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Joshua Nash

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## AN INSULAR TOPONYMY: PLACE-NAMING ON DUDLEY PENINSULA, KANGAROO ISLAND

JOSHUA NASH

Discipline of Linguistics, University of Adelaide SA 5005, Australia  
[joshua.nash@adelaide.edu.au](mailto:joshua.nash@adelaide.edu.au)

### Abstract

This paper uses the concept of pristine place-naming first put forward by Ross (1958: 333) to analyse two elements of the unofficial toponymy of Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island. Under this definition Ross considers a toponym pristine ‘if, and only if, we are cognisant of the actual act of its creation’. Ross’s definition is extended by distinguishing between embedded and unembedded toponyms. Topographical names, fishing ground names and a microtoponymic analysis of a specific section of Dudley Peninsula toponymy are presented. Data in the form of maps and linguistic and cultural analysis suggest the need to consider more wide-reaching cultural considerations when doing toponymic analysis in a remote community. The term ‘toponymic ethnography’ is put forward as a conceptual and theoretical tool for further studies in toponymy.

KEY WORDS: Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island; pristine toponymy; fishing ground names; toponymic ethnography

*Swannys Patch* is a ground named after my father, Alvin Swanson. It’s in the *Eastern Cove* area, about two kilometres off *American River*. You get to it when you fish at *Croftons Patch*. It was first found by my grandfather in 1890 and he showed my father who then showed me. Others call this same ground *Outside Willsons*. (Nils Swanson, Kangaroo Island, February 2009)

### Nils Swanson

*American River* fisherman Nils Swanson died in 2010. He took with him an amazing amount of Dudley Peninsula fishing history and knowledge. I only ever met Nils once briefly at his home in *American River* during my first field trip to Dudley Peninsula in February 2009. Matthew Flinders named the same place *Pelican Lagoon*, from the large sea birds that flock to this marshy lagoon area (Cooper 1953). An Irish man who was visiting the island in the 1970s named the same area *Big Duck* describing all the ‘big ducks’ he saw by the water (Kevin ‘Shorty’ Northcott personal communication, *Penneshaw*, 2009). This name is known to very few people, yet this name and this event are still remembered. Nicolas Baudin gave the name *Port Dache* in a similar way to his other appellations on Kangaroo Island in honour of French dignitaries (Fornasiero & West-Sooby 2011).

Nils was an islander, which means he was born on the island and spent most of his life on the island. He lived in *American River* all his life.<sup>1</sup> Nils remembered the fishing grounds in *Eastern Cove* off *American River* in the form of a detailed mental map of the sea. These names were a way he and his mates used to navigate themselves on the waters Nils’ father taught him to ply. From his home, one could see out to the boats on *American River* (Figure 1). Kangaroo Island fishermen today mainly use GPS to locate fishing grounds. Nils never did.

Nils’ remembrance of the location and history of fishing grounds was impressive. Names like *The Front Door*, *The Pig Sty Patch*, *The Left Chimney Patch* and *Linnetts* came to mind with ease when I queried him.

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<sup>1</sup> While *American River* is not a part of Dudley Peninsula geographically, I consider the fishing grounds in *Eastern Cove* a part of Dudley toponymy. This is because all fishing grounds in this area use landmarks such as the undulating area known as *The Tits* and an old burnt ruin known as *The Burnt Out House* on Dudley Peninsula in their marks.



**Figure 1.** *American River* looking south-east towards Dudley Peninsula (source: the author 2009).

He spent most of his life out on these waters and during our meeting he continually asked Shorty, the man who introduced me to Nils, if he had been out on the boat recently and what he had caught.

### **Pristine toponymy on Dudley Peninsula**

This paper presents results from a longitudinal study into unofficial toponymy on Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island involving informants like Nils Swanson. It forms part of a comparative study in pristine toponymy on Australian islands presented in full in Nash (2011). Maps of unofficial Dudley topographical names and fishing ground names, and linguistic and cultural analyses are given.<sup>2</sup> While every effort has been made to be as precise as possible with regards to plotting exact toponym locations, this was not the chief aim with producing placename maps. The focus of the cartography in this paper is on presenting the cultural and linguistic significance of Dudley Peninsula toponyms and how these are relevant to the writing of an area's 'toponymic ethnography'. 'Toponymic ethnography' and 'pristine toponymy' are put forward as exploratory concepts and tools to understand and interpret processes of toponymy as socio-historical, cultural and ecological interfaces between people, language and environment. These processes offer insight into interpreting language change and environmental adaptation in a remote and self-contained island environment in South Australia.

'Pristine' commonly means untouched or spotless. The use of the term 'pristine toponym' and 'pristine toponymy' in this paper extends the definition coined by Ross (1958: 333) that a toponym is pristine 'if, and only if, we are

<sup>2</sup> The Appendix, maps and analyses in this paper are based on Nash (2011). This document can be downloaded from <http://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/71015> The Dudley Peninsula toponymic data (n = 254) appear on pp. 386–399 and the analyses on pp. 190–219.

cognisant of the actual act of its creation'. Although Ross' research is not widely known in linguistics, it is the first mention of pristine toponymy in the literature. Zettersten (1969: 138) claims pristine placenames as a 'universal of island languages', especially of the Pacific, e.g. Pitcairn Island, and the South Atlantic, e.g. Tristan da Cunha. It is further claimed by Zettersten (1969: 125) that on islands the evolution of 'the names of incidents', or what can be considered 'unofficial toponyms', which are more 'embedded', i.e. more connected culturally and ecologically to the place where they came about, are useful in describing relationships between (British) colonial forces and place-naming behaviour:

A close comparison between names on Tristan and those on other islands explored by the British reveals that the system of forming natural descriptive names is entirely the same, while the names of incidents stand out as more imaginative on Tristan da Cunha and Pitcairn Island than on other islands which are or have been British.

I consider colonial toponyms unembedded, i.e. they are brought in from outside and introduced to a location. They are not embedded in the landscape, i.e. they have not evolved out of events or through people who have lived in the places attached to them. They are unembedded names which can be made a part of the toponymic lexicon of a specific location through usage. While such unembedded toponyms are also pristine, they do not express the same degree of connectedness to place and people as unofficial, colloquial and embedded toponyms.

