered and imported into the primary database: The Nyungar Boodjera Wangkiny Database.

This database was compiled using many reference streams to enable cross-referencing and analysis. Professor Len Collard developed (and owns) this unique database. Gary Burke was instrumental as the database architect. Pre-development of the Nyungar Boodjera Wangkiny database was lengthy and undertaken over many months with meetings regarding input, source material, functionality, logical structure, form, content, management, architecture and proposed outputs to ensure the overall framework and structure of the database would meet necessary project requirements.

The Analytical Process

To decipher the likely meanings of Nyungar place names, the project employed twin approaches of archival research and language analysis, enabling a process of comparison and deduction to arrive at deduced, if not authoritative conclusions. The archival research approach involved following the history of particular places and the origins of official names. Significantly, the presence of Nyungar language in the written records of colonists is largely responsible for the unique geographic nomenclature used today in the southwest of WA. Furthermore, the spelling of official Nyungar placenames in these records is significantly influenced by the literacy, language background

¹⁸ Landgate nd.

and accuracy of various colonial writers. Nonetheless, existing paperwork relating to Nyungar placenames provided an invaluable starting point for further analysis.

Most placenames, for example 'Jerdacuttup' (Tjerta-kaat-ap), incorporate one or more Nyungar words (jerda/tjerta = bird, cut/kaat = head) and also include a suffix (up/ap = location/place). In light of this, each name was investigated by segmenting the names into root words and suffixes. The word segments were then cross-referenced against the wide variety of Nyungar-language wordlists entered into the Nyungar Boodjera Wangkiny Database; numerous similar entries verified the interpretation of each word. Using this process, each placename was 'unpacked' and meanings were reconstructed.

At every stage, Chief Investigator, Professor Len Collard relied on his oral abilities as a native Nyungar language speaker. To deal with some of the challenges presented by the variety of spelling systems employed by colonial writers who documented Nyungar language, Professor Collard has vocalised Nyungar placenames and word segments, experimented with pronunciation and tested the 'fluency' of various possible alternatives to inform his conclusions.

Examples of placename meaning by region

1. Amangu

- 1.1. **Abawardoo** as **Abba - ward - oo** are **gabba - woort - oor-rar** or **gabbie - woort - oo** or **kairp - wowt - kul - oor-rar** or **kairp - wat - goolgur** or **gaap - woort - oo** or **gabba - wat-o-gool - oor-rar** means that oh, it was a friendly fair well at this water as we left to go on our way.
- 1.2. **Beere** as **beer - e** means finger nail/s or associated with nail/s.
- 1.3. **Dongara** as **d - ong - ara** or **Daa - ong - era** or **da - doung - e-ra** or **daa - duong - ira** or **da - doonga - yira** or **daa - dwank - era** or **da - twonk - yira** means listen to the mouth or voice/s from above or the east.
- 1.4. **Eneabba** as **Ene - abba** or **nee - abba** or **ni - gabba** or **nia - gabba** or

nee - gabba or **nia - gabba** means it is here, at the water that a greeting indicating friendship and respect transpired.

- 1.5. **Marrah** as **Marrah** or **marra** means the hand.
- 1.6. **Meru** as **mir** or **meeroo** or **meera** or **me-ara** means a spear throwing board.
- 1.7. **Mungamia** as **Munga - ga - mia** as **mun - ga - mia** or **mun - ga - mya** or **munga - ga - mya** means their houses are all gathered together and are like the hair on their heads. Their homes and their hairstyle look like a bird's nest.
- 1.8. **Ninghan** as **ni - nyin - ngann** or **ni - yin - nganin** or **nee - yin - ngannin** or **nia - nyin - nganing** is referring to the porcupine and means here it is sitting and eats.
- 1.9. **Tootah** as **toot - ah** or **toort - ta** or **toort - taa** or **twert - dta** or **tdoor-da - dah** or **dootin - taan** means an opening to the dog or dingo.
- 1.10. **Waggine** as **Waagin - nyinning** or **wanginy - yin** or **wangain - nyin** or **wanginy - nyin** meaning to sit and speak here and it echoes.

2. Balardong

- 2.1. **Balkuling** as **Bal - kul - ing** or **bal - gool - yin** or **bal - gull - nyin** or **Bal - gool - nyinniny** means it or one is moving to sit down here to this very place.
- 2.2. **Boonerring** as **Boon - err - ing** or **boon - era - nyin** or **Booner - era - nyinning** or **Boorna - yira - yin** or **burn - era - nyin** or **boorn - yira - nyinning** or **poorne - yerra - nyin** or **boorn - yerra - yin** means there are trees, wood and sticks on that elevated location to the east of here.
- 2.3. **Boyagin** as **Boya - gin** are **boya - chen** or **bu-yi - nyin** or **bwoon - nyinning** or **boya - yin** meaning a rocky or stony situation here.
- 2.4. **Cowcowing** as **Cow - cow - ing** as **Cowie - cowie - nyin** or **kowin - kowin - yin** or **cowker - cowker - yin** or **kow-ee - kow-ee - nyin** means laughing whilst situated here.
- 2.5. **Dowerin** as **do - warn - in** or **dah - wen - nyinning** or **dah - weendarng - yin** or **wackign - yin** or **da - wening - nyin** or **da - wendoo - nyin** or **dah - wendoo - nyinnaga** referring to the twenty

eight parrot and means that the mouth is ugly, useless and bad and is sits in a declined fashion.

