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Barngarla place names and regions in South Australia

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ABSTRACT

Barngarla is a Thura-Yura Pama-Nyungan language originally spoken on the Eyre Peninsula, South Australia and adjacent northern hinterlands. This paper proposes various etymologies and supports the Barngarla language reclamation. Reflecting Barngarla epistemology and traditional ecological knowledge, toponyms are intimately connected to place name reclamation and language reclamation. Delineating hunting, foraging and fishing places, geographical features, and sites embedded in oral history, toponyms also provide windows into broader diachronic processes within grammar and phonology. Oral history recorded by the German missionary Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann indicates naming practices dating back to the late-Pleistocene showing some similarities to other, non-Barngarla groups. Several named band areas seem focused on floristic regions. Barngarla toponyms exhibit signs of diachronic processes both regarding phonology and grammar. We explore the extent to which post-invasion Barngarla names are identifiable, propose evidence for Thura-Yura lenition of an original *gabi* 'water' form, and discuss a locative form *-la* unrecorded by Schürmann.

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Barngarla; Thura-Yura; toponymy; South Australia

1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to critically examine Barngarla place names and regions with a view to their broader cultural and historical significance. Barngarla Ngawarla, a Thura-Yura language of the Eyre Peninsula and adjacent northern hinterlands in South Australia, has undergone severe retraction and marginalization, and is no longer intergenerationally transmitted or spoken. On 14 September 2011, the Barngarla people of Eyre Peninsula launched the reclamation of Barngarla Ngawarla, with assistance from Ghil'ad Zuckermann. This article represents philological-hermeneutical research undertaken as part of this linguistic and cultural reclamation, which includes ongoing attempts to change the *landscape* of Eyre Peninsula by urging councillors, the Attorney General's Department and other players to introduce Barngarla Ngawarla signs (e.g. Cootes, 2018). Barngarla signs will contribute significantly to increasing the public visibility of Barngarla and affirm rightful ancestral ownership and custodianship of regions and sites. Barngarla people have the final say regarding which etymology to choose in cases where several exist. As in various Indigenous contexts elsewhere (Amery & Williams, 2002; Gray & Rück, 2019; Helander, 2015; Ingram, 2018; Mokaraka-Harris, 2018; Oliveira, 2009; Pine &

Table 1 Barngarla consonant phonemes (BLAC spelling)

	Bilabial	Interdental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop	b	dh	d	rd	dy	g
Nasal	n	nh	n	rn	ny	ng
Tap			rr			
Approximant	w			r	y	
Lateral approximant		lh	l	rl	ly	

Turin, 2017; Wojtuszezwska, 2019), toponymy, place name reclamation and language reclamation are intimately connected. Place names provide a significant experiential interface between people’s identity, language, place, past and present. Reflecting Barngarla epistemology and traditional ecological knowledge, toponyms delineate hunting, foraging and fishing places, geographical features, and sites embedded in oral history. Toponyms also provide windows into broader diachronic processes within grammar and phonology.

From the above explanation of aims and rationale, we provide below an outline of the community-approved spelling with justification for the use of two rhotics (§1.1), followed by a section about colonialism on the Eyre Peninsula and its impacts on Barngarla Ngawarla (§1.2). We discuss relevant previous work on Thura-Yura languages (§2), and then situate Barngarla place names within the broader realms of the linguistic ecology, including relationships between place names and traditional ecological knowledge (§3). We will then discuss an example of locally specific realizations of broader patterns, specifically similarities between southern Barngarla and Ngarrindjeri (Lower Murray region) oral history, which arguably reflect collective memories of post- or late-Pleistocene rise in sea levels (§4). An additional example of the embedded nature of Barngarla spatial concepts is seen in internal Barngarla subregions that show an interface of traditional ecological knowledge and significant patterns and processes of social organization and identification (§5). After exploring the extent to which post-invasion Yura Ngawarla-based names are identifiable (§6), we turn to structural problems of ‘water’ names (§7), followed by a discussion of the locative case in Barngarla place names (§8) and our concluding remarks (§9).

1.1. Brief notes on Barngarla spelling

The Barngarla Language Advisory Committee (BLAC), with the assistance of Zuckermann, have decided to employ a user-friendly spelling different from the (at times contradictory and unclear) spelling used by Schürmann (1844). For example, Schürmann (1844, pp. 28, 69) has *marra* ‘hand’ and *warraitya* ‘emu’, but the rhotics indicated are distinctively different: *marra* ‘hand’ is in fact retroflex; *warraitya* is cognate with *warra-tyi* ‘emu’ in Adnyamathanha (Schebeck, 2000), Kuyani (Hercus, 2006) and Nhukunu (Hercus, 1992, p. 30), all of these with alveolar rhotics. Such diversity of spelling of distinctive segments in the corpus necessitates comparative analysis of Barngarla phonology to make sense of the data, and to justify decisions made when arriving at spelling conventions. Table 1 shows the BLAC spelling of the consonant phonemes of Barngarla. The vowels are **i**, **oo** and **a**. Vowel harmony occurs, but not consistently (Clendon, 2018, p. 60).

As presented in Table 1, we operate with a two-way rhotic distinction (tap **rr** vs. retroflex **r**).¹ Simpson and Hercus (2004, p. 185, Table 4) outline a three-way rhotic distinction in Barngarla, Kuyani, Adnyamathanha (plus a retroflex tap) and Nhukunu. The Barngarla source listed is O'Grady (2001), although "O'Grady's Barngarla had only two rhotics" (Simpson & Hercus, 2004, p. 185; see also Clendon, 2018, p. 15). Hercus (1999, p. 33) notes that the Thura-Yura trill "is not a particularly frequent phoneme", while Clendon (2018) holds that "Thura-Yura languages show a three-way rhotic contrast (a trill, a flap and a retroflex glide)" (p. 2), but is well aware that "for Barngarla this contrast is unlikely to be recoverable in full or with certainty from historical texts" (p. 15).

Although a clear three-way phonemic rhotic contrast (retroflex, tap and trill) appears to be the case in Adnyamathanha and Kuyani in a small number of cases,² there is no clear (minimal set) evidence of a phonemic three-way rhotic split in other Thura-Yura languages.³ Moreover, Schürmann's (1844, pp. 1–2) discussion does not amount to an identification of three phonemic rhotics in Barngarla.

1.2. Aspects of the historical background

Although Pope (1989, p. 21) indicates that non-permanent contact between whalers in the 1820s and southern Barngarla Yoorarri ('people') was friendly, this was not generally the case. From the early 1800s, non-Indigenous seal hunters based on Kangaroo Island raided Kurna, Barngarla and Nhawoo-Barngarla lands kidnapping women (Amery, 2016, p. 57; Gara & Brock, 2017, p. 219). Following the arrival of "often rough and lawless" non-Indigenous sheep farmers in the early 1840s, Barngarla Yoorarri went to war against the invaders (Gara & Brock, 2017, p. 219). Land had been stolen, fenced off and stocked with sheep, and shepherds had driven Barngarla Yoorarri away from waterholes (Pope, 1989, p. 93). What appears to have been small-scale, opportunistic guerrilla attacks almost led to the abandonment of Port Lincoln in 1842 (Pope, 1989, p. 74). A combination of official punitive expeditions and vigilantes engaged in indiscriminate slaughter of Barngarla Yoorarri (Pope, 1989, p. 103). The Peninsula "was South Australia's most violent frontier; at least a dozen Europeans were killed over a period of about 20 years, and an unknown number of Aboriginal people perished" (Gara & Brock, 2017, p. 220). Extensive depopulation was also due to introduced diseases; e.g. influenza, recorded among Barngarla and Nhawoo-Barngarla of the Eyre Peninsula in the 1850s and 1860s, smallpox in the 1860s, and measles in the 1870s (Dowling, 1997, pp. 54, 222, 238). The assimilationist *Poonindie Native Training Institution*, operating between 1850 and 1894 near Port Lincoln (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989; Gara & Brock, 2017), was essentially a way

¹The abbreviations used in glossing follow those of the Leipzig Glossing Rules with the addition of ASSOC 'Associative' and CONT 'Continuous'.

²In Kuyani, as in Adnyamathanha, trills only seem to occur in intervocalic position, whereas a tap may occur as C1 of a consonant cluster. At least one minimal set occurs: *waRa-* (retroflex) 'to pull out (teeth v tr)', *wara-* (tap) 'to wait anxiously, to be anxious, to worry (v intr)' and *warra-* (trill) 'to travel, to walk about (v intr)' (Hercus, 2006). Adnyamathanha has *mara* (retroflex) 'hand', *mara* (tap) 'edge, point' and *marra* (trill) 'fresh, new'; *uru* (retroflex) 'nectar from the flower part of ata, Xanthorrhoea quadrangulata', *uru* (tap) 'mind' and *urru* (trill) 'all', among other examples (McEntee & McKenzie, 1992).

³Nhukunu (Hercus, 1992) allegedly exhibits clear retroflex-trill and retroflex-tap contrasts, but the closest one gets to a rhotic three-way phonemic split is one near-minimal set: *wari* (retroflex) 'penis', *wari* (tap) 'cold wind' and *warriya* (trill) 'second child'.

of “indoctrinating Indigenous peoples into the capitalist system” (Griffin, 2010, p. 158), which no doubt contributed to the retraction of Barngarla Ngawarla.

Barngarla Yoorarri henceforth lived under the *Aborigines Act 1911* and the *Aborigines Act 1934* (operative until 1962), which were introduced *inter alia* to control the lives of Aboriginal people. Many of the current elder generation are members of the ‘Stolen Generation’, who as children were taken away by government agencies and put through a process of cultural re-education with the aim of assimilation. Having survived this ‘civilizing process’ consisting of separation from family, country, culture and language, Barngarla Yoorarri have sought to re-establish their cultural roots and to reconnect with their ancestors. Although some individuals may have retained some linguistic competence until perhaps as late as the early 1990s (Mansfield, 2015, p. 118), the combined impact of the above processes was that Barngarla ceased to be spoken and transmitted to children by about 1960. The traumatic effects are deeply remembered and shared, also by family members who did not experience these ordeals first-hand. In many ways, these experiences and shared memories motivate the younger generations to be involved in the reclamation and to get language going again in everyday contexts (see Zuckermann & Monaghan, 2012).

2. Previous work

The main foci of our work are Barngarla and neighbouring Thura-Yura languages (Wirangu, Adnyamathanha, Kuyani and Nhukunu). However, Kurna of the Adelaide Plains, the south-easternmost of the Thura-Yura languages (Amery, 2016), is also relevant, especially Amery’s (2002) discussion of Kurna place names.

The main Thura-Yura sources relevant to this work are Hercus’ (1992) Nhukunu dictionary, McEntee and McKenzie’s (1992) Adnyamathanha dictionary, Schebeck’s (2000) Adnyamathanha dictionary, Hercus’ (2006) unpublished Kuyani wordlist, Hercus’ (1999) grammar of Wirangu, the revised Wirangu wordlist (Miller et al., 2010) and Waria-Read et al. (2009), an overview of the Ngadjuri language.

The main Barngarla sources with primary data are Schürmann’s (1844) wordlist and grammatical sketch, and Schürmann (1846/1879, reprinted in 1879), primarily an ethnographic outline. Wilhelmi (1860) draws on Schürmann (1846/1879) to a very considerable extent but adds comparative data, some ethnobotany and one fragment of a story not recorded by Schürmann. German Lutheran minister, Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann was stationed in, and later near, Port Lincoln as a Deputy Protector of Aborigines from September 1840 to 1846, and as an interpreter from 1848 to 1853, also setting up and running a school for Barngarla children and a mission (Schurmann, 1987). Selected parts of Schürmann’s diaries edited by his great-grandson Edwin A. Schurmann (1987) indicate that the main Barngarla person providing information to Schürmann was a man called Yutalta. Nummalta is mentioned as a good friend of Schürmann and probably taught him about Barngarla culture and language. We should point out that Schürmann did not provide any etymologies for the place names provided in his works, which at times makes the analysis difficult.