In this paper, the use of the term 'pristine place-naming' is in reference to an island case study that was linguistically pristine prior to inhabitation, i.e. it was a 'linguistically uninhabited' island environment prior to European colonisation. Unlike Ross, I do not believe that being perfectly 'cognisant' of all toponym histories is a necessity for claiming pristine status. Most of the world's toponyms are opaque and not pristine or transparent. The Dudley Peninsula toponyms I present are to a large extent pristine because people know and can remember how they came into being and the circumstances of their naming. While Ross' research looked at the toponyms of Pitcairn Island, Zettersten applied this same pristine principle to the toponymy of Tristan da Cunha (1967, 1969, 1989a) and St Helena (1989b), both small volcanic islands in the South Atlantic Ocean. Because both of these island groups were uninhabited prior to European contact, their toponymic histories are similar to the placename history of Dudley Peninsula.

The study of Dudley Peninsula toponymy contributes to pristine place-naming because local people who were interviewed remember a large amount of placename history. Such informants and the data obtained from them are also well suited to analysis because the people and names they know have only been a part of the cultural landscape for a few generations (cf. Gaffin's 1993, 1996 research on the Faeroe Islands, which have been inhabited for more than 1500 years). What seems relevant is to establish whether the relationship between the processes of pristine toponymy and more idiosyncratic and grammatically varied toponymic forms can be attributed to patterns of unofficial toponymy (cf. Zuckermann 2010) and/or to the insular culture where these pristine toponyms exist.

Ross (1958: 337) also claims that by undertaking fieldwork in pristine toponymy, much progress can be made towards discovering the history of toponyms and their application to linguistics:

What is the value, if any, of Pitcairnese [pristine] toponymy to other toponymies? I think that these pristine names have a very definite value. The nature of this value may well be appreciated by a toponymist imagining himself trying to solve these Pitcairnese place-names *ab initio*, without any of the local information so carefully gathered by Moverley. It is not to be supposed that he would make much progress. But it must be remembered that we are, in fact, trying to solve many – perhaps most – toponymies in just this kind of way.

Ross never travelled to Pitcairn but in Ross and Moverley (1964: 170–88) he published the toponymic data of his late colleague, A.W. Moverley, who did do fieldwork on Pitcairn. Since this time little research has been conducted in pristine toponymy. Apart from Zettersten's secondary research and Mühlhäusler's (2002) preliminary primary analysis outlining the effectiveness of the pristine aspect of Norfolk Island place-naming to pristine toponymy, Nash (2011) was the first longitudinal study which documented and analysed primary data on pristine (island) toponymy. This paper is a summary of the Dudley Peninsula section of this study (see Nash 2011: 55–63, 190–219, 386–399). Dudley Peninsula is the eastern peninsula of Kangaroo Island (Figure 2):



**Figure 2.** Location map of Dudley Peninsula (source: Land Services Group 2011).

Dudley Peninsula was proclaimed in 1874 by Governor Musgrave of South Australia. Musgrave married a daughter of Dudley Field, a noted American jurist, which explains the giving of the name. Dudley Peninsula is approximately 650 square kilometres and has only one settlement, *Penneshaw*. *Penneshaw* is Kangaroo Island's main ferry port with a population of 300. The name *Penneshaw* is a blend derived from combining the names of Dr. F.W. Pennefather and Flora Louisa Shaw, two South Australian dignitaries. It was previously named *Hog Bay* by British explorer Matthew Flinders (Cockburn 1984), and *Anse des Sources* (*Cove of Springs*) by French explorer Nicolas Baudin (Cooper 1953).

The history of Dudley Peninsula comprises an important part of the history of Kangaroo Island. Taylor (2008) deals historically with issues of toponymic significance including the naming of places on the Dudley Peninsula in remembrance of Aboriginal women. The pre-European human history of Kangaroo Island (Lampert 1981) and its effect on the geography of Kangaroo Island (Bauer 1959) have been summarised in a comprehensive history of Kangaroo Island (Nunn 1989). Nunn (1989), Lampert (1981) and Taylor (2008) do not detail or address linguistic or cultural aspects of a detailed toponymic analysis of Dudley Peninsula or Kangaroo Island toponyms.

The name Kangaroo Island was given by Captain Matthew Flinders in March 1802, in response to the hordes of kangaroos Flinders and his crew witnessed when they first came across the island. The French explorer Nicolas Baudin, who circumnavigated the island four weeks after meeting Flinders at nearby Encounter Bay, named the island *Île Borda* in memory of Jean-Charles de Borda, the celebrated French navigator, mathematician and astronomer. Louis de Freycinet, Baudin's cartographer and surveyor, preferred the name *Île Decres*, after Admiral Denis Decrès (later duc Decrès), a French Minister of Marine and Colonies (Reynolds 2001). While *Kangaroo Island* became the official title, both English and French toponyms mark the Kangaroo Island coastline commemorating voyages led by Flinders and Baudin. The north coast bears names like *Cape Dutton*, *Point Marsden*, *Cape Torrens* and *Point Morrison* while on the south coast *Cape du Couëdic*, *Cape Kersaint*, *Vivonne Bay* and *D'Estrees Bay* honour the French expedition of Kangaroo Island. These French names are

some of the most notable French influences on toponymy in South Australia. French is not spoken on Dudley Peninsula nor has French been used in toponymy since Baudin's voyage, apart from the renaming of *American Beach Estate* to *Baudin Beach* in 2002.

When the first settlers of the South Australia Company arrived on Kangaroo Island in 1836, they were not the first people of European origin to set foot on the island. From 1802 there had been small communities of Europeans, Americans, and Aboriginal women who survived through trade with passing vessels (Clarke 1998). Trade exploration of the frontier of Kangaroo Island by piratical men and the evolution of what, after mainland South Australia was colonised, evolved into a unique Kangaroo Islander identity (Cawthorne 1926; Hosking 2003). This legacy is remembered in many Kangaroo Island toponyms, e.g. *Lashmar Lagoon*, *Point Morrison*, *Buick Hill*, *Sapphire town* and *Muston*. Other colourful names which reflect local history are *Bates House*, *Gap of the Red Noses* and *Crabby Jacks*, a small house near *Strawbridge Point*.