- 2.6. **Jingymia** as **jingy - mia** or **jingee - mia** or **jinga - miah** or **cinga - mai** or **cienga - mia** or **jinga - miah** meaning the devils hut.
- 2.7. **Kellerberin** as **Keller - ber - in** are **killal - birning - nyin** or **kallili - bee-non - yin** or **kilil - bian - nyinning** or **kallili - bining - yin** is referring to the sergeant ant and meaning that very thing the bull ant is situated here where it digs, pinches and squeezes.
- 2.8. **Mandiakon** as **Mandi - ak - on** or **mand - ak - in** or **mandee - uk - ang** or **maam - uk - ang** or **murrangur - ak - on** or **manjahly - ak - on** or **mandjar - ak - ang** or **manda - ak - on** means an inhabitant of this place, or location at a special place in the bush. Where a meeting situation occurs. People altogether collectively to meet as a 'fair or place of trade occurs'. Families gather where kinship and in-law making matters take place. This is where mothers, fathers and old people get together. It is here where young men and women whom have 'come of age', meet future husbands and wives as they move into adulthood etc.
- 2.9. **Toodyay** as **Toodya - y** or **Dul-ya - yyi** or **duoglie - ye** or **dwolya - yee** or **dwalya - yee** or **dool-ya - ye** meaning today it is misty and foggy.
- 2.10. **Wabbing** as **Wab - b - in** or **wabbain - bee-noon - yin** or **wabburding - bian - nyinning** or **waberding - bining - yin** or **wab - bian - nyinning** meaning situated here playing a game that includes pinching, squeezing, digging and sitting down.

3. Juat

- 3.1. **Balgerbine** as **B - al - ger - bine** or **Bal - alla - ger - bine - yin** or **bal - alla - ger - bian - nyin** or **bal - ale - ga - bean - yin** or **bal - al - gar - bin - nyinning** meaning the 'black boy' *Xanthorrhoea* or grass tree, the one that possesses is situated on or by here and has been scraped and dug.
- 3.2. **Beringarby** as **Ber - ing - garby** or **birungu - gabbi** or **bining - gappy** or **bining - gabby** means by these waters the kingfisher digs, scrapes and scratches its nest underground.

- 3.3. **Bolgart** as **bol - gart** or **Bol - gart** or **Boolyaduk - kart** or **Boyl - gar** or **Boyl - kart** or **boglia - kata** or **bull - kaat** or **bol - kaat** or **bol - katta** meaning those hills or the heads are an entrance into the magical ones whom possess certain powers of witchcraft, charms and spells for healing or killing purposes.
- 3.4. **Cataby** as **cataby** or **kata - gap** or **kat - gabby** or **kaat - gabbee** means the head, mountain or hilly country of water that can be obtained for a drink.
- 3.5. **Karakin** as **karak - in** or **karak - nyin** or **karrak - nyinning** or **karrak - nyin** or **karak - yin** means of the black cockatoo with the red tail that stays here.
- 3.6. **Marri** as **marri** or **marrie** or **marry** or **marree** or **mar-ree** refers to and means the red gum tree.
- 3.7. **Nambung** as **nam - bung** or **ngamar - bung** or **nyaga - bung** or **ngannain - bung** or **ngamar - ang** or **nyaga - ang** or **ngannain - ong** meaning a rock hole or a rock-nest that has water in it that can be consumed.
- 3.8. **Nullilla** as **null - il - la** or **ngulla - il - ala** or **ngullak - il - ala** or **ngulla - il - alla** or **ngullak - il - alla** means on and by ours.
- 3.9. **Warra Warra** as **warra warra** or **wurrah wurrah** or **werra werra** means very bad, horrible or no good.
- 3.10. **Yerrealup** as **yerr - eal - up** or **yerr - el - up** or **yira - al - gup** or **yerr - al - gup** or **yera - el - gup** or **yeera - el - up** or **yeera - al - gup** means the place where there is a mouth to a cave which is up high by this locality.

4. Kaneang

- 4.1. **Angenup** as **angen - up** or **ang -gup** or **arnga - up** or **angur - gup** or **nganngur - up** or **ngarnok - gup** or **nganga - gup** means belonging to the place of the beard.
- 4.2. **Benjinup** as **be - njin - up** or **benjer - ji - up** or **ben - nij - up** or **ben - ni - up** or **bean - nid-ja - up** or **bean - nījāk - up** or **binig - nij - gup** means to look out at the sun rising as its time for the digging, scrapping or uncovering a pit or a hole and to get the edible fat roots and re-intern

the left overs here so that they will be situated again in abundance at this locality.

- 4.3. **Carlecatup** as **carle - cat - up** or **carla - kat - gup** or **karl - kaat - upp** or **karl - kaat - gup** means the place of the mountains and hills with fire/s upon that locality.
- 4.4. **Chinggatup** as **Ching - gat - up** or **jingee - kat - up** or **jinga - kaat - gup** or **cinga - kart** or **cienga - karta - up** or **jinga - gat - up** means it is here at the mountainous place where the evil spirit/s are located.
- 4.5. **Dylongup** as **dyl - ong - up** or **dul-ya - ang - up** or **dwail - ang - up** or **duoglie - ang - up** or **dwolya - ang - gup** or **dwalya - ak - gup** or **dool-ya - ang - gup** means that the fog and mist possesses this district.
- 4.6. **Kojonup** as **koj - on - up** or **koj - ang - up** or **koj - on - gup** or **koj - ang - gup** means the place or location of the axe.
- 4.7. **Ongup** as **ong - up** or **on - gup** or **ang - up** or **ung - up** or **ang - gup** means belonging to this place.
- 4.8. **Wilyungulup** as **W - il - yun - gul - up** or **weel - il - yungin - gulling - up** or **wil - il - yungarding - gool - up** or **weel - il - yonga - gool - gup** or **wil - il - ngungar - gulling - up** or **weel - il - yoongar - gool - gup** or **wilak - il - yun - gool - gup** or **wilgee - il - yoongar - gulling - gup** means to approach and to give the red ochre clay to the Aboriginal people whom are to the north and north west places.
- 4.9. **Woodenbillup** as **Wooden - bil - l - up** or **wattarn - bil - l - gup** or **waddern - bil - il - up** or **wottarn - bil - l - upp** or **odern - bil - il - up** means on and by went the logs like a sea of water that moved them along and then it all became a part of the pools of water in the river at this place.
- 4.10. **Yenyening** as **yen - yen - ing** or **yen - yin - nyin** or **ye - nyin - nyinning** or **yee - yin - nyinning** or **ye - yin - nyinning** means today we were sitting down and stayed here.