Schürmann’s Barngarla place names data consist of less than 50 names, and all are from southern parts of the Eyre Peninsula: 35 regional and place names were recorded in Schürmann (1844) (see Appendix 1), one blended name ‘Mount Nilarro’ in Schürmann



Figure 1. Sketch map of Eyre Peninsula from Tindale (1938–1939, p. 1030). Reproduced by kind permission of the South Australian Museum (in Hercus & Simpson, 2001, p. 269)

(1846/1879), and another 12 place names in Schürmann’s diaries (Schurmann, 1987) (see Appendix 2).

Charles Wilhelmi collected his Barngarla data in 1851 while visiting Schürmann as part of a botanical survey of the Eyre Peninsula (Schurmann, 1987), but it is unclear whom he consulted among the Barngarla. Norman Tindale worked with Susie Glennie and Arthur Davis in the 1930s (Mansfield, 2015, pp. 160–161), probably the main sources of Tindale’s handwritten journal map (Tindale, 1939a; see Figure 1), and the place names handwritten onto a pre-existing printed map enclosed in his journal as part of the ‘Harvard and



Figure 2. Tindale's (1939b) handwritten place names on map entitled "Eyre's Peninsula (South Australia)"

Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition, Australia, 1938–1939' (Tindale, 1939b; see Figure 2). The last-mentioned map was clearly based on Schürmann's (1844) work but contains some additions.

In 1960, Barngarla man Harry Croft was interviewed briefly by Ken Hale (O'Grady, 2001), whereas Barngarla and Gugada man Moonie Davis worked with Luise Hercus in the 1960s (Hercus, 1966, 1999). Hercus recorded Barngarla vocabulary from Moonie Davis as well as

Percy Kidman in the 1960s and early 1970s (Gara, 2016, p. 34). Tindale (1974) mentions Barngarla consultants, but regrettably does not name any of them.

Other Barngarla work includes Hercus and Potezny's (1999) comparative study of selected place names (see Appendix 3), Hercus and Simpson (2001) and Simpson and Hercus (2004), which established Thura-Yura as a linguistic subgroup consisting of Wirangu, Nauo, Barngarla, Kuyani, Adnyamathanha, Nukunu, Narangga, Ngadjuri and Kurna (spellings as in the original) and discussed various place names in the southern and western parts of Eyre Peninsula. Hercus and Simpson (2001) analyzed 'Nauo' ('Nhawoo' with the BLAC spelling), the people of the southern and south-western parts of Barngarla country, as linguistically separate from northern and north-eastern Barngarla. Nhawoo and Barngarla were also outlined as different entities ('tribes') by Tindale (1939a, 1939b, 1974), in contrast to Schmidt (1926, see Figure 3) and the opinion of one of the last speakers of Barngarla, Moonie Davis (see below). Stockigt (2016, pp. 257–267) includes a succinct theoretical overview of Schürmann's (1844) description of Barngarla grammar. Finally, the most exhaustive and significant reworking of Schürmann (1844), also drawing on comparative Thura-Yura data, is Clendon's (2018) analysis, which adds considerable depth to our understanding of Barngarla morphosyntax.

As part of the Barngarla reclamation, a revised dictionary and various pedagogic resources (Zuckermann, 2018; Zuckermann & Richards, 2021; Zuckermann & the Barngarla, 2019) have been produced in consultation and collaboration with the Barngarla Language Advisory Committee. Other works include Zuckermann (2020), Zuckermann et al. (2021) and the *Barngarla Peoples of South Australia* Facebook page (www.facebook.com/groups/Barngarla/), which has attracted approximately 600 members.

In the section below, we explore aspects of the embedded nature of place names, including the interface between place names and traditional ecological knowledge.

3. Embedded place names

The *Madhari* and (*G*)*ararru* matrilineal moiety system was spread across Thura-Yura groups from Wirangu to Ngadjuri and was present in Yarli and Karnic languages to the north but did not extend to the Thura-Yura Nharangga on the Yorke Peninsula, nor to the Thura-Yura Kurna of the Adelaide Plains (Koch et al., 2018, p. 144). According to Hercus (1999, p. 2), the 'kuri' or 'circle' dance, a widespread Thura-Yura ceremony, was probably of Barngarla origin. Thura-Yura groups had birth-order names (Hercus, 1999, p. 1; Hercus & Simpson, 2004, p. 266), seen in the place names **Coondambo**, north of Lake Gairdner (> *goonda* 'third born daughter'), **Coondappie** (> *goonda-gabi* 'third born daughter-water') and **Goonda** ('third born daughter', spelt 'kunta'), a river 30 miles from Port Lincoln, where Barngarla Yoorarri would come from the north for important ceremonies (Schurmann, 1987, p. 174). Other Barngarla cultural traits that were shared with, and extended far beyond, Thura-Yura groups included the Seven Sisters tradition (e.g. Hercus, 1992, p. 16, 1999, p. 189; Mansfield, 2015, pp. 514–527) and the Urum-bula, 'Wildcat' or Quoll (*Dasyurus* spp.) tradition (e.g. Hercus, 1992, pp. 13–16; Mansfield, 2015, p. 98). This song cycle:

Melrose waterhole, south-east of Mount Remarkable in the southern Flinders Ranges, *wangari* or *wangkari* “because the big snake had been talk there” (Florence Bramfield, quoted by Mountford, in Hercus, 1992, p. 29), from *wangka-tya-* ‘to speak’, also recorded by Schürmann (1844, p. 68) as “wanggata, to say, speak, talk” (i.e. *wangga-dha* PRS).

Ceremonially important red ochre, mined at **Pukardu** on the western side of the Flinders Ranges, was part of extensive trade networks connecting “people from as far north as southwest Queensland and the MacDonnell Ranges, and possibly as far south as the Adelaide Plains and Port Lincoln” (Clarke, 2013, p. 68; see also Austin, 1978, p. 17; Walshe, 2005). This is in northern Barngarla country. Schürmann (1844, p. 32) entered ‘milti’ as “a sort of red ochre used for ornament”; this is likely *mildhi*, judging from the Nhukunu equivalent (Hercus, 1992, p. 23). The name for ‘yellow ochre’ was not recorded by Schürmann, but is ‘karku’ in Nhukunu (Hercus, 1992, p. 19). Thus, one would expect **Karcultaby**, east-south-east of Streaky Bay (*garrgoo* ‘ochre’ -*lta-(ga)bi*, ‘water’; i.e. ‘ochre water’) and **Karkoo** (*garrgoo*), north of Cummins, to designate ‘yellow ochre’, but this is not clear. Adnyamathanha has *arrku* ‘red ochre’, *arrkuntarkun[h]a* ‘yellow ochre’ (Schebeck, 2000, p. 27), and Kuyani has both *karku* and *milthi* ‘red ochre’ (Hercus, 2006). Added to this, Ngadjuri had both *yambara* and *mildhi* ‘red ochre’ (Waria-Read et al., 2009, p. 12). Whereas two recorded terms for ‘ochre’ point toward (Kuyani, Ngadjuri) or exemplify (Adnyamathanha, Nhukunu) a terminological distinction, it is unclear whether the Barngarla *gargoo* names indicate red or yellow ochre. This notwithstanding, the places would have had ceremonial significance.

In Mansfield (2015, p. 100) an account of Barngarla Native Title witnesses involving the ochre mine is summarized as concerning:

‘Kalianarra’ or ‘Alyanarra’, a gecko, and ‘Kadnu’ or ‘Adnu’, a bearded dragon or perhaps a sleepy lizard, two ancestral beings. They came across some ‘marakuli’, which both witnesses described as mythical marsupial lions, who had eaten some people at a campsite. Kalianarra and Kadnu hid in a tree and threw stones at the marakuli, killing them. Some of their blood formed Pukatu ochre mine.

The Gecko name is probably cognate with Adnyamathanha *aldyanada* (‘altyanada’, Barking Lizard, *Underwoodisaurus milii*, or poss. Common Knob-tailed Gecko, *Nephruroides levis*; Schebeck, 2000, p. 16). ‘Kadnu’ is the Central Bearded Dragon, *Pogona vitticeps* (Eastern Bearded Dragon, *Pogona barbata* occurs south of the area discussed here; see Brandle, 2001, 2010). Bearded Dragon is *ganu* in Wirangu (Hercus, 1999, p. 166), *kadnu* in Kuyani (Hercus, 2006), *atnu/adnu* in Adnyamathanha (Schebeck, 2000, p. 33), *katnu* in Nhukunu (Hercus, 1992, p. 20) and *gadnu* in Ngadjuri (Waria-Read et al., 2009, p. 15).

Bookartoo/Pukardu or *boogardoo* most likely means ‘rotten’, or ‘putrefied’, referring to the blood of ‘marakuli’ transforming into ochre; ‘buka’ is ‘old; rotten; offensive’ and ‘bukanitti’ ‘to decay; putrefy’ Schürmann (1844, p. 3), -*rdoo* is unanalyzable. A connection with late-Pleistocene megafauna (Marsupial or Pouched lion, *Thylacoleo carnifex*) is also found further south, in the ‘Kupirri’ oral history north of Port Lincoln. Schürmann (1846/1879, pp. 239–240) referred to ‘Kupirri’ as a giant Kangaroo, which could imply *Procoptodon goliah*, weighing up to 240–250 kg (Janis et al., 2014, p. 4). However, it is clear from Schürmann (1846/1879) that ‘Kupirri’ was carnivorous (it devoured several people); thus, the Marsupial lion connection appears more correct.

‘Germ, fresh shoot’ names most likely designate hunting sites, as fresh shoots would attract game. Two of these, not recorded by Schürmann, are **Coulta** – between Coffin Bay and Mount Drummond, *goolda* ‘germ, fresh shoot’ (‘kulta’, Schürmann, 1844), and **Cultana Training Area/ Hundred of Cultana** – north-west of Douglas Point, *goolda* ‘germ, fresh shoot’ (‘kulta’, Schürmann, 1844) *-nha* (name marker⁴). It is also likely that *gara* ‘grass’ names would have been hunting sites, especially when ‘grass’ occurs with ‘water’. Although the following were also not recorded by Schürmann, **Carappie** from south-west of Kimba and **Currabie** near Mount Wedge (> *kara* ‘grassy plain’ (*g*)*abi* ‘water’ (Hercus & Potezny, 1999, p. 169)) are examples of such sites.

The hunts would have been relatively large-scale communal activities during the summer, following controlled burning of the vegetation and subsequent rain, which facilitated new growth. Pope (1989, p. 93) mentions “burning of clearings which had for centuries attracted kangaroos down from the hills”, and that this practice was discouraged by the invading Europeans. Schürmann (1846/1879) wrote about burning as a hunting technique to drive game in particular directions, but not seasonal burns as part of ecological management. Schürmann (1846/1879, p. 218) wrote that:

if a great number of natives be collected, as is often the case in summer, they surround a district of country known to contain kangaroo, and by shouting, and gradually drawing closer, drive them towards the spot where other men are concealed and prepared to spear the game as it passes them (...).

Such a large hunting party, *ngaityara*, may have involved people from several different regions gathered for ceremonies and trade.