The Kurna name for Kangaroo Island, *Karta*, and the anthropological research conducted by Tindale in the 1920s (Tindale & Maegraith 1928) suggest there was some indigenous nomenclature that was either never recorded or has been forgotten or never passed on after European colonisation. While there are many Aboriginal toponyms and house names in use on Kangaroo Island today, these are all imported names. They are generally commemorative or erroneous names used in ways that are not common to indigenous toponymic practices (cf. Harvey 1999). Some examples are *Bundilla*, *Arltunga*, *Parndana*, *Allomba*, *Aluka*, *Karatta*, and *Churinga*. *The Aboriginal*, an area on the eastern side of *Hog Bay* in *Penneshaw* is so named because early on in the settlement a white settler, who lived with a native woman, was allocated a block of land there (Taylor 2008).

Apropos pristine toponymy, Dudley Peninsula is a part of a previously uninhabited island where the transparency of placenames is traceable. There are people on Dudley Peninsula who remember the locations and histories of toponyms and in some cases, who named them. For an island location like Kangaroo Island it is important to make a clear distinction between names which are bestowed by people on passing ships, like Flinders' and Baudin's names, and names that grow from locals who live in a place having the need to refer to and interact with a place. Without entering into a detailed discussion of toponym typologies, which is unnecessary for my analysis, the division between the two placename taxa 'topographical name' and 'fishing ground name' will suffice.

### Methods

The landscape of Dudley Peninsula is undulating, with few large hills besides *Bald Hill* on the northern coast and the hill leading down to *Penneshaw*. Much of the vegetation was cleared for the purposes of sheep and grain farming in the mid 1900s, especially after schemes were setup where returned servicemen and their families could take up tracts of land specifically for 'breaking the land' and setting up productive farm operations. These are the people I interviewed and most of these interviews took place on their family properties. During fieldtrips in February 2009 and December 2010, I conducted 15 interviews with 10 informants (nine male and one female informant) to collect topographical names and four fishermen<sup>3</sup> were interviewed over six interviews for collecting fishing ground names. All people interviewed had connections to farm work on the island and have owned family run properties and landholdings over several generations.

The techniques used to obtain topographical names in both locations involved questioning informants about the names, spelling, locations and histories of topographical names. Maps were used to guide answers and stimulate discussion. Fishing ground data were collected using a map and relying on their memories. Obtaining fishing ground name data was initially a sensitive issue. This was because the location of these names had traditionally been almost sacred insider knowledge that would not normally be shared with the community. After I had established a rapport with the group of fishermen whom I worked intensively with,

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<sup>3</sup> An obvious gender imbalance exists in the Dudley Peninsula fishing ground name data because women rarely have access to knowledge of the location of fishing grounds.

both onshore and offshore, I could freely ask questions about their fishing grounds. Common questions I posed to the fishermen were ‘what is the name of the fishing ground?’, ‘who named it and when was it named?’, ‘where is it and how do you locate it?’, and ‘what kinds of fish would you catch there? While the map presented in Figure 6 shows fishing ground locations, it is the cultural and ecological links to language and place that are integral to this paper rather than their exact locations.

A list of 233 Dudley Peninsula toponyms based on two interview-based fieldtrips in 2009 and 2010 was created. Of the 233 toponyms, 179 (78%) were topographical names and 56 (22%) fishing ground names (Table 1):

**Table 1.** Dudley toponymic data (source: the author 2011).

Feature type	N	Percentage
Topographical names	179	77
Fishing ground names	54	23
TOTAL	233	100

These data are tabulated and presented in Appendix 1. Historical information and sources are given. Gaps in the data are due to there being gaps in the knowledge of the Dudley Peninsula informants.

### Topographical name analysis

In order to explore the ecological and cultural embeddedness of Dudley Peninsula toponyms, I employ a four category typology:

1. Official names adhering to common colonial forms.
2. Official and unofficial descriptive names.
3. Unofficial names commemorating local people.
4. Unofficial and esoteric names remembering local events and people.

All the Dudley Peninsula names presented in this analysis are unofficial. Names such as *Felt Hat Corner*, *YMCA Corner* and *Big Prickly* appear on several maps (e.g. Department of Environment & Natural Resources 2008) due to the importance of these names and locations for state emergency services. That is, through broader knowledge of these names in the community, previously unofficial names have attained a degree of official status. These localised names are semantically and historically distinct from official Dudley names like *Moncrieff Bay*, *Cape St Albans* and *Cape Willoughby*, i.e. common colonial names commemorating British (male) dignitaries.

The following list accounts for the majority of linguistic aspects of Dudley topographical names:

- A single English (proper) noun is productive as a topographical name, e.g. *Vernon*, *Abyssinia*, *Coranda*.
- A single English noun is productive, e.g. *Crocodile*, *Possum*, *Sanctuary*.
- Numerals can form topographical names, e.g. *77*.
- Noun + (generic) noun is productive, e.g. *Ironstone* (monolexemes), *Pig Town*, *Pine Gap*, *Pot Park*, *Castle Hill*, *Punishment Paddock* (bilexemes).

- Adjective + noun is productive, e.g. *New Ground*, *Streaky Grass*.
- Definite article + noun is productive, e.g. *The Thicket*, *The Triangle*, *The Pinch*, *The Tits*, *The Aboriginal*.
- Definite article + adjective + noun is productive, e.g. *The Dry Islands*.
- Numeral + noun is productive in a topographical name, e.g. *Four Square*.
- Generic noun + proper noun is productive, e.g. *Lake Ayliffe*.
- Proper noun + possessive is productive, e.g. *Zellings*, *Daveys*, *Binnies*,
- Proper noun + possessive + generic noun is productive, e.g. *Myalls Beach*, *Clitchers Corner*.