5. Koreng

- 5.1. **Bakelup** as **ba - k - el - up** or **bark - kel - el - up** or **badjeen - kel - il - up** or **barkage - kel - al - up** or **baaganing - kel - el - gup** or **baakajur**

- **kel - al - gup** means that on or nearby to this place is where a war and slaying occurred utilising boomerangs.
- 5.2. **Boikalperup** as **Boi - kal - per - up** or **poeee - kaal - pira - up** or **pooi - kala - berara - gup** meaning the place of the smoke of the fire from the dead banksia wood.
- 5.3. **Bokarup** or **boco - gup** or **booka - gup** or **poaak - gup** means the location or district of the kangaroo skin cloak.
- 5.4. **Calyerup** as **cal - yer - up** or **cala - yira - up** or **cala - yeera - upp** or **carla - yeera - upp** or **carla - yira - gup** means a home-fire, a Nyungar's home in a district up high on a steep location.
- 5.5. **Cobline** as **Co - bl - ini - ne** or **Cobble - bil - ni - nyin** or **cobble - beel - nia - yin** or **gobbul - beel - ni - nyin** or **cobble - bil - nee - yin** or **cobble - beel - nee - nyinning** or **gobbul - bil - nia - nyinning** meaning all of the stomach intestines and navel, river-like, are here sitting.
- 5.6. **Ewlyamartup** as **Ewl - ya - am - art - up** or **yool - yay - amar - mart - upp** or **yal - yeya - amar - mart - gup** or **yual - yee - amar - mart - gup** means come now to this place where there is a water hole associated with a leg.
- 5.7. **Gnowanallup** as **Gno - wan - all - up** or **gnow - wan-na - al - upp** or **gnow - wa - alla - up** or **gnow - yee - amar - mart - gup** meaning that location by the scrub and where the women's stick/s and those mallee hen/s are inhabitants.
- 5.8. **Kwobrup** as **Kwopr - up** or **quab - gup** or **quaup - up** means a good place.
- 5.9. **Kybelup** as **Ky - be - l - up** or **kia - bel - el - up** or **kia - kairp - beel - upp** or **ky - gab - el - gup** or **kia - bel - el - upp** means that yes, it is by this district that there is a river with water in a pool which has birds such as the shrike, the crow and the squeaker whom are all inhabitants at this watery place.
- 5.10. **Martacup** as **Mar - ta - cup** or **mar - ta - upp** or **mart - taa - gup** or **marta - taa - gup** means the locality of the pathway made by the feet.

6. Minang

- 6.1. **Bilaboya** as **bila - boya** or **beeler - boya** or **beel - boya** or **bila - bu-yi** or **beeler - pwoy** or **Beel - pwoy** means stream, creek and river with rock or stone.
- 6.2. **Chelgiup** as **chelgi - up** or **dtjelkee - up** or **jelgi - up** or **jilgie - gup** or **jelgee - gap** or **jalgai - gup** or **chelba - up** or **chelber - upp** or **jil-ba - gup** meaning the locality with the vegetation and water which has fresh water crayfish inhabiting it.
- 6.3. **Galil** as **ga - il** or **kal - il** or **Carla - il** or **karl - ali** or **kal - ali** or **kal - il** or **karl - alle** means on and by that whole fire.
- 6.4. **Irrerup** as **Irrer - up** or **ira - up** or **irapa - gup** or **irak - up** or **yira - up** or **yil-ra-gan - gup** means the locality that is elevated.
- 6.5. **Jakkawilla** as **J - ak - ka - wil - la** or **yal - uk - kaia - wil - alla** or **yual - ak - ga - kaia - weel - alle** or **yal - ak - kia - il - alle** or **yal - ak - ky - il - alia** or **J - ak - kaw - il - la** or **yal - ak - ky - kowin - alla** or **yual - ang - kaia - koowain - alia** refers to the Major Mitchell's cockatoo but means yes, that very thing laughing comes by here and it's travelled from the north-west and north.
- 6.6. **Kalgan** as **K - al - gan** or **kal - al - ngan** or **kaal - alla - ngan** or **karl - alia - ngan** or **kal - ali - ngan** or **kaal - ali - nguny** or **cala - alla - nguny** refers to 'my fireplace', meaning this is my home on and about this district, my place of origin.
- 6.7. **Kardarup** as **Kar - dar - up** or **Kar - daa - up** or **kar - da - gup** or **kar - ta - gup** or **kar - taa - up** or **kar - taa - gup** means location of the long tailed lizard that has a smile on it's face.
- 6.8. **Menang** as **Men - ang** or **men - ang** or **mun - ang** or **mun - ong** or **mein - ang** or **mein - ang** or **mein - ak** means of a type plant food or a chilli-like vegetable, which possesses either seeds or has a gum that can be pounded and mixed together as a part of it's preparation to be consumed.
- 6.9. **Norlok** as **ngorl - ok** or **norl - ock** or **knew - lokk** or **Or - lock** means teeth or a tooth.
- 6.10. **Tamar** as **Ta - mar** or **taa - mar** means hand to mouth, or a small species of wallaby, **Tamar**.