The importance of fishing is reflected in two *gooya* ‘fish’ placenames: **Kiana Beach**, near Lake Hamilton on the west coast (> *gooya-nha* (name marker), ‘the fish’); *Gooyabidni* (**Sleaford Mere**, near the Jussieu Peninsula) was recorded by Schürmann (1844, p. 24, ‘Kuyabidni’) and glossed in Tindale (1939a) as ‘fishing place’. **Gooyabidni** is *gooya* ‘fish’ *-bidni* ‘from, of’ (ABL/ASSOC). Near good fishing grounds, Barngarla Yoorarri in the Port Lincoln area would stay 10–14 days depending on local freshwater availability, “but never longer” (Schürmann, 1846/1879, p. 222). Schürmann (1846/1879, p. 214, 1844, p. 64) described the use of *wadna*, a boomerang exclusively used for hitting fish in the water among Port Lincoln Barngarla, and typically left at the fishing places after use. Around Port Lincoln, Barngarla Yoorarri did not use fishing nets nor hooks. Larger fish were speared, whereas schools of smaller fish were surrounded, driven towards the shore and thrown on land with branches. Another method was that of attracting fish in the night with torches made of dry bark (Schürmann, 1846/1879, p. 219). Further north on the coast, Schürmann’s diary entry (in Schürmann, 1987, p. 133) concerns ‘Driver’s Bay’, i.e. in the **Arno Bay/Cape Driver** area:

The natives call this place Yainkabidni, and they know it because of the abundance of fish which follow the high tide into the saltwater river. There the natives have made a kind of rack, which they can close at the approach of the low tide, enabling them to catch a great number of fish.

⁴Name marker’ is used throughout this article for the *-nha* nominal clitic with several particularizing functions, including that of a proper noun marker, widespread in Thyra-Yura languages (see Clendon, 2018, p. 71).

'Yainkabidni' is possibly **Yoongabidni** (< *yoonga* 'elder brother' -*bidni* ABL/ASSOC), or **Yanggabidni** (< *yangga* 'liver' (*yangka* in Adnyamathanha;⁵ Schebeck, 2000, p. 230.) -*bidni* ABL/ASSOC). The fishing technique described above involved *wirrba* "wirpa, s. a fence across a creek, to keep the fish in that have gone up with the tide" (Schürmann, 1844, p. 74).

As seen above, Barngarla Yoorarri were parts of extensive ceremonial and trade networks, and shared cultural traits (such as the Seven Sisters tradition) with groups well beyond Barngarla lands. We will now explore similarities between southern Barngarla and Ngarrindjeri (Lower Murray region) oral history, including the extent to which traditions in both regions commemorate a post- or late-Pleistocene rise in sea levels.

4. Very old names: Oral history from Jussieu Peninsula to Coffin Bay

The following account (Schürmann, 1846/1879, pp. 238–239) is from the southernmost and south-western parts of Eyre Peninsula:

Pulyállana was in days of yore a great man, who conferred on succeeding generations the benefit of having given names to many localities in the southern and western parts of this district, which they retain to this day. He had, however, the misfortune to lose both his wives, who absconded from him, an event that by no means contributed to keep him in good humour. After a great deal of fruitless search, he at last hit upon their track, and, following it; overtook them somewhere about Cape Catastrophe, where they were both killed by him. They were then converted into stone, together with their children, and all may be seen there at the present day in the shape of rocks and islands; and their breathing or groaning be heard in a cave, into which the roaring sea rushes a long way underground. Pulyállana himself was subsequently raised into the sky, at or near Puyundu (the native name for Cape Sir Isaac), where he is sometimes seized with violent fits of rage. On such occasions he raves and storms about among the clouds, and keeps shouting most lustily, like a native when under the influence of violent passion, thus producing what is commonly called *thunder*. He is armed with waddies, which he used to throw at the natives, particularly the pardnapas, whom he frequently cut through in the middle, hurling the upper and lower parts of the body in opposite directions. Their ancestors, however, entreated him to spare the pardnapas, and hit the sheoks instead; and this prayer prevailing with him, he now vents his rage on them. The lightning is also his production, being caused by the sudden jerking or opening of his legs in his furious gestures.

The account exhibits several similarities to the Ngurunderi story of two Ngarrindjeri groups, Yaraldi and Ramindjeri in the Lower Murray region, in which an ancestral creative being, Ngurunderi, (not people) created several landscape features (Berndt, 1940; Clarke, 1995), similarly to Boolyalanha (our spelling of 'Pulyállana'). It is unclear how Boolyalanha killed his wives and children, whereas Ngurunderi drowned his two wives (but not his children) by causing the sea to rise after a chase from the hinterland. That the two wives ran away and were chased by their husband is clear in both the Ngarrindjeri and Barngarla versions. Boolyalanha's wives became rocks and islands, while in a Ramindjeri version of the story the wives became rocks (Berndt, 1940, p. 169; Clarke, 1995, p. 148). In a Yaraldi version, the wives became the Pages Islands between the Fleurieu Peninsula and Kangaroo Island (Berndt, 1940, p. 181; Clarke, 1995, p. 149). Boolyalanha was

⁵Schürmann (1844, p. 43) has 'ngalli' as 'liver'. It is not clear whether Barngarla at some stage also shared Adnyamathanha *yangga*, but Adnyamathanha has *Yangkavuthivuthi* 'Dusty Liver' in the Gammon Ranges (Schebeck, 2000, p. 230).

clearly associated with thunder, and this applies to Ngurunderi to the extent that “thunder was regarded as Ngurunderi’s voice” (Taplin, 1874 [1979, p. 58] in Clarke, 1995, p. 146). For both Ngarrindjeri and Barngarla, the ancestral being eventually goes up in the sky (Berndt, 1940; Clarke, 1995), or, in some Ngarrindjeri versions, he travels west (Berndt, 1940; Clarke, 1995). It is worth noting that Boolyalanha appears as a place name on the Jussieu Peninsula in one source; Tindale (1939b) wrote the name ‘Puljalana’ with an arrow pointing toward an area close to Cape Catastrophe, but this place name was not recorded by Schürmann.

Boolyalanha appears to be a localized part of a more widely distributed (and very old) tradition, which some, but not all, place names in the region may reflect. ‘Puyundu’, or Booyoondhu (**Point Sir Isaac**) is probably < *pooyoo* ‘smoke’ -*n(dhoorroo)dhoo* CONT, and possibly related to Boolyalanha’s activities when enraged. His (unexplained) antagonism toward ‘pardnapas’ is evident above – a *pardnapa* (*bardnaba*) was “a circumcised youth, distinguished [*sic*] by having his long hair secured in a netting” (Schürmann, 1844, p. 53), equivalent to Adnyamathanha *vardnapa* “male person who has passed through first stage of initiation” (Schebeck, 2000, p. 160). Ngurunderi did prohibit recent initiates from eating “certain types of Murray cod, considered to be Ngurunderi’s fish” (Tindale, 1934–1937, vol. 2, p. 39 in Clarke, 1995, p. 146). Thus, some transgression of a food taboo could have been involved in the Barngarla tradition. As seen above, Boolyalanha eventually directed his rage towards the sheoaks (Drooping Sheoak *Allocasuarina verticillata*; Brandle, 2010, p. 69); sheoak also features in Ngarrindjeri accounts of Ngurunderi but in the sense that he created, or landed by, a sheoak on Kangaroo Island after drowning his wives (Berndt, 1940, p. 182; Clarke, 1995, p. 151).

The location of **Nhoondala** or **Nhoodlala** (‘nundalla’, **Thistle Island**), east of Cape Catastrophe on the south-easternmost tip of the Jussieu Peninsula, may point towards a relationship with the Boolyalanha tradition but the etymology is uncertain. Noting that Schürmann (1844) did not record a term for ‘drown(ing)’, Adnyamathanha has the transitive verb *nhudlu*– “to push someone into (fire, water), to drown” (Schebeck, 2000, p. 118), and a name based on a similar root would fit with Boolyalanha’s victims. Another possibility is based on ‘nudla’, “the large bag carried by the woman” (Schürmann, 1844, p. 40), i.e. **Nhoodla-la** (LOC), ‘place of woman’s bag’, but again, this is uncertain.

The locations of **Gabigarnga** and **Midlala** are not clear, but it would make sense that they are in the vicinity of Jussieu Peninsula, and part of the Boolyalanha tradition. Schürmann (1844, p. 14) mentions “kappikarnka, *n.pr.* an island in Spencer’s Gulf, on which Midlalla is said to reside”. The name seems to consist of *gabi* ‘water’ -*garnga* ‘raised, lifted up’, based on ‘karnkata’ ‘to raise, lift, take up’ (*garnga-dha* in our spelling). If ‘raised, lifted up’ is correct, this implies a process of simply adding present tense marker -*dhV* to nominals without any derivational morpheme in between.⁶ Although not frequently encountered in Schürmann (1844), such a process occurs in a handful of cases, e.g. ‘marrata’ *maradha* ‘to crawl, walk on the hands’ < *mara* ‘hand’; ‘yurriti’ *yooridhi* ‘to hear’ < *yoori* ‘ear’; ‘yailgutu’ *yayilgoodhoo* ‘to put together, mix’ < *yayilgoo* ‘together, in company’.⁷

⁶Similar ‘zero-derivation’ also occurs in *l-* and *n-*verb classes (also termed *la-* and *ra-* classes, respectively) in Western Desert Yankunytjatjara (Goddard, 1985, p. 35).

⁷Other aspects of Barngarla derivational morphology are discussed in Clendon (2018, pp. 117–152).

The name ‘Midlalla’ is likely to be *midla* ‘spear thrower’ *-la* Comparative (this *-IV* segment is discussed in Clendon, 2018, p. 96), ‘like a spear thrower’, or *-la* LOC ‘(the place of the) spear thrower’, but no additional information about ‘Midlalla’ is available. It may well be that this being or implement and the place name were embedded and focal parts of the Boolyalanha creation story. Comparatively, the Yaraldi Ngurunderi tradition referred to above involves ‘Param’pari’, a “wicked and most treacherous man”, who had a *tarelg*i spear thrower with magical powers (Berndt, 1940, pp. 174–175). We cannot say whether Boolyalanha raised the water (or if the spear thrower even belonged to him), but it is quite likely that *Gabigarnga* refers to a post- or late-Pleistocene rise in Spencer Gulf sea levels.⁸

Reid et al. (2014) convincingly analyze Aboriginal oral history from several different groups that “represent genuine and unique observations of post-glacial increases in sea level, at time depths that range from about 13,400–7,500 years BP” (p. 82). As seen above, Ngurunderi made the sea rise onto the dry crossing between Kangaroo Island and the mainland to punish his two wives, drowning them, and thereby separating Kangaroo Island from the coast. This separation “would have occurred when the sea level was 28–32 m below its present level, which it was been 10,650–9,800 years BP” (p. 85; see also Flood, 2004, pp. 140–141). Yorke Peninsula Nharangga (‘Narangga’) oral history tells how Spencer Gulf once was:

a broad low-relief floodplain with a line of fresh-water lagoons, stretching northwards for a hundred miles or more, which was flooded by sea water. If the tradition refers to the inundation of the mouth of Spencer Gulf, then the sea level would have been around 50 m below that of today, requiring that the tradition date from as much as 12,450–11,150 years BP. Being more cautious, if the tradition referred to the inundation of just the northern part of Spencer Gulf, then its present maximum depth of 22 m would suggest a time depth of 9,900–9,550 years BP. (Reid et al., 2014, p. 85)

Lacking further data, we cannot conclusively say that *Gabigarnga* is a name dating back several thousand years. The lack of falsifiability does present a problem here, as there are no data that could disconfirm the analysis. However, based on the above linguistic reconstruction and previous comparative analysis of oral history, a postglacial antiquity of the name would not seem implausible.