While these 11 patterns account for most of the data, there are names and other processes that do not fall easily into typical patterns of English place-naming. Topographical names like *Nevermore*, *Little Porky*, *Little Prickly* and *Big Prickly* cannot be accounted for by the above grammatical patterns. However, what is clear from a rule such as adjective + adjective = topographical name for *Little Prickly* is that their form does not appear as a common English (colonial) topographical name, e.g. *Cape Willoughby*, an official name on Dudley Peninsula, as compared to *Four Square* or *Streaky Grass*.

One of the most productive processes of name creation in the data set is through adding the generic ‘paddock’ to a topographical name with a generic, e.g. *The Grain Shed Paddock*, *Freds Shed Paddock*, *The Pin Money Paddock*, *The Canyon Paddock*, *The Little Wonder Dam Paddock*. Structurally these names do, to an extent, adhere to English syntax but the semantics of these names, their location and their description of the landscape are strongly connected to the place where they evolved. Hence *The Little Wonder Dam Paddock* is so named because it is the paddock where *The Little Wonder Dam* is situated. *The Little Wonder Dam* is a small dam near *The Straight Stretch* on *Cape Willoughby Road*, so named because despite its small size and despite the harsh summers, it was a wonder it would never go dry. ‘Every man and his dog’ with a property on Dudley Peninsula has a *Dead Dog Gate*, so named because dogs commonly get caught on fences and perish in the sun, a *Yacca Paddock* is a place where yacca (*Xanthorrhoea tateana*) scrub used to be prior to clearing in the early 1900s, and a *Dead Horse Hill* or *Deadwood Hill*. While these names are grammatically predictable, their meanings and histories are associated with the changing lie of the land and people of Dudley Peninsula. In a similar way to Dominy’s (2001: 148) paddock names like ‘Big Stony Creek Paddock’, ‘Isolation Paddock’ and ‘Confusion Paddock’ in New Zealand’s high country, which have existed in family memory for generations, Dudley Peninsula paddock, dam and flat names also express an intricate relationship between people, names and the land. Dominy’s ‘High Face’ is reminiscent of *Big Prickly*; ‘Triangle Paddock’ is similar to *The Triangle*; ‘Dead Horse Paddock’ appears to be based on a pattern similar to *Dead Horse Hill*. It does not seem arbitrary that on one of Dominy’s paddock maps (2001: 152), the ‘House Paddock’ is also found on Shorty Northcott’s property on *Shortys Road*, the *Willson River Pty. Ltd.* property and probably on many other farms on Dudley Peninsula.

During fieldwork, several informants questioned why I would be interested in documenting names they considered common and even boring. Although *The House Paddock*, *The Straight Stretch*, *The Deviation*, *The Mad Mile* and *The Chimney* appear trivial, like Dominy, I argue that there is a lot of ‘wisdom’ (cf. Basso 1996) in these simple yet effective historical and spatial descriptors. Although transparent and pristine on account of their known histories, and because these names developed as a pragmatic measure to transform space into place through toponymy, *The Chimney* and many other Dudley toponyms are strongly embedded and situated in the minds of the people who know them.

Far from official, possibly due to their physical isolation, e.g. locked gates, fences and cattle grids, and their ability to remain locked within family sociolects of landscape, these pristine markers of language on landscape express what I summarise: ‘wisdom sits in places unconsciously’. This contrasts with Basso’s application of ‘wisdom’ to ‘wise’ people. Basso implies that through knowing a place intimately, which naturally will happen over time and through interaction within a particular location, a degree of wisdom or understanding of the connection to landscape and history through knowing places and names evolves which becomes a part of our identity. I claim this is a type of ‘toponymic identity’ or the action of realising our self interacting with the ‘lay of the land’ (cf. Dominy 2001; Gaffin 1996; Myers 1986). Within this location of



self through toponymy, which can be accessed and described in a ‘toponymic ethnography’, there is a humble, unconscious yet ‘wise’ self accessed. Topographical names are but one method of accessing this nucleus of history on Dudley Peninsula, which articulates this wisdom local residents possess in the names they know and continue to utilise effectively in connection to their ancestral properties.

This analysis of Dudley Peninsula topographical names agrees with Basso’s position. Where this analysis differs is that while Basso’s Apache informants are humble in light of their awareness of their (spiritual) position within the landscape they have named and whose names they have inherited, Dudley Peninsula residents do not seem to be conscious of the wisdom relating to the land, the place and the names they know. This is similar to Dominy’s mention of a large amount of hidden knowledge in the New Zealand high country being linked to reducing and solidifying vast geographical areas into concise and understandable cognitive and spatial descriptors of topography. Here Dudley topographical names are unique: Dominy turns a macro-naming situation into a micro-naming situation. Dudley micro toponyms create an expansive, encompassing and imaginative world out of a few names located in confined, yet congenial circumstances.

### Microtoponymic case study: *Vernon*

*Vernon* or *Vernon Station* is a farm name that appears as a house name on various maps (e.g. Department of Environment & Natural Resources 2008). The *Vernon* property is used primarily for producing grain and grazing sheep. While the method employed in analysing the toponymic and cultural landscape of *Vernon* is a replication of Dominy’s analysis of farm station toponymy, there is one key difference: the former considers the role of toponyms and identity creation in terms of creating a large world in a small place rather than Dominy’s approach of how high country farming folk in New Zealand construct a socioculturally contained and insular world in an expansive and large space. As a micro study, the results from *Vernon* can be compared to Dominy’s macro study to establish how similar patterns of linguistic and cultural adaptation are achieved in different ecologies. *Vernon*’s ‘island like’ nature within an island setting (Dudley Peninsula) on a larger island (Kangaroo Island) constructs a similar world to Wylie and Margolin’s (1981: 43-45) interpretation of the Faeroe Islanders’ construction of ‘a large world in a small place’. By adapting continental geographic concepts to an island world, the Faeroese world is enlarged. The analysis of Dudley Peninsula’s *Vernon* property is thus similar to Gaffin’s (1996) and Wylie and Margolin’s (1981) research on microtoponymy and the culturally constructed enlargement of the Faeroese world. However, while the fulcrum of the analysis is based specifically in names on farms and their existence as linguistic and toponymic ephemera, the focus is more similar to Dominy’s approach. A map of *Vernon* is given in Figure 3.