7. Njakinjaki

- 7.1. **Bibbing** as **Bibbi - n - ing** or **bib - ni - nyinning** or **beebea - nia - nyin** or **pip - nia - yin** or **beeb - nee - nyinning** or **bibi - nee - yin** means breast/s are situated here.
- 7.2. **Chiddarcooping** as **chid - dar - coop - ing** or **cheit - ta - gwab-ba - nyin** or **jert - dah - kwab - ing** or **ji-da - kwobb - yin** or **jert - dta - quaup - nyinning** or **jert - dar - kwawp - nyin** meaning that situated around here the bird/s have pretty sounding voices.
- 7.3. **Coodaring** as **cood - dar - ing** or **cordung - daa - nyin** or **korda - dar - nyin** or **kord - dta - yin** or **kord - taan - nyin** or **korda - taa - nyinning** or **cordung - dta - yin** means the spouses and lovers stay here.
- 7.4. **Durokoppin** as **dur - ok - opp - in** or **du-ra - ok - obin - in** or **du-ra - ak - abin - nyin** or **du-ra - ok - abin - iny** or **du-ra - ok - abin - nyin** or **du-ra - ak - abin - yin** meaning the tea tree sits around here and takes possession of this site.
- 7.5. **Gnamma** as **gna - mma** or **nga - mar** or **ngaa - mar** or **a - mar** or **nyaga - ma** means using the hand to get at a pool of water in the rock hole for a taste and then to drink from it.
- 7.6. **Gnarlarking** as **gn - arl - ark - ing** or **ngarlyy - ala - ak - nyin** or **ngarlark - ala - ak - nyin** or **ngarlark - al - ok - nyinning** or **ngullak - alla - ok - yin** or **ngarlyy - al - ak - yin** or **ngarlyy - ala - ok - yin** means that because of our own under arm odour we can stay here, for we belong here.
- 7.7. **Jitarning** as **ji - tar - n - ing** are **Ji - ta - nia - iny** or **jert - ta - ni - nyin** or **Jida - tar - nia - nyin** or **cheit - tar - ni - yin** means look out for strange birds noises when staying here.
- 7.8. **Korbel** as **kor - b - el** or **kob-ul-lo - bil - el** or **koolge - be-il - il** or **ko - be-il - el** or **koa - bil - il** or **kor - bil - el** or **cobble - beelee - el** or **cobble - beelee - il** means the stomach is like a river in which the contents flow and yes, it is certainly on and by the navel.
- 7.9. **Naremben** as **Narem - been** or **naw - bean** or **ngowa - beening** or **ngaranin - bin** or **ngannain - ben** means that the mallee hen scratched, dug and scraped a hole for provisions to eat.

7.10. **Trayning** as **Tra - y - n - ing** or **Tar - yarn - nia - iny** or **Ta - yarn - ni - nyin** or **Ta - yarn - nia - nyin** or **Tar - yarn - ni - yin** means to ask and to investigate by conversation the why or what of any given subject?

8. Njunga

- 8.1. **Boyatup** as **boya - tup** or **boya - up** or **bo-ye - upp** or **bwai - gup** or **pwoy - gup** means a stony district.
- 8.2. **Condingup** as **co - nd - ing - up** or **ko - nghe - nyin - up** or **kooant - nghe - nyin - up** or **ko - nghe - nyinning - upp** or **ko - ngaijela - yin - upp** or **kooant - niche - nyin - gup** or **kont - nicha - ing - gup** means yes it certainly is a place to stay and make a camp here.
- 8.3. **Dalyup** as **da - l - y - up** or **da - al - y - up** or **ta - al - yee - gup** or **daa - al - ye - up** or **taa - al - yaal - upp** or **da - al - yee - gup** or **taa - al - yaal - gup** means that at the moment by this location there is an opening into this district.
- 8.4. **Daringdella** as **dar - in - g - bel - la** or **da - nyin - nidjalla - bel - alla** or **dta - nyin - ni - el - ala** or **ta - yin - ngaijela - bel - alla** or **dta - nyin - nidjalla - del - ale** or **dal-yie - yin - ngaijela - del - alla** or **dalyee - nyin - nidjalla - del - ale** meaning here at the edge of the opening is that very thing, the fresh spit froth, foam like spittle is situated here by this very place.
- 8.5. **Kundip** as **kundi - p** or **kundi - up** or **condee - gap** or **koorndee - up** or **condee - upp** or **koorndee - gup** means the place of the mother marsupial rat, bandicoot, commonly known today as the kwenda.
- 8.6. **Kau** as **kau** or **kaua** or **kauera** or **kauin** or **kowwin** or **goa** means laughter or the parrot.
- 8.7. **Munglinup** as **mu - ng - l - in - up** or **mun - nghe - ali - nyin - up** or **mung - nidjalla - ale - nyinning - up** or **maan - nidjalla - ali - nyinning - upp** or **man-dig-ga-ra - nghe - ali - yin - gup** or **maandee-gurr - nidjalla - ale - nyinning - gup** or **mandjar - nghe - ale - yin - gup** means that in this area kin groups get together shoulder to shoulder at a type of fair where trading and exchange of goods and people occurs and that the young people meet their future in-laws.

- 8.8. **Myrup** as **Myr - up** or **mya - up** or **maia - upp** or **mya** or **gup** or **mai - gup** means the place of the house, hut and or my home or place of sound or voices.
- 8.9. **Neridup** as **ne - ri - dup** or **nee - ira - up** or **ni - ira - upp** or **nia - irak - gup** or **ne - yeera - up** or **nee - yira - upp** or **nia - irak - gup** means an upward rise occurs at this place.
- 8.10. **Pabelup** as **pab - el - up** or **biballbu - bel - upp** or **beel - ll - gup** or **beel - ala - up** or **biballbu - bel - upp** or **beel - il - up** or **biballbu - beel - gup** or **biballbu - el - gup** means that the whole district has a river made up of pools of water and is covered with paper bark trees with many kinds of birds including crows, squeaker and shrike by and on them.