The Barngarla name for **Stamford Hill** recorded by Schürmann (1844) is ‘kaityaba’, *Gai-dyaba* > ‘kaitya small, little, infant, child’ (noted as ‘kaitjaba’ in Tindale, 1939b), and possibly referring to one of Boolyalanha’s children. The function of *-ba* is not clear but it may indicate proper noun status or a type of definiteness similar to *-nha*. From Streaky Bay, Provis (in Curr, 1886, p. 6) recorded *kaitcha* ‘baby’ and *keetchaba* ‘children’, indicating a possible, albeit less likely, plural formation; ‘children’ as ‘kycherri’ with *-rri* plural is recorded for Gawler Ranges by Sawers (p. 130). Thura-Yura names with a final *-ba* syllable include **Koonibba**, **Minnipa** and **Pildappa Rock** but it is not always straightforward to determine whether the syllable is part of the root or a separate morpheme. ‘Pildappa’ may be the clearest example of *-ba* as a nominal case marker of some sort, i.e. *birl-da-ba*, involving *birl-da* ‘possum’ (‘pilla’ in Schürmann’s spelling).

Curta Rocks, situated off the coast south-east of Cape Tournefort, is not recorded in Schürmann (1844) but there is ‘kurta’ glossed as ‘posterior’ (*Goorda*). North of Goorda

⁸This idea was first brought to Næssan’s attention by Corey Theatre in March 2019.

are **Wanna Road**, **Sleaford Wanna Track**, **Wanna Soak** and **Wanna**, not recorded in Schürmann (1844) but most likely *warna* ‘abdomen, belly’, or ‘worna’ in Schürmann’s spelling. *Warna* (**Wanna**) ‘abdomen, belly’, and *Goorda* (**Curta Rocks**) ‘posterior’ are both body part terms naming adjacent areas, which may indicate that parts of the Jussieu Peninsula were seen as a fossilized being. Schürmann (1844) lists the name of **Sleaford Bay** (west of Wanna and extending north-westward to the mainland) as *Tannanna*. This name may be related to Wirangu *dhana-nga* ‘behind’, also ‘at the back of’ -LOC (Hercus, 1999, pp. 30, 61, 160) but with *-nha* (name marker) in Barngarla, i.e. possibly ‘the Back’.⁹

We now turn to Barngarla conceptualizations of internal subregions, which provide additional insights into traditional ecological knowledge, and into what would have been very important components within patterns and processes of social organization and identification (in addition to the kinship system outlined above).

5. Barngarla floristic regions as band areas

Two regional Barngarla groupings or bands are described in Tindale (1974, p. 216): “one the Wartabanggala, living north of Port Augusta and extending to Ogden Hill and almost to Quorn and Beltana; the other the Malkaripangala (note differing pronunciations in the tribal part of name)”. This information was confirmed by Barngarla man Moonie Davis (Hercus pers. comm. in Berndt, 1985, p. 137). Hercus (1992, p. 1) referred to Tindale and Davis (‘Davies’ in this source) while supplying the following outline:

- Nhawu Parnkalla from lower Eyre Peninsula,
- Parnkalla from Eastern Eyre Peninsula,
- Warta-Pangkala, ‘Plains Pangkala’ from the plains north of Port Augusta (Hercus, 1992, p. 1).

‘Malkaripangala’ is not mentioned here, probably because it was interpreted by Hercus as equivalent to ‘Parnkalla’. In a 1965 recording by Hercus, Moonie Davis apparently pronounced the ‘Nhawu’ name as ‘Nyawa’; he also mentioned another group name, ‘Arrapankarla’ (Hercus, 1999, p. 14). “The Banggarla, according to Moonie, lived in the southern Flinders Ranges and the country north of Port Augusta, and Arrabarngarla country was down the eastern side of Eyre Peninsula” (Gara & Hercus, 2005, p. 93; McCaul, 2012 Anthropology Report, quoted in Mansfield, 2015, p. 23). It seems clear that *Nhawoo* referred to a group speaking a somewhat different dialect to other Barngarla (Clendon, 2018, p. 6; Hercus & Simpson, 2001; Mansfield, 2015), but the picture is not entirely clear from Schürmann (1844). In 1965, Moonie Davis stated the following about Barngarla lects (including Arrabarngarla and Nhawoo-Barngarla): “My father could talk all that, if you talked one you could talk the lot; they were only a little bit different” (Hercus, 1999, p. 14).

We can provide no etymology for Nhawoo (‘Nhawu’) or ‘Nyawa’. For the others (and with only one exception), it is likely that they specifically referred to floristic regions, as

⁹There are no additional Thura-Yura data confirming *dhana* ‘back’ as a noun, but Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara (Goddard, 1996, p. 170) has *tjana* ‘back (of person, animal)’ and *tjanangka* ‘behind, in back of’.

will be seen below. Other regional terms exist (Schürmann, 1844, pp. 4–5) but they are cardinal point-related and lack further specificity so they will not be discussed here.

As seen above, **Warda-Barngarla** was glossed as ‘Plains Barngarla’. Neither *warda* as ‘plains’ nor the band name occur in Schürmann (1844) but the region outlined by Tindale (1974, p. 216) seems to fall within the chenopod shrubland flats extending north from Port Augusta (Department of the Environment and Water Resources, 2007, p. 35).

A version of the name **Marlgarri-Barngarla** is found in Adnyamathanha (Schebeck, 2000) as *Marlka Yarri Varngarla*, ‘group related to VARNGARLA’. This would be *marlka* ‘Mulga Tree, *Acacia aneura*’, and *yarri* ‘area: district; territory’ in Adnyamathanha. A Mulga term does not seem to have been recorded by Schürmann, nor *yarri* with anything similar to the Adnyamathanha meanings. It is possible that this originally was an Adnyamathanha exonym. However, *marlgarri* is likely to be Barngarla *marlga-rrri* PL. Despite the conceptualization of *-rrri* as a human plural marker (see Clendon, 2018), there is nothing to suggest that *-rrri* could not have been added to *marlga*, as such a plural marking with *ilpi* ‘drop’ and *wina* ‘seaweed’ was documented by Schürmann (1844, pp. 6, 73). Another option is that *yarri* ‘area’ did exist in Barngarla. In that case, either the word-final syllable nucleus of *marlga* and the word-initial onset of *yarri* was deleted in the noun compounding process, or, using a simpler analysis, the first syllable of *yarri* was deleted.

On the Eyre Peninsula, *Acacia aneura* growth extends south from the Port Augusta region to Ironstone Hill, but not much south or south-west of there. Roughly midway between the two abovementioned locations, *Acacia aneura* growth extends westward from and including Iron Knob, Uno (Lake Gilles), Wirrigenda Hill, Mount Ive, Reddings Dam, Thurlga and Yardea, but stops before what is now the Gawler Ranges National Park (Department for Environment and Water, 2010). Northward, acacia growth is extensively distributed well beyond Barngarla regions. In sum, it seems likely that Marlgarri-Barngarla were one of the northern groups, that is, north of the mallee scrub dominating Eyre Peninsula (see Wood (1971) and Miller et al. (2002) for mallee distribution patterns). The above corresponds to Tindale’s 1939a map (see Figure 1 above), wherein ‘Malkari Banala’ is placed south-west of Port Augusta and well north of Franklin Harbour.

Badharra Yoorarri or Badharra people (*yoora* ‘man’ *-rrri* PL) are mentioned by Schürmann (1844, p. 2, ‘battara yurrarri’) as “the appellation of a native tribe, so called from their country abounding with the scrubby gum”. This ‘scrubby gum’ is described as a “species of gum tree, commonly called scrubby gum, being very crooked and unsightly” (Schürmann, 1844, p. 2). Tindale indicates that ‘battara’ was an alternative group name for ‘Nauo’ and mentions that they “principally inhabited the coastal scrub gum tree (*Eucalyptus*) forest country” (Tindale, 1974, p. 214). Clendon (2018, p. 63) draws attention to the likely Kuyani cognate *patharra* ‘box tree’. In so far as box trees of the Eyre Peninsula are concerned, the plant in question is likely to be the Peppermint Box Tree (*Eucalyptus odorata*) or the Mallee Box (*Eucalyptus porosa*), the only box trees mentioned in Brandle’s (2010) biological survey of the Eyre Peninsula.

Schürmann’s letter of 18 May 1842 to Matthew Moorhouse, the Protector of Aborigines (in McCaul, 2017, pp. 72–73) mentions that ‘Nauo’ were south and west of Port Lincoln, whereas:

the Parnkalla tribe are spread over a far greater extent of country from Port Lincoln to the northward beyond Franklin Harbour and over the greater part of the interior country. They divide themselves again into two smaller tribes, viz. Wambirri yurarri, i.e. coast people and Battara yurarri, i.e. gum tree people, so called from their living in the interior country where the gum is plentiful.

This contradicts Tindale's (1974, p. 214) ordering of Badharra under a Nhawoo ('Nauo') umbrella. Moreover, it is clear that Badharra Yurarri were inland people. Both Peppermint Box and Mallee Box vegetation has been severely depleted,¹⁰ but occurred north of Port Lincoln and extended westward (Specht, 1972, p. 199 (see Figure 4); also see Department for Environment and Heritage, n.d.; Department of the Environment and Water Resources, 2007, p. 27). Mallee Box (as part of the Mallee Woodlands and Shrublands region) would seem to have had more extensive interior distribution, so this plant is a likely candidate.

Ar(r)a-Barngarla is spelt 'Arrapankarla' in Hercus (1999, p. 14), indicating an alveolar tap or trill. There is actually only one *a*-initial entry in Schürmann (1844): "A, ò or Awo, *adv.* yes, just so"; but Adnyamathanha has several such words, including *arra* 'high up, above' (Schebeck, 2000), corresponding to Schürmann's (1844, p. 16) "karra, high, above". In light of the prevalence of plant-based band names or tags, retroflex *ara* 'Nardoo', *Marsilea drummondii*, *Marsilea hirsuta* (Schebeck, 2000, p. 21) seems probable at first sight. However, although Wilhelmi (1860, p. 203) saw *Marsilea hirsuta* at Dumbly Bay, north of Port Lincoln, he did not "observe that the natives had ever made any use of it as an article of food", which adds to the absence of such Barngarla use in other sources. The location of this Barngarla band is unclear.

Schürmann (1842 in McCaul, 2017, p. 72) held that 'Nauo' people "frequent the coast to the south and west of the settlement + live chiefly upon fish", but later quite specifically refers to 'nauo or nawo' territory as "the country about Coffin's Bay" (Schürmann, 1844, p. 39). The groups associated with the sandhills, extending from Coffin Bay toward Sleaford Bay, would have been Nhawoo Barngarla speakers. In 1846, Schürmann again outlines 'Parnkalla' as "spoken from Port Lincoln northward" along the east coast of Eyre Peninsula, and places 'Nauo' speakers "in the southern and western parts of this district" (Schürmann, 1846/1879, p. 249).

The sandhills between Coffin and Sleaford Bays were created by two ancestral beings, 'Marnpi' (*Marnbi*, Bronzewing pigeon, *Phaps chalcoptera*) and 'Tatta', to put out a great fire spreading from the ocean (Schürmann, 1846/1879, p. 240). 'Tata' is glossed as 'bat' by McCaul (2017, p. 69), who draws on evidence from a Barngarla native title hearing (Mansfield, 2015, p. 98) in which the 'Tatta' spelling is retained. Wilhelmi's (1860, p. 194) original spelling is 'Jedda', possibly a variant of *dyirda* 'bird' recorded in Wirangu (Hercus, 1999, p. 163). 'Tatta'/'Tata' as well as any terms for 'bat' are absent from Schürmann's 1844 dictionary, but 'tartatarta' is listed as 'a species of bird' (Schürmann, 1844, p. 63). Schürmann's (1844) 'irta', glossed as 'bird generally', may in fact have represented a taxon *irda* inclusive of bats as well as Aves.¹¹ Thus, *Dharda* (-*dharda*) may have been the name of the ancestral bat involved in the creation of the sandhills.