There are no notable grammatical anomalies in the names on the *Vernon* property that are not illustrated in other English Dudley forms (see list above). The names that have evolved on *Vernon* are historically relevant to a select few who have access to this information, and these names are likely to be linked directly to family- and work-related uses. Considered ‘boring’ by several of my Dudley Peninsula informants, these names become part of family sociolects inherited across generations, even when the meanings or histories of the names are forgotten.

There is a reasonable locational spread of names on the property. This suggests not only the importance of the role toponyms play as orientational artefacts, but as embedded linguistic relics and ephemera, loaded with meaning and encoded situationally and temporally in people’s minds in specific families. Names have come about through usage related to events, e.g. *The Meat Tree* was where the meat was hung, or as descriptors of the landscape culturally, e.g. *The Chimney*, or naturally, e.g. *The Spring Paddock*, so named because there was a natural spring in this area. These names become a part of the family’s speech and, to a restricted extent, a part of the insider community sociolect spoken by a very select number of families who know *Vernon*. What appears on *Vernon Station* is the possibility that names closer to the eastern boundary, e.g. *Spring Paddock*, *Bald Hill*, are known to the owners of the adjacent property. However, it is unlikely that names located centrally on the *Vernon* property, e.g. *Mill Paddock*, *Waterhole Paddock*, would be known to anyone outside the family who has not lived or worked on this property. Apart from emergency services needing to know large property names on Dudley Peninsula, there would be no need for them or other people to know these more specific names. That is, land boundaries are not only physical, in representing physical



Figure 3. Map of *Vernon* property (source: the author 2011).

obstacles to accessing knowledge and history of land use in this place, but also constitute symbolic space for a select group of individuals. This deficit of knowledge excludes those not privy to the naming systems employed by particular families, i.e. physical distance and possible emotional distance from a family's land-use workings can be paralleled to an equivalent toponymic ostracism, exclusion and barring. While this may not be negative, e.g. people are commonly not concerned about the names people give to other people's paddocks, the insider nature of these names is not in any way undermined. Furthermore, the fact that few people know paddock names on *Vernon Station* does not in any way undermine the fact that these names can be located and mapped by people currently living on these properties.

Accessing these insider toponyms involves finding a way in to the social space and the symbolic realm where the names exist. The names only exist in terms of their history and in terms of the people who know the intricacies of their meanings. By having access to extant knowledge via living people who remember toponymic history in places such as *Vernon*, pristine toponymy provides a link to a deeper 'imaginary' of the place and people (Appadurai 1986). While this imaginary exists behind the 'locked gate' to *Vernon* from *Cape Willoughby Road*, 'unlocking' the gate to these placenames, histories and relationships can be done through direct contact with people. By doing so, a fleeting (toponymic) world that generally never gets recorded is contacted.

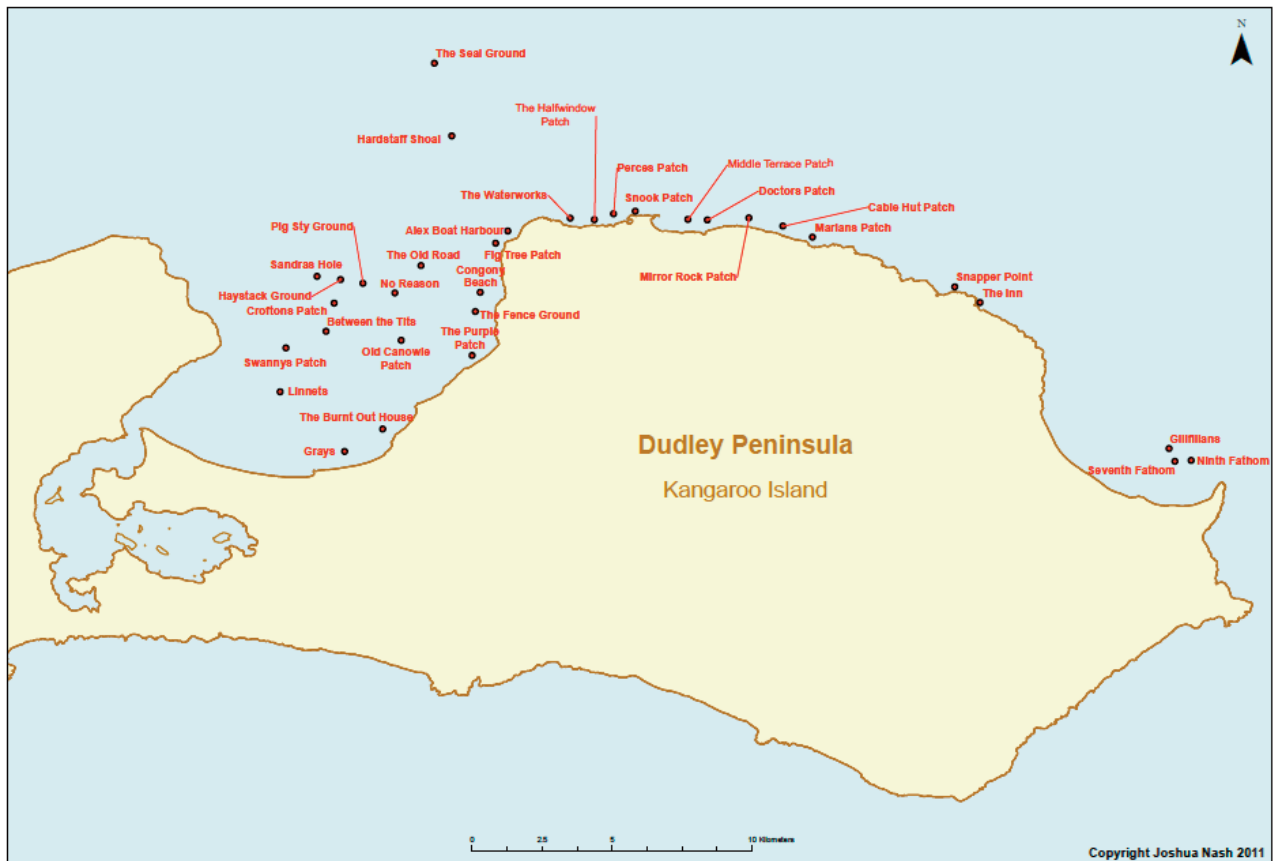
The unofficial quality of microtoponymy on *Vernon* is illustrated by the matter-of-fact, spontaneous and descriptive nature of such names. No one would ever have considered officialising names like *The Meat Tree* or *The Chimney Paddock* because there is no need. These names provide sentiment and an emotional connection to the land (cf. Kearney & Bradley 2009) through remembrance of people, events and things; *The Cable Hut* was located where the first telegraph cable ran ashore from the mainland sometime early last century. A so-called 'dad's army' used the hut as a bomb shelter during World War II when there was a perceived fear of a bomb threat. It never happened but the memories of these events are imprinted in the minds of the people who manage *Vernon*. The *Vernon* property's microtoponymy reads as a part reflecting the