9. Pibelman

- 9.1. **Cowerup** as **cow - er - up** or **cowie - wer - upp** or **cowker - wer - gup** or **kauin - wer - up** or **kowwin - wer - upp** or **goa - wer - gup** or **kaua - wer - up** or **kauera - wer - gup** means a district of laughter.
- 9.2. **Darradup** as **darra - d - up** or **dar - dar - upp** or **dar - darr - gup** or **dar - dar - gup** or **dah - dah - upp** or **dar - dah - upp** or **dah - dar - gup** means the opening to the white clay ochre district.
- 9.3. **Gobblecannup** as **gobble - ca - nn - up** or **cobbul - ca - an - upp** or **cob-bul - ka - an - gup** or **cobble - ka - an - gup** means as the intestines trails into this location it acts or becomes like a stomach.
- 9.4. **Manjimup** as **Man - jim - up** means an inhabitant of this place, or location as in a special place in the bush. Where a meeting situation occurs. People altogether collectively meet as a “fair or place of trade occurs”. Families of people gather where kinship and in-law making matters take place. This is where mothers, fathers, old people get together. It is here where young men and women whom have ‘come of age’, meet future husbands and wives as they move into adulthood etc.
- 9.5. **Mattabandup** as **Mat - ta - band - up** or **maat - ta - ban - up** or **mat - taa - bandi - upp** or **maat - taa - bandi - gup** or **mat - ta - bandy - upp** means that in this place I am perspiring and my legs are sore

walking along these crooked and uneven paths and roads of this tribes district.

- 9.6. **Nornaculup** as **norna - cul - up** or **norna - kolo - up** or **norn - ko-lo - up** or **norn - cul - upp** or **norna - cul - upp** or **norn - ko-lo - gup** means that in this place there is a very venomous black snake with the yellow belly that moves about here.
- 9.7. **Perup** as **per - up** or **per-a - up** or **ber-re - upp** or **pira - gup** or **pira - upp** or **biara - gup** means the place of banksia tree that has finger and nail like appearance.
- 9.8. **Twortiwurup** as **tworti - wer - up** or **twert - wer - gup** or **dwert - wer - gup** or **dwert - wer - upp** means the district and place of the dingo.
- 9.9. **Wakalwararup** as **wakal - wa - ka - l - warar - up** or **waagal - wa - karl - ala - warra - up** or **waugal - wa - kal - ali - warra - up** or **waagal - wa - karl - ale - warra - upp** or **woggal - wa - kal - ala - warra - gup** or **wakal - wa - karl - ale - warra - gup** means that the whole district is of that very bad rainbow serpent monster.
- 9.10. **Wilgarrup** as **wi - l - garr - up** or **wil - il - garro - up** or **wil - el - garro - upp** or **weel - el - garro - gup** or **weel - il - narra - up** or **weel - il - narra - upp** or **wilgie - el - garro - up** or **wilgee - il - garro - gup** or **wilgi - el - narra - gup** means that on and by both sides of the north and north west districts the red ochre clay is found again and again.

10. Pindjarup

- 10.1. **Beela** as **beel - a** or **beela - alle** or **beel - alla** or **bil - alia** meaning there in that place is where the river water is running into a pool.
- 10.2. **Coolup** as **cool - up** or **kolo - up** or **gool - up** or **gool - gup** or **gool - upp** or **gulling - gup** means to move to as a motion to go to this place.
- 10.3. **Dwellingup** as **dw - ell - ing - up** or **dwel - el - nyin - upp** or **dwel - al - yin - gup** or **dwel - ali - yin - gup** mean on and by the whole place there is fog, dew and mist.
- 10.4. **Mandurah** as **man - durah** or **mandjar - dura** or **maan - dura** or **manjahly - dura** or **manjahly - dura** or **man-da - dura** or **manda - dura** or **mandeegur - dura** means that at a kind of fair or place of trade and exchange held in and amongst the wild tea tree country where the

young people whom have reached puberty or whom have come of age get to meet future in-laws and marriage partners.

- 10.5. **Myalup** as **mya - al - up** or **mya - al - upp** or **mya - al - gup** or **mia - al - up** or **maia - al - gup** means the district by that place of huts.
- 10.6. **Pinjarra** as **pin - jarra** or **bin - jaril** or **bin - jarraly** or **binja - jaril** or **binja - jarraly** means to dig in the swamps amongst jarrah trees.
- 10.7. **Wagerup** as **wager - up** or **watch - gup** or **wej - up** or **wetch - upp** or **waige - gup** means the place of the emu.
- 10.8. **Wilga** as **wi - l - ga** or **wil - il - garro** or **wilgerka - il - gaduk** or **wilgi - il - gatak** or **wil - ll - garro** or **wilgie - il - garro** or **wilgee - ll - gaduk** or **wilgi - il - gatak** means that areas on and by north and north-west directions possess yellow ochre clay.
- 10.9. **Wokalup** as **wokal - ka - l - up** or **waagal - kal - al - up** or **waagal - kal - ale - up** or **waugal - kal - ali - up** or **waagal - karl - ale - upp** or **woggal - kal - ala - gup** or **wakal - karl - ale - gup** means on and by this whole district is of the rainbow serpent, a fabulous venomous monster that in the form of a snake resides in the deep and dark water holes.
- 10.10. **Yerrup** as **ye - rr - up** or **ye - yeera - gup** or **ye - yira - gup** or **ye - yeera - upp** or **ye - yira - upp** means today on the top of this steep location.

11. Wardandi

- 11.1. **Balingup** as **Bal - al - ing - up** or **bal - al - nyin - up** or **bal - ale - yin - up** or **bal - alla - up** means one that is situated there at this place.
- 11.2. **Calgardup** as **c - al - ngardi - up** or **cala - ali - ngardi - up** or **carla - ali - ngardal - gup** or **kal - al - ngardal - upp** or **kal - al - ngardi - upp** or **kal - al - ngardal - gup** means that nearby and underneath this whole place is a native's home fire or one's native heath.
- 11.3. **Cowaramup** as **cow - war - ra - mup** or **kowar - war - ra - up** or **kaua - war - ra - upp - up** or **kowin - war - ra - gup** or **kowin - war - ra - upp** or **kowar - war - ra - gup** means laughing on the way to the district of the clear plains.