¹⁰Only 2% of the original Peppermint Box Grassy Woodland cover remains in South Australia (Department for Environment and Heritage, n.d.).

¹¹Such classification occurs in Western Desert lects (discussed in Naessan, 2017), but specifics of Barngarla classification are regrettably lacking.

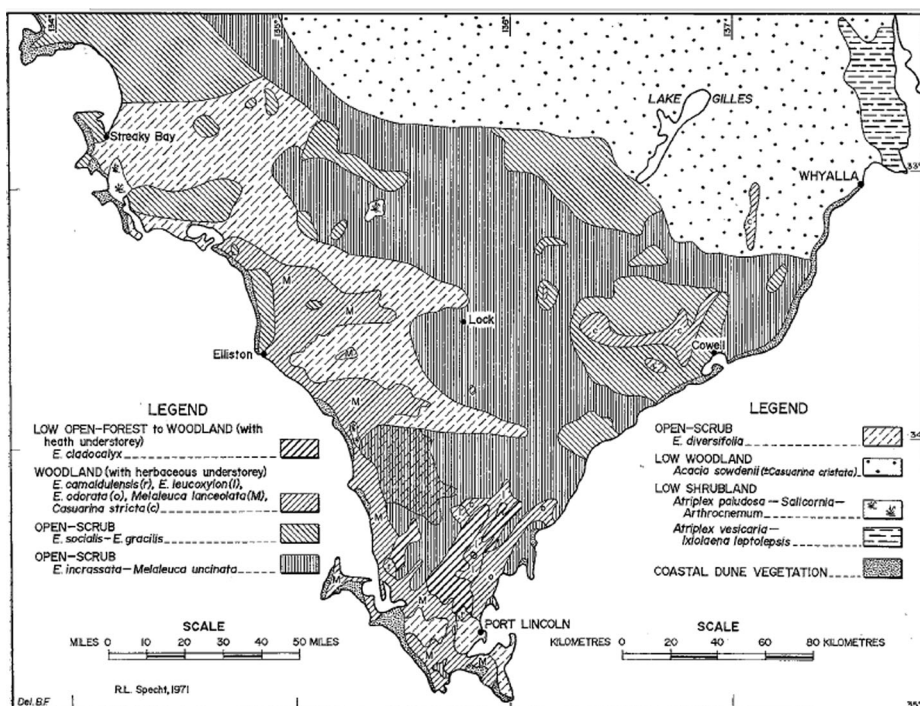


Figure 124. Vegetation map of Eyre Peninsula, South Australia. (Based on Bonython and Preiss 1967; Correll and Lange 1970; Crocker 1946a; French 1958; Murray 1931; Preiss 1969; Smith 1963; and Specht and Cleland 1961.)

Figure 4. Vegetation map of Eyre Peninsula, South Australia (from Specht, 1972, p. 199)

The Badharra region probably extended north to the Marlgarri area. But as seen above, the main band distinction Schürmann recorded (in McCaul, 2017, pp. 72–73) was that of Badharra people of the shrublands and the people on the eastern seaboard, **Wambirri/Wambiri yurarri** (*wambirri/wambiri* ‘seacoast’, *yura-rrri* ‘man’ -*rrri* PL), glossed by Schürmann (1844, p. 67) as ‘coast people, coast tribe’. Schürmann (1844) also mentions another tag or name, that of **Wambirri/Wambiri-bidni yurarri**, wherein *-bidni* is Ablative. From the data previously mentioned, the signified region would have been the eastern Eyre Peninsula coast from around Port Lincoln and presumably northward to Port Augusta. The term(s) for these coastal groups seem to be the only exceptions to the pattern of more or less specific band designations by means of floristic regions.

Considering the extensive changes to the linguistic ecology following invasion, it is necessary to ask whether Barngarla naming practices for some time continued to commemorate significant historical events, in somewhat similar fashion to the rise in sea waters discussed above. In the following section, we explore the extent to which post-invasion Yura Ngawarla-based names are identifiable.

6. Post-invasion names and etymology

At the Port Lincoln Happy Valley Cemetery there is a sign arguing that *Colyaneela* (sic) refers to a “place of beautiful water” (see Figure 5). However, there is no evidence supporting this translation (for one thing, there is no segment indicative of ‘water’, i.e. *gawoo/*

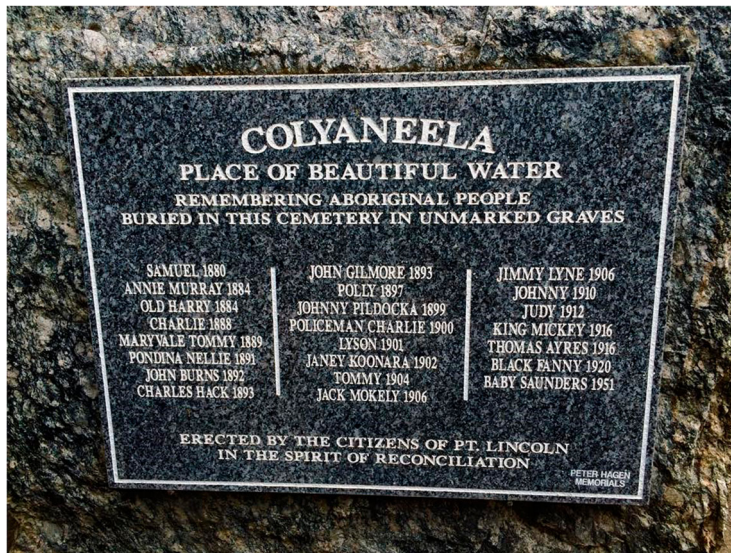


Figure 5. ‘Colyaneela’. Photo by Ghil’ad Zuckermann, 27 July 2015

gawi, gabi). Place names coining positive aesthetic evaluations are, to the best of our knowledge, entirely absent among Thura-Yura languages and such names arguably reflect a post-invasion and secondary view of landscapes. The impression one gets from Barngarla and other Thura-Yura names is that names focus on spiritually significant matters and economic resources.

A writer in the *Port Lincoln Times* (January 1940, p. 2, in Gara & Brock, 2017, p. 224) mentioned that:

different tribes from an area extending to Fowler’s Bay and the Gawler Ranges used to gather together for a period in every year. Once every five years they would meet at Port Lincoln, or ‘Rupara’ as they call it. Another year they would meet at Streaky Bay or Cowell.

‘Rupara’ probably refers to ‘R. M. S. Rupara’, a steamship built at Newcastle upon Tyne, “designed for the Spencer Gulf trade – Adelaide to Port Lincoln to Wallaroo” and wrecked in 1924 (SLSA, n.d.). ‘Rupara’ is said to be an ‘Aboriginal name’ for ‘round hill’ (SLSA, n.d.), but there is nothing to indicate that this was a Barngarla name for Port Lincoln. In fact, no *r*-initial words are recorded by Schürmann (e.g. 1844), nor are they found in Wirangu (Hercus, 1999), Kuyani (Hercus, 2006), Adnyamathanha (Schebeck, 2000), Nhukunu (Hercus, 1992) or Kurna (Teichelmann & Schürmann, 1840), except for some relatively recent loanwords. Even if ‘Rupara’ was used as a name for Port Lincoln by local Indigenous people in 1940, it is undoubtedly a somewhat recent post-invasion phenomenon.

Midgee, about 35 kilometres inland north of **Cowell** (Franklin Harbour Cowell), may point toward a name lost and found in post-invasion translation. Most likely this is *midyi* ‘name’. *Midyi* may have come about when non-Indigenous people asked Barngarla people about the ‘name’ of the place. Barngarla Yoorarri probably understood the English term ‘name’ and supplied a literal translation, possibly tongue-in-cheek. There are no data

that could disconfirm this outline, but a pre-invasion place name *midyi* ‘name’ seems unlikely based on other Thura-Yura place names.

While the above seem to be reasonably clear examples of post-invasion etymologies and naming, the following is more uncertain.

Tindale (1939b; Hercus & Simpson, 2001, p. 284) tagged ‘kat:a bidni’ with ‘place of clubbing’, near the south-eastern extension of **Marble Range**, north-north-west of Lake Wangary. ‘Katta bidni’ was recorded by Schürmann (1844, p. 17) as “Mr Brown’s sheep station” and is likely to be *gadha* (‘katta’) ‘club, grubbing stick; gun, musket’ -*bidni* ABL/ASSOC, i.e. ‘from/associated with (a) club’. Noting the metaphorical extension ‘gun’, how likely is it that the place name is post-invasion? On 3 March 1842, sheep farmer Mr Brown and his hired hand, Lovelock, were speared to death on the property by a group of Barngarla (Schurmann, 1987, Ch. 3). Dutton (1842) wrote that two ‘natives’ henceforth came to Port Lincoln and told Schürmann about the incident; namely that Brown was outnumbered, and:

having discharged his rifle without effect, he had used the butt end, one of the murderers having been taken away for dead. Mr Brown had evidently struggled for his life like a brave man; he was found lying on his back, with the stock and barrel of his rifle shattered to pieces, lying by his side. (Dutton, 1842, p. 3)

The gun could have been the basis for *Gadhabidni*. This is difficult to know from Schürmann (1844), although in his diaries, the name appears in the context of the attack (Schurmann, 1987, Ch. 3). However, Marble Range itself (not recorded by Schürmann) is ‘Kat: aman:a’ ‘long club’ in Tindale (1939b). An alternative etymology is *gadha* ‘club’ (etc.) -*ma* (derivational transitive suffix, as in Kyani, see Hercus, 2006) -*na* (past tense, widely used in Thura-Yura languages), lit. ‘clubbed’, or otherwise relating to some use of a club. Either way, both *gadha* names are probably pre-invasion, and part of a broader pattern, as they name both the range and the presumably associated area south-east of that.

In the next section, we discuss structural problems of Thura-Yura ‘water’ compound names, including historical lenition processes from an original *gabi* ‘water’ term.

7. *Gabi, gawi and gawoo*: ‘Water’ names

For a foraging economy in an arid environment, the importance of having mental maps of water sources can hardly be understated. The following discussion does not deal with all names of water sources or features, but of a subset wherein some form of ‘water’ is lexicalized.

Gawi is the most widespread ‘water’ term in Thura-Yura languages, whereas Schürmann (1844) listed *kauo* and “kapi = kauo, water” for Barngarla. It is difficult to evaluate the variant final vowel in *kauo* (gawoo) but, as will be seen below, (g)awi does occur in Barngarla place names. Only one possible *gawi* place name is recorded in Wirangu (Eyre, 1845, in Hercus, 1999, pp. 17, 29): “Yeer Comban Cowie” (**Ilcumban Well**, near the Head of Bight). All the other ‘water’ place names exhibit -(a)bi < *gabi*. In Wirangu, the whole *ga* syllable is usually lost after *u-* or *i-*final first compounds, whereas the final *u* of a bisyllabic first lexeme is elided before -*abi*; thus Korgabie *Gurgabi*¹² (*gurgu* +

gabi 'mulga water' (Hercus, 1999, p. 29). In trisyllabic *-u* ending words, the vowel seems to be retained, as in Hasting's place, or **Mumbulubi** '? Water' (Hercus, 1999).