perspective of the whole; it exists as a representative snapshot of more general place-naming processes that occur elsewhere on Dudley Peninsula.

### Fishing ground name analysis

*Swannys Patch* is a ground named after my father, Alvin Swanson. It's in the *Eastern Cove* area, about two kilometres off *American River*. You get to it when you fish at *Croftons Patch*. It was first found by my grandfather in 1890 and he showed my father who then showed me. Others call this same ground *Outside Willsons*. (Nils Swanson, Kangaroo Island, February 2009)

The 54 fishing ground names collected on Dudley Peninsula for this study were previously unrecorded. Fishing is an important livelihood and a defining cultural activity on Dudley Peninsula. However, modern GPS technology and a decreased need to depend on fishing for sustenance mean that many of these names are just a memory, which is quickly fading. Most of the fishing grounds around *Penneshaw* are located near the shore. A map showing some of the recorded Dudley Peninsula fishing grounds is presented in Figure 4.



**Figure 4.** Dudley Peninsula fishing grounds (source: the author 2011).

The following grammatical patterns emerge in the Dudley Peninsula fishing ground names:

- Proper noun + possessive (+ generic) is productive, e.g. *Ragseys*, *Grays*, *Gillfillans*, *Marians Patch*, *Sandra's Hole*, *T.O.'s Hole*.
- Noun + (generic noun) is productive, e.g. *Canowie Patch*, *Snapper Point*, *Snook Patch*.
- Definite article + (compound) noun is productive, e.g. *The Gums*, *The Poles*, *The Inn*, *The I.M.*, *The Waterworks*.
- Proper noun (+ noun) + generic noun is not common but still present in the data, e.g. *Alex Boat Harbour*, *Congony Beach*.
- Compound noun + generic noun is productive, e.g. *Mirror Rock Patch*, *Cable Hut Patch*.

These patterns account for most fishing ground forms although there are several anomalous forms. The form and semantics [+HUMOUR] of *No Reason* (there was no reason to put down a line to fish there) suggest that humour is an integral element in the naming of Dudley Peninsula fishing grounds. *The Purple Patch*, a name describing both the colour of the seaweed and a humorous allusion to the expression ‘you’ve done well, you’ve hit a purple patch’ deriving from Horace’s *De Rerum Natura* (Lucretius 1995), *The Old Faithful*, named because there were always fish there, and *Between the Tits* all prioritise the role of a semantic analysis based on the history of the name incorporated with structural analysis in order to arrive at a meaningful description. Some fishing grounds have more than one name, e.g. *The Fig Tree Patch* has the same location coordinates as *Alex Boat Harbour*, and *Swannys Patch*, named after Nils Swanson’s grandfather, is also known as *Outside Willsons*, remembering *T.O.s Hole*, named in memory of Thomas Owen Willson, which is located nearby.

The names can be classified into three categories: [± EPONYMOUS], [± DESCRIPTIVE] and [± ERRONEOUS] or [±HUMOUR]. Eponymous names include *Swannys Patch* and *Linnets*, descriptive names include *The Burnt Out House* and *The Halfwindow Patch*, and erroneous and two humorous yet simultaneously descriptive names are *Between the Tits* and *The Purple Patch*. Because these names have developed over time and have developed unofficially, they illustrate a high level of variability in form and the nature of their embedded cultural understanding. Anthroponymous fishing grounds, e.g. *Grays*, *Perces Patch*, were named by Dudley Peninsula fishers after Dudley Peninsula fishers. While their formal structure is similar to English forms, the semantic component of *Marians Patch*, a name not known outside the local Bates family, and *The Doctors Patch*, named by a local who took a doctor fishing once just off *Penneshaw*, are insider cultural artefacts linked to fishing places and the people who fished there.

### Cultural analysis of Dudley Peninsula toponyms

#### *Dudley Peninsula corner names*

There are many ‘corners’ that have been named on the small geographical area of Dudley Peninsula over only a few generations. This section speculates about certain possibilities that may have contributed to the amplified use of the generic ‘corner’ to describe elements of the toponymic landscape on Dudley Peninsula. Dudley Peninsula corner names accentuate how certain patterns of unofficial naming can become official through extensive local knowledge. The now official nature of several of these names is presented in road signs and on official maps (e.g. Department of Environment & Natural Resources 2008; Sealink Travel Group and Tourism Kangaroo Island 2006). The example of *Felt Hat Corner* is presented in Figure 5:



**Figure 5.** *Felt Hat Corner* (source: the author 2009).

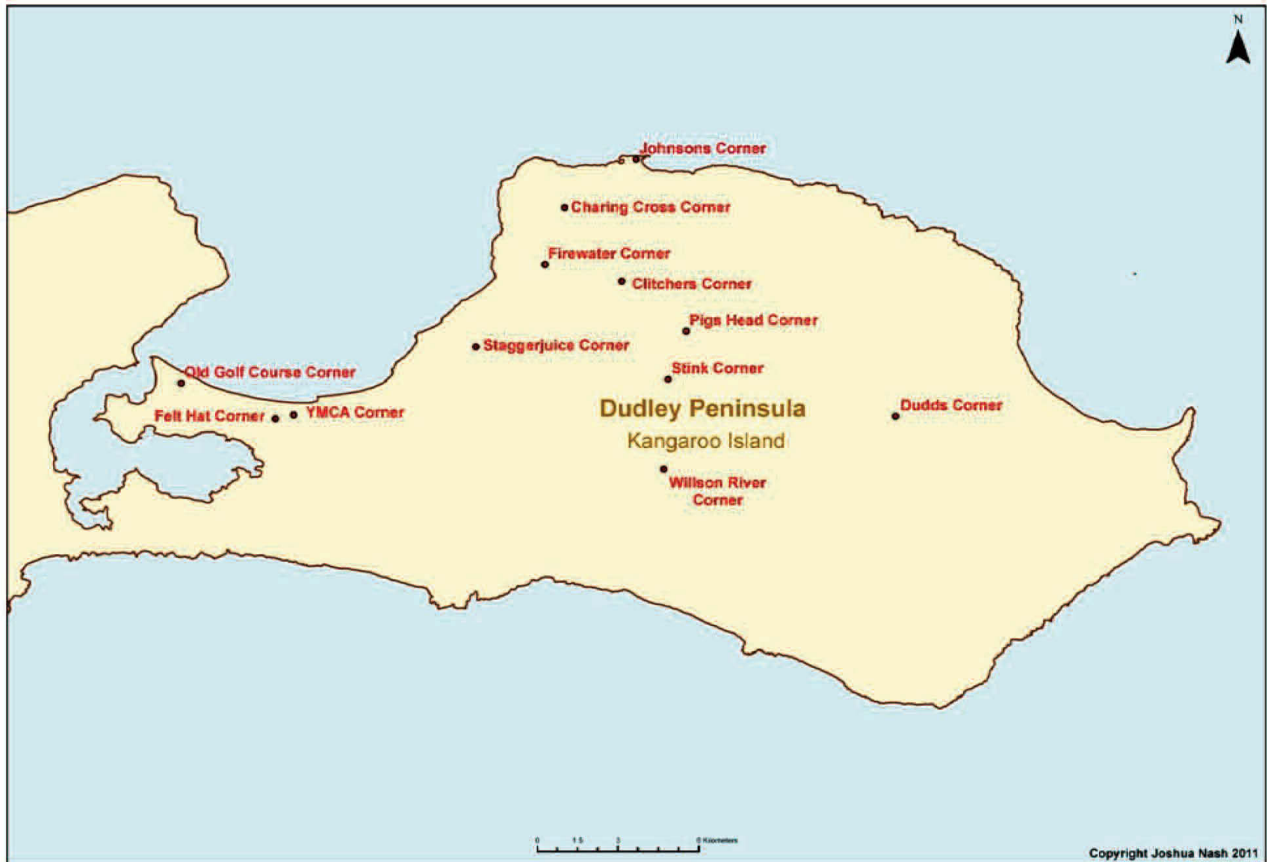


Figure 6. Map of Dudley Peninsula corner names (source: the author 2011).

These toponyms strongly depict two facets of naming:

1. Commemorative anthroponyms, e.g. *Clitchers Corner*, *Dudds Corner*.
2. Event-based names, e.g. *Stink Corner*, *Firewater Corner*.

Several Dudley Peninsula names are indeed humorous, e.g. *Stomach Ache Corner*, *Stink Corner*, and/or their name can be linked to a serendipitous historical event, *Staggerjuice Corner*. For example, *Felt Hat Corner* was named by local legend, Tiger Simpson. Tiger put his own felt hat on a stick when he was traversing this area so he would know his way back upon his return. The name became well-known, it ‘stuck’ and it has been officially signposted. To this day, when the felt hat that hangs on the sign falls off, passionate locals resituate this hat in its rightfully earned place (Figure 5). This is a case of a humorous legend becoming widely known, being represented in the linguistic landscape, and several local customs being upheld through its acceptance as a literal cultural signpost and metaphorical linguistic marker.

*Felt Hat Corner* is then much more than a story and a place. It is a toponym that provides access to an integral element in the self and identity of members of the Dudley Peninsula community (cf. Myers 1986). Its location on *Hog Bay Road* symbolises either leaving or entering Dudley Peninsula, a type of externalised linguistic representation of a much more intimate element of its cultural history. Other names, e.g. *Clitchers Corner* and *Johnsons Corner*, commemorate the people whose properties or work were situated near the named corners. These names have survived deaths and family moves and are still recollected by locals.

Colonisation through naming and bringing places into being spatially and historically (Carter 1988) has resulted in a ‘neighbourhood’ nexus (Ingold 2000) of corner names on Dudley Peninsula. The complex of corner names (Figure 6) and their implications for creating social networks (Milroy & Milroy 1985) substantiates social boundaries, i.e. those people who do not know the names are not considered a ‘local’ or part of the insider group. The social and orientational implications of these names are widespread:

- There are a lot of corner names. The absolute number can warrant another subcategory of Dudley unofficial toponymy.
- They are consistently and frequently used.
- They are encoded with historical and linguistic data relating to land use, i.e. ecological events to social transformations. These names are embedded in the topography and identity of Dudley Peninsula residents.

What makes Dudley Peninsula corner names unique is the speed with which some names have come about and their resilience to change, despite some of them becoming officialised.

#### *Toponyms associated with Tiger Simpson*

Stamford Wallace Simpson, or ‘Tiger Simpson’, was the grandson of a pre-colonial settler, Nat Thomas. A Gallipoli survivor, Tiger was known for his short temper, being a larger-than-life character and for competently playing the saw with a violin bow. Because he lived and worked in the area and put forward the exaggerated claim that he had ‘slept on every mile of road on the Dudley’, Tiger named several places and is remembered in other Dudley toponyms. The legend of Tiger Simpson, nomad, yarn spinner and character extraordinaire, provides a toponymic magnifying glass for unravelling the intricate place-naming nexus associated with one particular person, and how these names are still relevant to the people who live and work in these areas today.