- 11.4. **Gelorup** as **g - el - or - up** or **gellup - el - or - upp** or **jelub - el - or - gup** or **chelber - el - or - up** means by the spring time this district is a grassy location.
- 11.5. **Katterup** as **katter - up** or **kat - gup** or **kaat - gup** or **karter - upp** or **karter - gup** means that this district has hills, mountains or high country.
- 11.6. **Mallokup** as **mall - ok - up** or **maloo - ok - up** or **moller - ak - upp** or **mol - ok - gup** or **maluk - ak - gup** or **moller - ak - gup** means the place of shadows and shade.
- 11.7. **Meelup** as **me - el - up** or **mairl - el - upp** or **meeal - up** or **mel - el - up** or **mel - uel - pp** or **mairl - el - up** or **meeal - el - gup** means by the location of eyes.
- 11.8. **Wardanup** as **wardan - up** or **waddarn - up** or **wattarn - up** or **wattarn - up** or **wattarn - upp** or **wattarn - gup** or **odern - up** or **odern - upp** or **odern - gup** means the place of the ocean.
- 11.9. **Wonnerup** as **wonner - up** or **wan-na - upp** or **wan - gup** means the place of the women's fighting or digging stick.
- 11.10. **Yoongarillup** as **yo - ong - ar - ill - up** or **yool - ang - ngar - il - upp** or **yool - ang - naar - il - gup** or **yooal - ong - naar - il - upp** or **yooal - ang - naar - il - gup** means the Nyungar who belong here come to burn on this district.

12. Whadjuk

- 12.1. **Balga** as **Bal - a - ga** or **bal - alla - ga** or **bal - ale - ga** or **bal - alia - ga** is the grass tree or 'black boy' *Xanthorrhoea*, meaning it is the one that possesses.
- 12.2. **Beloo** as **Beel - oo** means oh, the river, stream or creek.
- 12.3. **Gaboodjoolup** as **ga - b - oo - dj - ool - up** or **gab - boojar - oo - nid-ja - gool - up** or **gab - boojur - oo - nid-juk gul - upp** or **gab - boojar - oo - nid-juk - gool - gup** means that oh, water has come here into the land at this district.
- 12.4. **Karla** as **ka - rl - a** or **ka - rl - ale** or **ca - rla - alla** or **ca - rler - alla** or **ca - rl - ala** or **c - arl - er** means that fire comes.

- 12.5. **Meeka** as **Mee - ka** or **mi-ki - ca** or **meeuk - ca** or **miak - ca** or **meeker - ca** or **meekee - ca** means the moon comes.
- 12.6. **Moojebing** as **mooje - b - ing** or **moojarr - bin - nyin** or **moojar - bean - nyinning** or **mujar - bin - yin** or **moojoor - bean - yin** or **mut-yal - bin - yin** means to stay here and dig, scratch and scrape down *Nuytsia Floribunda*, the West Australian Christmas tree.
- 12.7. **Ngort** as **ng - or - t** or **ngort - or - tich** or **ngoort - or - tich** or **gnorrt - or - tich** or **gnongerup - or - tich** or **ngornda - or - tich** or **nah - or - tich** or **nah - or - ko-tich** means Oh! The horse possesses an enlarged chest.
- 12.8. **Nyoongah** as **nyoo - ngah** or **ngu - ngar** or **youn - ngar** or **yoo - ngar** or **yonga - naar** or **yong - nar** or **yonga - naring** or **yong - ngun-gur** or **yong - nar** or **yong - nghine** or **yong - naring** or **yong - naar** or **yong - ngan** or **ngungar - nghine** means I, the Aboriginal, create the fire and give it.
- 12.9. **Willagee** as **wil - la - gee** or **weel - il - gee** or **wilgee - alle - gee** or **weel - ale - gee** or **wil - ali - gee** or **wilgi - ali - gee** means to want all of the red clay ochre from the north and north-west.
- 12.10. **Yirrigan** as **yirra - gan** or **yira - ngan** or **yira - nghine** or **yirak - nghine** means I am high up or elevated

13. Wiilman

- 13.1. **Bennelaking** as **ben - n - el - alla - ak - iny** or **ben - ni - el - al - ak - nyin** or **ben - ngi - il - alle - ak - nyin** or **bean - ngi - el - alla - ak - nyinning** or **ben - ni - il - alle - ak - yin** or **ben - ni - il - ak - nyin** meaning at sunrise, digging, scrapping or scratching on this site begins to create a pit or hole to uncover and then rebury the left over fat edible roots which are the provisions for the day and that are in plentiful supply here.
- 13.2. **Biberkine** as **bib - er - k - ine** or **bibi - era - ak - nyin** or **beebea - yira - ak - yin** or **beeb - era - ak - nyinning** or **bib - yearer - ak - yin** means breast/s milk aka water hole/s that are situated up here on this breast-like easterly rise.

- 13.3. **Bokal** as **bo - k - al** or **bo - kal - al** or **bo - gal - al** or **bo - kaal - al** means hill, or a long way off was a fire and a grave with a kangaroo skin by it.
- 13.4. **Chanchanning** as **chan - chan - ann - ing** or **chen - chen - ann - yin** or **jen - jen - ann - nyin** or **jen - jen - ann - nyinning** or **chan - chan - ann - nyinning** meaning situated here is a clear footpath which was made by feet.
- 13.5. **Darkan** as **da - rk - k - an** or **da - ak - kan - anning** or **dah - ak - kanya - anning** or **dah - ok - kun - anning** or **dta - ak - kan - anning** means an opening that possesses a blue crane mother bird.
- 13.6. **Kylie** as **k - y - lie** or **kylie - yira - ale** or **kaili - ky - alle** or **kaili - kaia - alle** or **ky - yira - ale** or **kia - yira - alle** means yes that boomerang is very high.
- 13.7. **Mokine** as **mok - ine** or **mok - nyin** or **mokkin - nyinning** or **moggain - yin** or **mwoggain - yin** means it is here that the dingo stays.
- 13.8. **Narrogin** as **narro - gin** or **ngow - gin** or **ngow - jen** means the foot tracks of the mallee hen.
- 13.9. **Quabing** as **quab - ing** or **quop - nyin** or **quab - nyinning** or **quop - yin** or **quab - nyin** or **quop - yin** means it is good to be situated here.
- 13.10. **Wagin** as **wa - g - in** or **waitch - gin - nyin** or **wajjee - jen - nyin** or **waitchin - gin - yin** or **wait - jen - nyinning** means here is the site of the foot tracks from when the emu sat down.