In Thura-Yura names where *gabi/gawi* is the second compound member, the compounding predominantly is that of a noun (adjectives are much less common) followed by the *gabi/gawi* noun, and deletion of one syllable; typically, two disyllabic nouns become one trisyllabic compound. The final syllable of *gawi/gabi* (*-wi* or *-bi*) seems to be retained in all cases. Hercus' (1999) analysis outlined above differentiates between *-abi* and *-bi* endings. A simpler analysis, that *ga-*, the entire first syllable of *gabi/gawi* is deleted where *gabi/gawi* is the second compound member, works in most cases, although the first syllable nucleus (*a*) seems to be retained in names such as **Yudnapinna** (see below).

Gabi and *gawi* names do not exhibit clear regional clustering. From and including Wirangu, a belt of *-(a)bi* names stretch some distance into the southwestern and southern parts of the Eyre Peninsula. However, as pointed out by Hercus and Simpson (2001) there is **Mungerowie** "between Port Lincoln and Coffin Bay"; **Wolawae** "some 15 km northeast of Coffin Bay", and **Wipowie** "some 25 km north of Coffin Bay", which is analyzed as *wip'awi* 'ant water' identical to Adnyamathanha **Wepowie** "northeast of Parachilna" and to Nhukunu **Wepowie** "northeast of Booleroo Centre" (Hercus & Simpson, 2001, p. 286). There is also **Titjowie** "about fifteen kilometres south of the Lake Giles Conservation Park", and **Cowieninta**, "north of Tumby Bay on the east coast" (Hercus & Simpson, 2001, p. 285). With *gawi* as the first segment, **Cowieninta** is unusual, but there are other examples of this pattern (see below).

A cluster of *-abi* names (**Warrapie**, **Courtabie**, **Moyapie**, **Thulinippie** and **Chintabie**) are identified by Hercus and Simpson in the Venus Bay region, but "not further south" (Hercus & Simpson, 2001, p. 287). This appears to be correct, although more broadly the south-westernmost extension on the Peninsula of place names with some form of *gabi* is arguably about 130 km further south: **Kapinnie** (*gabi* 'water' *-nhl* name marker) south-east of Mount Hope, another unusual example of the 'water' segment appearing first.

To the north of these areas, *(g)awi* is reportedly used throughout the Thura-Yura languages. Hercus (1999, p. 17) writes "it seems that Wirangu, like Parnkalla and Narangga, had two alternative and closely related words, **gawi** and **gabi**, the latter being identical to the Western Desert form", although Hercus also holds that "**gawi** was the original Wirangu word, attested only in Eyre (1845), but parallel to Parnkalla and Kyani **gawi**" (p. 167). If *gawi* really was the original Wirangu word, this seems to imply that *gabi* would have been a more recent Western Desert loan, in keeping with the convergence of Kukata (Gugada) and Wirangu (see pp. 10–12). However, rather than assuming that virtually all Wirangu 'water' place names and most of the western Eyre Peninsula 'water' names are relatively modern, it seems at least just as likely that *gabi* was the older term in Wirangu, as in the rest of the Thura-Yura languages.

Gabi is retained in some place names outside Wirangu and (south)-western Barngarla. There are two Barngarla **Kar'abi** names – **Carappie** (from south-west of Kimba) and **Currabie** (near Mount Wedge) > *kara* 'grassy plain' *(g)abi* 'water' (Hercus & Potezny, 1999,

¹²As per original spelling, wherein **R** is retroflex and **r** is alveolar (tap).

p. 169, spellings as in the original) – and **Munna-abi** (Moonabie south-west of Whyalla) < *munna* ‘chest’ -(g)*abi* ‘water’ (Hercus & Potezny, 1999).

Coolgundibie Creek < *goolga* ‘kangaroo rat’ (prob. *Betongia lesueur* ‘Burrowing Bettong’) -*ndi* (unclear) -(g)*abi* ‘water’, is in the southern part of the Gawler Ranges region and just east of the Old Paney Scenic Route. Further north-east, and about 80 km north-west of Port Augusta, there is **Yudnapinna**, probably < *yutnhu/yudnhu* ‘belt, waist’ (Adnyamathanha data from Schebeck, 2000, p. 253) -(g)*abi* ‘water’ -*nha* name marker. The name may have described the southern part of Lake McFarlane. As indicated above, the name appears to be an example wherein only the first syllable onset of *gabi* is deleted. *Yoodhnnoo* is probably a northern Barngarla term shared with Adnyamathanha and cognate with Schürmann’s (1844, p. 89) ‘yutu’ ‘waist, loin’. *Yoodhnnoo* also appears in the Adnyamathanha name **Yudnamutana** (*yudnhu-matanha* ‘thick waist’, Schebeck, 2000, p. 253), north of the Gammon Ranges National Park. ‘Kokalla’ was listed as ‘hip’ by Schürmann (1844, p. 18), whereas the two ‘belt’ terms recorded by Schürmann are ‘kakkalle’ (Schürmann, 1844, p. 9) “belt or girdle made of the hair of the head and consisting of many separate strings”, and ‘kundindi’ (Schürmann, 1844, p. 20) “belt, girdle, made of the hair of the head or of opossum hair”.

Far away from Barngarla country, the Ngadjuri name **Kapunda** ‘water jump out’ (Waria-Read et al., 2009, p. 24), just north of the Barossa Valley, may be another Thura-Yura retention of the older ‘water’ term, as is probably **Coondappie**, south of Lake Frome.

Schebeck (2002, p. 149) discusses the Adnyamathanha place names **Mudhlapinha**, **Tharrapinha** and **Thudupinha**, ending in -*pi-nha*, as formed with -*api* ‘water’. He draws attention to **Api Yakunha**, “spring near Yadrina (Balcanoona)” (McEntee & McKenzie, 1992, p. 9, quoted in Schebeck, 2002, p. 149) as a supporting example, and suggests that “these names, which are unlikely to be borrowings, are archaic forms” (Schebeck, 2002, p. 149). From this, an Adnyamathanha process of *awi* < *abi* < *gabi* seems plausible. A similar lenition pattern arguably applies to other Thura-Yura languages (but not all), taking into account that only Adnyamathanha underwent an almost complete word-initial *k/g*-deletion.

Our suggestion is that, in broad terms, Nharangga, southwestern Barngarla and adjacent Wirangu exhibit *gabi* retention,¹³ whereas eastern and northern Barngarla generally conformed to the more broadly distributed Thura-Yura lenited form (g)*awi*. Example sentences and expressions in Schürmann (1844) show that *gawi* (‘kauo’) was the term generally used among the Barngarla Yoorarri he worked with in the 1840s, as there are no such examples with *gabi* (‘kapi’). It would appear that Barngarla and Wirangu each occupied two different stages of a *gabi* > *gawi* > *awi* continuum. Although *gawi* and *gabi* names criss-cross Barngarla country, an eastern Barngarla transition to *gawi* in everyday language seems to have been pretty much completed.¹⁴

¹³Sutton’s (1889, p. 5) Nharangga outline mentions only ‘cabbie’ (*gabi*) and writes that “this is cowie in the north”, i.e. *gawi*.

¹⁴The *g*-deletion process in the Barngarla recorded by Schürmann was partial, restricted to some environments. **Kimba** (said to derive from a word for ‘bushfire’) in the Gawler Ranges is a case in point: *imba* is ‘ash (following a bushfire)’ in Adnyamathanha (McEntee & McKenzie, 1992, p. 21), and *imbanna* (*imba-nha*) is ‘ashes’ in southern Barngarla (Schürmann, 1844, p. 6), which had a few hundred *g*-initial words but only one *gi*-initial. Thus, whereas an original *g*-preceding /i/ was retained in ‘Kimba’, it seems to have virtually faded out elsewhere.

The focus of the next section is locative markers in place names. Noting that the only recorded locative for Barngarla is *-nga* (Schürmann, 1844), there are nevertheless data indicating a *-la* LOC in Barngarla place names.

8. Locative *-la*?

Whereas *-ngV/-ngga* LOC is widespread in Thura-Yura languages, a *-la* allomorph is said to occur in Barngarla “on a few locationals”, in Kuyani on “proper nouns and pronouns” and as *-illa* in Kurna after trisyllabic roots (Simpson & Hercus, 2004, p. 192). However, in a previous analysis of Wirangu, Hercus (1999, p. 65, 76) discusses *-la* as an older locative form retained in one interrogative spatial pronoun (*indha-la*, ‘where’ -LOC) and in some pronouns, e.g. *nganha-la*, ‘me’ -LOC, the last-mentioned from Platt’s 1966 recording. Wirangu and Kuyani both exhibit some *-la* retention (Hercus, 1999, 2006), whereas the only recorded locative for Barngarla is *-nga* (Schürmann, 1844). Wirangu, Adnyamathanha, Kuyani and Nhukunu place names do not seem to have a *-la* locative but there is *Yongala* in Ngadjuri country, south-east of Peterborough. This is probably *yoonga-la* ‘big brother’ -LOC, with reference to comparative data: ‘yunga’ for ‘big brother’ is recorded in Nhukunu (Hercus, 1992), Kuyani (Hercus, 2006) and Barngarla (Schürmann, 1844). Noting that locative marking in general is infrequent on Thura-Yura place names, Barngarla may exhibit both *-nga* and *-la*, as seen below. One should add here that it is not clear to what extent this locative marking constitutes ‘inherent locatives’, i.e. “locational case marking in citation form” (McConvell, 2009, p. 361).

Coomunga, north-west of Port Lincoln, is probably *Goomanga*, *gooma* ‘one, alone’, *-nga* LOC, ‘Alone’, or ‘Alone Place’. Whereas a *-nga* INSTR/ERG marker cannot be completely ruled out here, Coomunga appears to be one of the very few, possibly the only instance of *-nga* in Barngarla place names.

The **Port Lincoln** site, *kallinyalla* (Schürmann, 1844) may at first sight be *Garlinhala*; *garli* ‘wild fig’ -*Na* (name marker¹⁵) -*la* LOC, ‘The Fig (Place)’. This is the simplest analysis, but a name marker preceding a locative in a place name seems unusual. Name markers are generally word-final, with the exception of the Spencer Gulf island **Moongaldanhanga**.¹⁶ In March 2019, Corey Theatre suggested *garli* ‘wild fig’ *gadnya/ganya* ‘rock’¹⁷ -*la* LOC, wherein ‘rock’ has been reduced to one *-nya* syllable, similar to that of the Kurna name **Tarndanyangga**, i.e. *tarnta* ‘male red kangaroo’ and *kanya* ‘rock’ -*ngga* LOC (Amery & Buckskin, 2014, p. 197, n. 3). ‘Fig Rock’ might be a close approximation, although Tindale (1939b) noted ‘haunt of seagulls’ below ‘kal:injala’. ‘Seagull’ is ‘kalliworra’ or ‘yao’ in Schürmann (1844), and *galinyala* could involve *gali*, a shortened form of ‘seagull’; *-nya* > *gadnya/ganya* and *-la* LOC; or alternatively, *gali* ‘seagull’ -*Na* name

¹⁵-*Na* covers what presumably was the *-nha/-nya* name marker.

¹⁶This is unlikely to be an “inherent locative” (see McConvell, 2009, p. 361). The name is listed as “Mungaltanna” by Schürmann (1844, p. 35) without locative; the *-nha* name marker *-nga* LOC sequence occurs in the sentence “wilyarri ikkatatina mungaltannanga, the souls live or reside in Mungaltanna”. If *-Na* is correct and applies to ‘kallinyalla’, the citation form may actually have been **Galinya**.

¹⁷In a recording made at Andamooka, South Australia in 1966, Moonie Davis’ pronunciation of ‘rock’ appears to exhibit some pre-stopping, i.e. *gadnya* (see Hercus, 1966, 00:31:50). Hercus repeats the lexeme without the slight pre-stopping spoken by Davis. Barngarla *gadnya* ‘rock’ would be consistent with Adnyamathanha *adnya* and Nhukunu *katnya*. Schürmann’s Barngarla material predominantly has *kanya*, with one exception, “yurkunya kadnya iron stone” (1844, p. 87). With this in mind, both options have been retained here.

marker and *-la* LOC. Regrettably, there seems to be no compelling reason to choose one etymology over the other.

Vanilla may be *wanyi* ‘girl’, also ‘brother’s daughter, man speaking’ (recorded in Wirangu, Hercus, 1999) *-la* LOC. Schürmann recorded no ‘niece’ term and no term that appears to match ‘Wanyi’ (with an alveolar nasal); so ‘niece’ reconstructed from comparative evidence seems a plausible option here.

Schürmann (1844) supplied ‘tallalla’ for “White’s Station”. No clear meaning is found in the Barngarla data, but Wirangu has *dharldu* ‘true’ and *dharl* ‘yes, all right, true’ and Kuyani has *thadla* ‘no more, not now’. Our suggestion is *Dhadlala*; *dhadla* ‘no more’ *-la* LOC, ‘No more (Place)’ or perhaps ‘Finished (Place)’.

No Barngarla explanation of **Whyalla** was recorded by Schürmann (1844) but in December 2011, Antikirrinya elder Ingkama Bobby Brown told Næssan that Barngarla elders in the 1970s had told him it meant ‘go around!’. This was something Barngarla Yoorarri told non-Indigenous arrivals in the old days to get them to avoid a women’s sacred site. The name as command may have been interpreted through a Western Desert lens by Ingkama Bobby, since *-la* is the imperative for *-la* class verbs in Antikirrinya, whereas *-ga* would be the equivalent Barngarla imperative marker for all verbs. Schürmann (1844) lists ‘menawaiata’ ‘to prevaricate’; this would be *mina* ‘eye’, *waya* ‘prevaricate’ and *-dha* PRS. *Waya* also occurs in ‘menawaiangarriti’, glossed as ‘to deny, prevaricate’; Adnyamathanha has *waya-* ‘to dodge, shy, stay clear’ (Schebeck, 2000), and Kuyani has *waya-* ‘to turn back (v intr)’ (Hercus, 2006). *Waya* in some sense of ‘avoidance’ *-la* LOC seems plausible here, an oblique reference to the cave by the shore as a place forbidden for men.

As previously mentioned, *-illa* occurs in Kurna following trisyllabic roots and *ngga* otherwise (Amery, 2002). The extent to which Barngarla LOC *-la/-nga* in placenames was similarly phonologically conditioned is not completely clear. However, if *-la* in the above examples does represent locative, both *-nga* and *-la* occur after disyllabic roots, and thus one could rule out syllable number conditioning here.

Either *-la* LOC was previously generally used in Barngarla and only retained in placenames at the time when Schürmann recorded his material; or, perhaps more likely, it always pertained to placenames, although this does not explain Coomunga above.

9. Concluding remarks

The philological-hermeneutic research reported in this article has taken place with the support of Barngarla Yoorarri within a context of ongoing language and place name reclamation. Similarly to Indigenous language reclamation elsewhere, place name research complements and supports attempts by Barngarla Yoorarri to increase the public visibility of the language and its connections with ancestral ownership and custodianship of regions and sites. These connections have been severely threatened following colonization, as Barngarla Ngawarla (‘Barngarla language’) had undergone considerable retraction by mid-last century.

Reinforcing Barngarla epistemology and traditional ecological knowledge, toponyms specify hunting, foraging and fishing places, geographical features, and sites embedded in oral history, some of which arguably date back several thousand years, i.e. concerning

megafauna and a post- or late-Pleistocene rise in Spencer Gulf Sea levels. Aspects of such oral history exhibit locally specific realizations of patterns shared with people outside the Thura-Yura groups, specifically with Ngarrindjeri of the Lower Murray region.

In keeping with the ecologically embedded nature of Barngarla spatial conceptualization, Barngarla band areas mostly appear to have been named with reference to floristic regions. Together with the matrilineal kinship system, these regions and associated subgroups are likely to have been very important for social organization and identification.

In the process of exploring Barngarla toponyms, the main problem with the analysis is the frequent lack of data triangulation and falsification opportunities. The main documenter of Barngarla, Lutheran minister Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann, did not provide any place name etymologies. His Barngarla dictionary (1844) is also restricted to southern Barngarla variants. The corpus nevertheless contains valuable information on mid-nineteenth-century spoken and transmitted Barngarla lects. As seen above, the extent to which post-invasion Barngarla Ngawarla place names (as opposed to borrowed names) are identifiable remains uncertain in several cases. This means that we cannot be certain about whether traditional naming practices using Barngarla Ngawarla were continued by Barngarla Yoorarri after invasion.

Available Thura-Yura data do provide insights into probable longitudinal language changes. ‘Water’ names seem to indicate a continuum of Thura-Yura lenition processes from the original *gabi* to *gawi* and *awi*, and a Barngarla Ngawarla locative form *-la* unrecorded by Schürmann seems plausible in the light of comparative data.

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Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are either openly available from referenced resources in the public domain, or available from the corresponding author, PN, upon reasonable request.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Appendices

Language name abbreviations are as follows: ADNY (Adnyamathanha); BARN (Barngarla); KUY (Kuyani); NGADJ (Ngadjuri); NHA (Nhawoo, spelt as ‘Nauo’/‘Nhawu’ in sources); NHUK (Nhukunu); P/Y (Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara); WIR (Wirangu).

Appendix 1: Barngarla regional and place names recorded in Schürmann (1844) and in Schürmann’s diary entries, 1840–1846, 1848–1853 (Schurmann, 1987)

Unless the spelling in Schürmann (1844) and Schürmann’s diary entries (Schurmann, 1987) are different, the place names in the third column (‘Schürmann’s glossing (1987)’) are the same as those in the second column (‘Schürmann’s glossing (1844)’).

Barngarla name	Schürmann’s glossing (1844)	Schürmann’s glossing (Schurmann, 1987)	Comments & BLAC spelling
battara	s. a species of gum tree, commonly called scrubby gum, being very crooked and unsightly		Badharra Yoorarri or Badharra people (<i>yoora</i> ‘man’ - <i>rri</i> PL). Schürmann (1844, p. 2, ‘battara yurrarri’): “the appellation of a native tribe, so called from their country abounding with the scrubby gum”. Tindale (1974, p. 214): group inhabiting “the coastal scrub gum tree (<i>Eucalyptus</i>) forest country”. Clendon (2018, p. 63): KUY cognate <i>patharra</i> ‘box tree’. Prob. Peppermint Box Tree (<i>Eucalyptus odorata</i>) or the Mallee Box (<i>Eucalyptus porosa</i>), Brandle (2010). Poss. related to ADNY <i>vudlura</i> ‘bed of a creek’. Schürmann did not write down the word for ‘cove’ but <i>boodloo</i> as some narrow landscape feature with water seems possible.
budlu	n. pr. Lipson’s Cove	Lipson Cove	Boodloo , ‘the Cove’.
lä ta/ läta	North East coast and country		Southern extension unclear, but probably extending north to Port Augusta. ? ladha .
kaityaba	n.pr. Stamford Hill		< <i>gaidya</i> ‘small, little, infant, child’ - <i>ba</i> (unclear, but poss. indicative function ‘the, the one’). Gaidyaba , ‘The Little One’.
kallinyala	the site of Port Lincoln		(a) < <i>gadli(dhi)</i> ‘to peel, skin’ - <i>nyala/-nyarla</i> (participle). Gadlinyala/ Gadlinyarla , ‘Skinning’. (b) < <i>garli</i> ‘wild fig’ - <i>Na</i> (name marker) - <i>la</i> (LOC). Garlinnya(la) , ‘Fig Place’. (c) Tindale (1939b): “Kalinjala ‘haunt of seagulls’”. (Schürmann, 1844: <i>yünyalla</i> ‘a species of bird’; <i>kalliworra</i> ‘seagull’). Gali ‘seagull’ - <i>Na</i> (name marker) - <i>la</i> (LOC). Galinya(la) , ‘seagull(s)’. (d) < <i>garli</i> ‘wild fig’ - <i>ka(d)nya</i> ‘stone, rock’ - <i>la</i> (LOC). Garlinyala ‘Fig Rock’.

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Barngarla name	Schürmann's glossing (1844)	Schürmann's glossing (Schurmann, 1987)	Comments & BLAC spelling
kananna	n. pr. Emu bottom		< <i>garna</i> , poss. <i>kunna</i> 'species of kangaroo' - <i>nha</i> (name marker). KUY <i>karnara</i> 'large male red kangaroo'. Garnanha , 'Kangaroo Place'.
kananna purre	Winter's Hill		< <i>garna-nha</i> (as above), <i>boori</i> (<i>purre</i> , <i>purri</i>) 'hill, mountain'. Garnanha Boori , 'Kangaroo Hill'.
kanyangkunu	Point Bolingbroke		< <i>gadnya/ganya</i> 'stone, rock' - <i>nggunu</i> (unanalyzable). Gadnyanggunu .
kappikarnka	n.pr. an Island in Spencer's Gulf, on which Midlalla is said to reside		< <i>gabi</i> 'water' (?) - <i>garnga</i> 'raised, lifted up'. Gabigarnga , 'Raised Waters'.
kardma	n. pr. Mount Gawler		? Gardma . Unclear.
kathai	North side hill		< <i>gadha</i> (<i>katta</i>) 'club, grubbing stick; gun, musket'. (?) Gadhahi , 'Club Hill/Digging Stick Hill'.
katta bidni	Mr Brown's sheep station	Kattabidni, Brown's station	<i>Gadha</i> (<i>katta</i>) 'club, grubbing stick; gun, musket' - <i>bidni</i> (ABL/ASSOC). Tindale (1939b) 'clubbing place'. Mr Brown and Lovelock killed there in March 1842 (Schurmann, 1987). Gadhabidni , 'from/associated with (a) club'/'Club(bing) Place'.
kayalla	North Western, and Northern country		Exact location unclear. Gayala , prob. cognate with Y/P <i>kayili</i> 'north'.
ketyelli	s. name of a place, Charlton		<i>G(a)idya-li</i> : <i>gaidya</i> 'small, little, infant, child'; Wirangu <i>gidya</i> 'child'. - <i>li</i> 'similar to, as' (KUY and ADNY, Clendon, 2018, p. 96). G(a)idyali , 'As a child'.
korti purre	Mount Hill		Goordi (<i>korti</i>) 'swan' - <i>boori</i> (<i>purre</i> , <i>purri</i>) 'hill, mountain'. NHU <i>kuti</i> 'swan', ADNY <i>uti</i> , KUY <i>kuti</i> , WIR <i>gudi</i> . Goordi Boori , 'Swan Hill'.
kulli purru	n.pr. the name of a hill called 'Cobler's friend'		<i>Goordli</i> (<i>kurdli</i>) 'she-oak' - <i>booroo</i> (<i>purro</i>) 'yet, still, applied to anything that remains in its original state, alive'. <i>Gurli</i> 'she-oak' in WIR; <i>gudli</i> in NGADJ. Goordli booroo , (?) 'Standing she-oak', Cobbler's Hill.
kunta	n.pr. name of a river	'about 30 English miles from here' [i.e. from Port Lincoln]	<i>Kunta</i> 'name of a third child, if female'. Goonda , 'Third Girl'.
kurilyelli	n.pr. Boston Island		<i>Goori-lya-li</i> : <i>Goori</i> (<i>kuri</i>) 'ring, circle, song, dance' (Schürmann); <i>guRi</i> (WIR) 'type of dance', 'circle'; <i>kuri</i> (NHUK, alveolar rhotic) 'corroboree'. - <i>lya</i> 'lots of' (BARN). - <i>li</i> 'similar to, like, as' (in KUY and ADNY, Clendon, 2018, p. 96). Goorilyali , 'Like many circles/songs/dances'.
kurroalla	n.pr. Mount Liverpool		<i>Gooroowala</i> (<i>kurroalla</i>) 'crown of the head, vertex'. Gooroowala , 'Head Top Hill'.
kuyabidni	Sleaford Mere		<i>Gooya</i> (<i>kuya</i>) 'fish' - <i>bidni</i> 'from, of' (ABL/ASSOC). Gooyabidni , 'Fish Place'.
mungaltanna	npr. of an Island in Spencer's Gulf; as wilyarri ikkatatana mungaltannanga, the souls live or reside in Mungaltanna.		Exact location unclear. < <i>moongaldidhi</i> (<i>mungaltiti</i>), 'v. to be satisfied' (e.g. 'full'); <i>moongalda</i> 'full'- <i>nha</i> (name