14. Wudjari

- 14.1. **Jackilup** as **Jac - k - il - up** or **jackal-yackal - ak - il - up** or **jak-kulya-ra - ak - il - upp** or **jak-kul-yak-kul - ak - il - gup** means that this is the place of the Major Mitchell cockatoo also called the pink and grey galah.
- 14.2. **Bindalup** as **Bi - n - da - lup** or **bian - nijak - daa - up** or **bian - nij - da - up** or **bee'engur - nichia - dah - up** or **bin - nghe - taan - gup** meaning this is the place to dig a hole or create an opening or hole.
- 14.3. **Cheadanup** as **chea - dan - up** or **cheit - dtan - up** or **jert - tan - upp** or **jida - da - gup** or **jert - dah - upp** or **jert - tan - up** or **jert - dah -**

- gup** means to penetrate into the place of an abundance of birds, their nests and their voices.
- 14.4. **Gnamma** as **gna - mma** or **nga - mar** or **ngaa - mar** or **a - mar** or **nyaga - ma** means by using the hand to get at a pool of water in the rock hole for a taste and then to drink from it.
- 14.5. **Bonnymidgup** as **Bon - ny - midg - up** or **boorn - nia - meetch - up** or **boorn - nee - mitch - upp** or **boorn - nia - mitch - gup** or **boorn - nee - mitch - gup** means this place here is the location of the banksia tree with cones.
- 14.6. **Moolanup** as **mool - an - up** or **mool - an - upp** or **mool-ya - yarn - gup** or **mool - yarn - gup** means this is the place of the nose pegging, yarning and joking about the what and why of this practice.
- 14.7. **Norndup** as **nornd - up** or **norn - upp** or **nuner - up** or **norn - gup** or **nuner - gup** means the place of the black snake with a yellow belly commonly called the tiger snake.
- 14.8. **Twertup** as **twert - up** or **twert - upp** or **dwert - up** or **dwert - gup** means the district of the dingo.
- 14.9. **Warkalup** as **war - k - al - up** or **wakal - kal - ale - up** or **waugal - kal - ale - up** or **wa - kal - al - upp** or **wa - kal - al - gup** means a place in the wild bush where the dream-time water snake comes up from within deep dark pools of water where it resides.
- 14.10. **Wilga** as **wi - l - ga** or **wil - il - garro** or **wilgerka - il - gaduk** or **wilgi - il - gatak** or **wil - ll - garro** or **wilgie - il - garro** or **wilgee - ll - gaduk** or **wilgi - il - gatak** means yellow ochre clay, or that areas to the north and north-west possess it.

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Bate2b1a	Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 1. (a), Southwestern District, Deebungool of Esperance. Folio 40/1-6.
Bate2b1b	Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 1. (b), Southwestern District, Indar, Joowel & Baiungan of Esperance. Folio 40/7-28.
Bate2b2	Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 2., Southwestern District, Binyunyu of Ravensthorpe. Folio 40/29-41.
Bate2b3a	Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 3. (a), Southwestern District, Jakbum & Wabbinyet of Albany. Folio 40/42-78.
Bate2b3b	Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 3. (b), Southwestern District, [Jakbam or Jackbum & Bumblefoot] from Albany & Denmark. Folio 40/79-96.
Bate2b8a	Bates, D.M. Papers of Daisy Bates, National Library of Australia, MS 365, Section XII, Language: Grammar And Vocabularies, Part 2. B. 8. (a), Southwestern District, Notum, Wirijan and Kaiar of Katanning. Folio 41/1-26.
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- Hass02 Hassell, E. *My dusky friends: Aboriginal life, customs and legends and glimpses of station life at Jarramungup in the 1880's*, C.W. Hassell, Fremantle, 1975.
- King01 King, P.P. *Narrative of a survey of the intertropical and western coasts of Australia performed between the years 1818 and 1822*, J. Murray, London, 1827, vol. 2, pp. 144–7.
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2. Nind, I.S. 1831 'Descriptive Vocabulary of King George's Sound (Swan River Colony) and adjoining country', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1, 21–51.
3. Lyon, R.M. 1833 *A Glance at the Manners and Language of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Western Australia with a Short Vocabulary*. Extracted from the Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal, Perth. (typescript)
 - 3 (a) King George Sound
 - 3 (b) Swan River
4. Grey, G. 1840 *A Vocabulary of the Dialects of South West Australia*. L. & W. Boone, London.
 - 4 (a) Guildford
 - 4 (b) King George Sound
 - 4 (c) Murray River
 - 4 (d) North
 - 4 (e) Vasse
5. Symmons, C. 1841 *Grammatical Introduction to the Study of the Aboriginal Language of Western Australia*. Western Australia Almanack, Perth.
6. Brady, Rev. J. 1845 *A Descriptive Vocabulary of the Native Language of Western Australia*. Rome, S.G. de Propaganda Fide.
 - 6 (a) King George Sound
7. Stokes, J. 1846 *Discoveries in Australia: with an account of the coasts and rivers explored and surveyed during the voyages of H.M.S. Beagle, in the years 1839-43*. T. and W. Boone, London.
8. Storman, E.J. 1977 *The Salvado Memoirs*. University of Western Australia Press, Perth.
 - 8 (E) East

- 8 (ENN) East of New Norcia
- 8 (N) North
- 8 (NNN) North of New Norcia

9. Moore, G. F. 1984 [1884] *Diary of Ten Years of an Early Settler in Western Australia*. University of Western Australia Press, Perth.

- 9 (a) East
- 9 (b) Guildford
- 9 (c) King George Sound
- 9 (d) Murray
- 9 (e) North
- 9 (f) North East
- 9 (g) Swan
- 9 (h) Upper Swan
- 9 (i) Vasse

10. Curr, E.M. 1886 *The Australian Race: Its origins, customs, languages, place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over the continent*. J. Ferres Government Printer, Melbourne. (4 volumes)

- 10 (a) 14 Northampton
- 10 (b) 15 Champion Bay
- 10 (c) 16 New Norcia — Leschenault Bay
- 10 (d) 17 Victoria Plains
- 10 (e) 18 Newcastle
- 10 (f) 19 Perth — Armstrong
- 10 (g) 19 Perth — Knight
- 10 (h) 20 York
- 10 (i) 21 York
- 10 (j) 22 Pinjarra
- 10 (k) 23 Kojonup
- 10 (l) 24 Bunbury
- 10 (m) 25 Blackwood
- 10 (n) 24 Harvey
- 10 (o) 24 Geographe Bay

- 10 (p) 26 Lower Blackwood
 - 10 (q) 29 Natingero
 - 10 (r) 30 Mount Stirling
 - 10 (s) 31 King George Sound
 - 10 (t) 32 Kent District
 - 10 (u) 33 Esperance
11. Hassell, A.A. n.d. (?1894) Notes and family papers. Battye Library. Perth. (manuscript)
- 11 (a) A.A. Hassell n.d.
12. Bates, D.M. 1913 List held by Department of Land Administration. Perth. (typescript)
- 12 (a) Meckering district
 - 12 (b) Murray River
 - 12 (c) Williams River
13. Rae, W.J. 1913 Native Vocabulary. Department of Land Administration, Perth. (typescript)
- 13 (a) Mount Barker
14. Bates, D.M. 1914 'A few notes on some South-Western Australian dialects'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 44: 65-82, London.
- 14 (a) Albany
 - 14 (b) Beverley
 - 14 (b - River) Beverley River
 - 14 (c) Blackwood
 - 14 (d) Bremer Bay
 - 14 (e) Bridgetown
 - 14 (f) Bunbury
 - 14 (g) Capel
 - 14 (h) Dunan
 - 14 (i) Esperance
 - 14 (j) Gingin/N.E. Gingin
 - 14 (k) Grass Valley
 - 14 (l) Guildford
 - 14 (m) Jerramungup

- 14 (n) Katanning
 - 14 (o) Kendenup
 - 14 (p) Meckering
 - 14 (q) Mount Barker
 - 14 (r) Murray River
 - 14 (s) N.E. Albany
 - 14 (t) Perth
 - 14 (u) South West
 - 14 (v) Swan
 - 14 (w) Swan River
 - 14 (x) Swan east
 - 14 (y) Swan south
 - 14 (z) Vasse
 - 14 (aa) Victoria Plains
 - 14 (bb) Williams
 - 14 (bb - River) Williams River
 - 14 (cc) York
15. Hammond, J.E. 1933 (1980) *Winjan's People*. Imperial Printing Co., Perth. Facsimile copy Hesperian Press, Victoria Park.
16. Hammond, J.E. n.d. *Vocabulary of the South West Aborigines*. Department of Land Administration, Perth. (typescript)
17. Markey, T.J. 1942 Letters to Mr Hamersley, Legislative Council, Perth (typescript)
18. Serventy, D.L. & Whittell, H.M. 1948 *Birds of Western Australia*. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.
- 18 (a) Albany
 - 18 (b) Augusta
 - 18 (c) Avon River
 - 18 (d) Beverley
 - 18 (e) Broomehill
 - 18 (f) coast near Perth
 - 18 (g) Coastal

- 18 (h) Darling Range
 - 18 (i) Fraser Range
 - 18 (j) Geraldton
 - 18 (k) Gordon River
 - 18 (l) Harvey
 - 18 (m) Katanning
 - 18 (n) King George Sound
 - 18 (o) Mandurah
 - 18 (p) Moore River
 - 18 (q) Murray
 - 18 (r) New Norcia
 - 18 (r- VP) Victoria Plains
 - 18 (s) north of Perth
 - 18 (t) Northampton
 - 18 (u) Pallinup Estuary
 - 18 (v) Pallinup River
 - 18 (w) Perth
 - 18 (x) South West
 - 18 (y) South West coastal
 - 18 (z) Stirling Range
 - 18 (aa) Swan River
 - 18 (bb) Toodyay
 - 18 (cc) Wongan Hills
 - 18 (dd) York
19. Isaacs, S. n.d. Native Vocabulary. Dept. of Land Admin. Perth. (typescript)
20. Hassell, E(thel) 1936 'Notes on the Ethnology of the Wheelman Tribe of Southwestern Australia', selected and edited by D.S. Davidson, *Anthropos*, 31; and/or
Hassell, E(thel) 1975 *My Dusky Friends: Aboriginal life, customs and legends and glimpses of station life at Jerramungup in the 1880's*. Perth: Hassell.
21. Coyne, P. 1980 *A Nyungar Vocabulary List from the Albany area*. Department of Anthropology, Western Australian Museum. Perth (typescript)

22. Gray, C. 1987 List held by the Anthropology Department, Western Australian Museum. (typescript)
23. Buller-Murphy, Dr. n.d. *Dictionary of the Dordenup Language*. Battye Library, Perth (manuscript)
24. Bussell, A.J. n.d. *South West Aboriginal Language or Dialect, the Aboriginal's term 'Dordenup Wongie' and other things concerning Australia generally*. Busselton Historical Society. (typescript)
25. Hassell, E(dney) A. n.d. Aboriginal Word List. Department of Land Administration, Perth (typescript)
26. Douglas, W.H. 1982 *Writing the South-West Language*. WACAE: Perth
27. Green, N. (ed.) 1979 *Nyungar – the People: Aboriginal customs of the southwest of Australia*. Creative Research: Perth.
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30. Von Brandenstein, C.G. 1988 *Nyungar Anew*. Pacific Linguistics, A.N.U. Series C, Number 9.
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