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Barngarla name	Schürmann's glossing (1844)	Schürmann's glossing (Schürmann, 1987)	Comments & BLAC spelling
ngalta warta	Tod River, so far as salt		marker), Moongaldanha , 'The Satisfied/Full one'. <i>Ngalda</i> (<i>ngalta</i>) 'burial site marked with stones' (KUY); <i>ngalda</i> (WIR) 'head band used for carrying things', prob. made of twisted grass. BARN <i>warda</i> [worta] 'stump, stem', also 'plain', cf. <i>wortanda</i> 'continent, terra firma'; <i>Warta-Pangkala</i> , 'Plains Pangkala' (Hercus, 1992, p. 1). Ngalda Warda , 'Head-band Flat'.
nundalla	n.pr. Thistle Island		? Nhoondala . Unclear.
pallanna	n.pr. of a place, the fountain	[Spring] 'about 15 miles west of Port Lincoln'	<i>Bala</i> (<i>palla</i>) 'level, or fertile'- <i>nha</i> (<i>nna</i>) (name marker). NGA: <i>bidhana</i> 'flat country (plain)'. Balanha , 'The Flat'.
pilla warta	Mr. Driver's station	Pillaworta, Mr Driver's station	<i>birlda</i> (<i>pilla</i>) 'possum', <i>warda</i> (<i>worta</i>) 'stump, stem', also 'plain', cf. <i>wortanda</i> 'continent, terra firma'; <i>Warta-Pangkala</i> , 'Plains Pangkala' (Hercus, 1992, p. 1). Birlda Warda , 'Possum Plain'. Near Tumby Bay.
punnu mudla	Kirton Point		<i>Boonoo</i> (<i>punnu</i>) 'lagoon' - <i>moodhla</i> (<i>mudla</i>) 'nose, the extreme point of anything, point of land'. Boonoo Moodhla , 'Lagoon Point'.
tallalla	n.pr. White's Station	Tallala, Stubb's station	Unclear. KUY <i>thadla</i> 'no more, not now' - <i>la</i> (LOC); Dhadlala , ? 'No more Place'.
tannanna	Sleaford Bay		Unclear. ? Dhananha (<i>dhana-nha</i> , - <i>nha</i> name marker).
taàúalla	n.pr. the swamp		No clear meaning from Thura-Yura data. Western Desert Yankunytjatjara has <i>tawal</i> 'crescent naitail wallaby' and <i>tawal-tawal</i> 'wild gooseberries'? Dhawala .
toliye	Biddle's Station	Toliye [location not specified]	? <i>Dhool(a)ilya</i> : <i>dhoolai(tolai)</i> 'penguin' - <i>lya</i> (poss. any great quantity/number, Clendon, 2018, p. 73). Dhoolilya , 'Lots of penguins'.
wailbi	South West country		Cf. ADNY <i>walypi</i> 'name of group, Blinman-Wilpena area'; <i>walypi varrpa</i> 'south wind'; <i>walypi wadi</i> 'south west wind' (Schebeck, 2000). NGADJ <i>wailpi muta</i> 'tribe to the south of Ngadjuri'. Walybi (no clear coordinates, but poss. including NHA region).
walga purre	Green Hill		<i>Walga</i> 'bag, protuberance, the protruding part of anything' - <i>boori</i> (<i>purre</i> , <i>purri</i>) 'hill, mountain'. Walga Boori , 'Top Hill'.
wambiri	s. seacoast		Regional term; distinguishing between inland people (Badharra Yoorarri) and coastal groups (Wambiri Yoorarri). Wambiri/Wambirri . Eastern Eyre Peninsula coast from around Port Lincoln north to Port Augusta.

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Barngarla name	Schürmann's glossing (1844)	Schürmann's glossing (Schurmann, 1987)	Comments & BLAC spelling
wara	Happy Valley		BARN warra 'out, far away, absent'. WIR Wara 'poor thing' ('waRa'); Wara (?) 'Poor Thing'. In the Port Lincoln area.
worrtatti	South East country		Warda 'stump, stem', also 'plain', cf. wortanda 'continent, terra firma'; Warta-Pangkala, 'Plains Pangkala' (Hercus, 1992, p. 1). Wardadi , poss. including Jussieu Peninsula and adjacent hinterlands of Port Lincoln area (northern extension uncertain), or areas south-east of Port Augusta.

Appendix 2: Place names exclusively in Schürmann's diary entries, 1840–1846, 1848–1853 (Schurmann, 1987)

Barngarla name	Schürmann's identification [our comments in square brackets]	Comments & BLAC spelling
Korlo	[Coffin Bay region]	? Goorloo . (kurlo) 'side of the body, that part of the body between the shoulder and the loin'. Poss. variant of 'Kulunyalla' below.
Kulunyalla	"on the other side of the sandhills" [Coffin Bay area].	(a) > goorloo (kurlo) 'side of the body, that part of the body between the shoulder and the loin', <i>-ga(d)nya</i> 'rock' <i>-la</i> LOC. Goorloonyala , 'Shoulder rock'. (b)? goordloo (kurdlu) 's. an animal of the marsupian [sic] species', cf. <i>gulu/gudlu</i> (WIR, Hercus, 1999) 'red kangaroo' (<i>Macropus rufus</i>) <i>-Ca</i> name marker <i>-la</i> LOC. Goordloonyala , 'The Kangaroo Place'.
Mallei	[exact location not specified]	? Mali 'mallee' (bush), ADNY. Poss. generic scrub country (low eucalypt cover). Mali , 'The Scrub'.
Mokomai/ Maimoko	[prob. Mokami Beach, south-west of Cape Driver, Dutton Bay area]	< <i>moko</i> 'knot, knob, button, any round and hard substance'; <i>mai</i> 'food' (in general, or vegetable). Moogoo mai/ Mai moogoo .
Muthabakka	Coffin Bay	<i>mutha</i> , poss. <i>mutya</i> 'ripe'; 'bakka' <i>baga</i> 'stunted, short'. Mudyabaga , 'Short and Ripe'.
Ngaralatta Pe-Pu-ngu	Coffin Bay area Mount Young [south-west of Whyalla, near Cowleds Landing]	Unclear. Unclear.
Punyunda	Coffin Bay area. Schürmann 1846/1879, p. 239: "Puyundu, the native name for Cape Sir Isaac"	? < <i>booyoo</i> (puyu) 'smoke'-(<i>n</i>) <i>dhV</i> PRS(?).? Booyoondhoo , 'Smoking'.
Turrudu	Coffin Bay area	? < <i>dhoorroo</i> (turu) 'thin' <i>-dhV</i> (tu) PRS, Dhoorroodhoo , 'Thinning Place'.
Wanelli	"about two miles from town" [i.e. Port Lincoln]	Also Wadnelli (in Index). (a)? Wanilla < <i>wanyi-li</i> 'girl' <i>-IV</i> LOC. Wanyili , 'Girl's place'. (b)? <i>warni</i> 'incision' <i>-IV</i> LOC. Warnili , 'Cut Place/The Cut'.
Wirrinyata	"past the green hills, in a north-westerly direction" [from Port Lincoln]	? < <i>wirri</i> 'shoulder'; also ADNY 'straight burrow; club; throwing stick'. Wirrinyada , 'The Shoulder'.
Yainkabidni	Driver's Bay [Arno Bay/Cape Driver area]	(a)? <i>yonga</i> (yunga) 'elder brother' <i>-bidni</i> ABL/ASSOC. 'From/of elder brother'. Yoongabidni , 'Big Brother'. (b)? <i>yangga</i> (ADNY) 'liver' <i>-bidni</i> ABL/ASSOC. Yanggabidni , 'Liver (place)'.

Appendix 3: Barngarla ‘water’ toponyms (Hercus & Potezny, 1999)

Hercus and Potezny’s (1999, pp. 168–169) analysis relies on Schürmann (1844) and comparative data. The second compound member is (k)awi or (k)api/(g)abi ‘water’ throughout. Two of the names – Manucowie and Yeltacowie – exhibit unusual k-retention in the second compound member, which the authors draw attention to. “Presumably Nauo” names (Hercus and Potezny, 1999, p. 169) are indicated below by means of **(NHA)**. Whereas clarifying notes have been added, all spellings are as in the original.

Place name	Analysis	Location
Belcherowie Well (Paltyarr’awi)	Paltyarr’awi (‘paltyarra’ ‘rat’). Rat Water.	“Near the Moralana Creek and close to the eastern edge of Lake Torrens”
Billabowie	‘Meaning unknown’	“Near Kyancutta”
Carappee (Kar’abi)	Kara’bi. Grassy Plain Water.	“South-west of Kimba”
Curraie (Kar’abi)	Kara’bi. Grassy Plain Water.	“Near Mt Wedge”
Etowie Creek (Irt’awi)	Irt’awi. Bird water. Note: the form ‘irt’ in Hercus and Potezny (1999) < ‘irta’ ‘bird generally’ (Schürmann (1844)).	“Near the eastern side of Lake Torrens; south of Moralana Creek”
Manucowie Wells (Manu-kawi)	Manu-kawi (‘manu’ ‘back’). Back Water.	“South-east of Bookaloo”
Marachowie Spring (Marrity’awi)	Marrity’awi (‘marritye’ ‘cat’). Cat Water.	“Near Yadlamalka, north- north-east of Port Augusta”
Moonabie (Munna-abi)	Munna-abi, ‘Chest Water’	South-west of Whyalla
(NHA) Mungerowie	Note: no analysis	“Between Port Lincoln and Coffin Bay”
Nonowie (Nanna + awi)	“This could perhaps be ‘Nanna + awi’, ‘Bad Water’”.	“Near Whyalla”
(NHA) Titjowie Dam	Note: no analysis	“About 15 km south-east of Lake Giles Conservation Park”
(NHA) Wepowie (Wip’awi)	Wip’awi (‘wipa’ ‘ant’). Ant Water. Note: comparative data also listed.	“Some 25 km north of Coffin Bay”
(NHA) Woolawae	Note: no analysis	“Some 15 km north-east of Coffin Bay”
Yeltacowie Creek/Lake (Yalta-kawi)	“Yalta-kawi, ‘Crack (in rocks) Water’, parallel in meaning to the Adnyamathanhaplace-name ‘italowie’”.	“Near the northernmost edge of Pernatty Lagoon”