Tiger, who died in the late 1950s, worked mainly as a sheep shearer and on the council roads. The main toponyms associated with Tiger Simpson are *Tigers Cairn* or *Tigers Knob*, a human made pile of rocks near *Pelican Lagoon*; *Tigers Tooth*, a large piece of land owned for many years by Tiger Simpson at *Cape Hart*; and *Tigers Hill*, a hill located on an area where Tiger used to live. Other names are *Possum(s) (Tail)*, the Neaves property named by Tiger, *Stomach Ache Corner*, named by Tiger and describing the state of the tree being stifled by wire on a corner on *Charing Cross Road*, and *Felt Hat Corner*, one of the most famous unofficial Dudley toponyms that has become well-known through usage. Tiger even named paths he used to traverse on the Willson and Neaves properties as *Anzac Highway* and *Gawler Place*, remembering the names of thoroughfares in Adelaide.

From the perspective of spatial history (Carter 1988), prior to their coming into being linguistically through being named, these places do not exist historically. It is through their being named and their eponymous and anthroponymous nature and association that *Tigers Cairn* and *Tigers Tail* exist in the unofficial (linguistic) landscape of Dudley Peninsula. The fact that *Tigers Cairn*, *Tigers Knob*, *Tigers Tail* and *Tigers Tooth* can all be expressed simply as *Tigers*, provided there is no ambiguity in the toponym being referred to, is evidence of the degree of spatial specificity in toponyms associated with Tiger Simpson, and how knowledge of these toponyms and their possible shortening is a type of semantic and toponymic colonisation. It is this linguistic and toponymic colonisation that is remembered within the realm of social relationships (Milroy 1980; Milroy & Milroy 1985). This remembrance is historically linked to the power hierarchies of the people who use and remember these names and who speak them into ‘being’ (Basso 1996). Remembering means claiming history; claiming history means power: those who know and use these names have access to them and maintain a degree of power over those who do not know the stories of Tiger. is Tiger Simpson remembered by the anthroponymous names but his humour and way of seeing the world ‘speaks’ through the stories associated with *Stomach Ache Corner* and *Felt Hat Corner*.

### **Conclusion**

In part related to geographical and cultural remoteness, Dudley Peninsula toponyms are ‘locked’ within the social space and language of family specific properties. These toponyms play a significant role in identity formations and connections to land and history through language. However, the local knowledge associated with these toponyms may be considered trivial by the very custodians of this knowledge and there does not appear to be an explicit or conscious reflection on the significance of these unofficial and lesser known

toponyms. There are structural elements that are optional in Dudley Peninsula fishing grounds names. These names generally refer to the people who found the places and people associated with topographical features used in marking the grounds through descriptive means or through humour. The locations of the fishing grounds hold an economic significance: they are located as close to the shore as possible and nearby easily accessed areas of ocean. There are also several fishing grounds with more than one name for the same ground. This reflects the extremely esoteric and unofficial nature of this aspect of toponymy and how the linguistic and cultural variability of these names reflects the fluid nature of these names.

The microtoponymic case study of *Vernon* illustrates the interconnection between geographical and symbolic space through toponymic knowledge. Locations on the *Vernon* property which are geographically more peripheral are more likely to be known and understood by neighbouring properties whereas the geographically central or 'hidden' toponyms are less likely to be known by anyone outside of *Vernon* property. The symbolic space of *Vernon* toponymy and its degree of accessibility to outsiders are contingent on the relative spatial and geographical location of the toponyms.

The cultural analysis of Dudley Peninsula toponyms accentuates the possibility that toponyms can become well-known through widespread local awareness of the names. However, the erection of placenames signs does not necessarily mean that there is a wider social knowledge of the history of these toponyms. This appropriation of space to form an insider cultural nexus of toponyms was expressed in a highly personal example of toponyms commemorating a well-known, local Dudley Peninsula personality, Tiger Simpson.

Methodologically, this paper illustrates the effectiveness of engaging with local people like Nils Swanson in a remote and insular community like Dudley Peninsula in order to obtain reliable cultural information associated with pertinent linguistic data. My interaction with Nils resulted in many of the fishing ground names I have presented and mapped. I have labelled the documentation of knowledge like Nils', the creation of maps from documenting such knowledge and analysing and commenting on the linguistic, cultural and ethnographic implications of such documented knowledge 'toponymic ethnography'. In this paper the unofficial (pristine) toponymy of Dudley Peninsula has been shown to be an effective illustration of how toponyms can, in part, be used to write a toponymic ethnography of a specific set of toponyms and a particular group of people. Moreover, considering and writing a toponymic ethnography can be used to illustrate how toponyms, as linguistic data, link people, place, past and present into an analysable interface. I define 'toponymic ethnography' as a method that considers both the linguistic structure and cultural significance of toponyms as a key to writing, describing and understanding linguistic, cultural and ecological relationships between people and place. Toponymic ethnography is put forward as a potentially important concept and theoretical tool for further studies in toponymy.

### Acknowledgements

I thank the two anonymous reviewers for substantial feedback on this paper. I am also grateful to my friends and contacts on Dudley Peninsula for their time and hospitality.

(For Appendix see pages 81–96)

**APPENDIX:**

**Dudley Peninsula Data**



Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
1. 77	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
2. Abyssinia	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
3. Ada's	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	South east of Harold's by approximately 1200 metres. Named after the boat 'Ada' a fishing boat which fished there a lot. The name just stuck. Named by locals. The 'Ada' came to KI in the 1920s.
4. Aerodrome	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
5. Alex Lookout	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	A little east of the bay is a place marked on the map "Alec's Lookout," so named after an old-time whaler, who used it to spy out what then constituted the harvest of the sea.
6. Alex Boat Harbour	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Round Kangaroo Head, snook patch. Go up and down the shore and stay in line with Alex Boat Harbour. Approximately 50-60 yards offshore.
7. Alex Lookout	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
8. Alex Boat Harbour	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
9. Anzac Highway	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Remembers and remembers Anzac Highway in Adelaide. The path Tiger Simpson would walk through the Neaves' property.
10. Arnold's Paddock	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
11. Balaclava	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
12. Bald Hill	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
13. Bald Hill Mining Company	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
14. Barley Hill	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
15. Barretts' Paddock	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
16. Bates Creek	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
17. Bates Landing	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
18. Baudin Beach	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
19. Between the Tits	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Off Kangaroo Head, used the space in between 'The Tits' (placename) in lining up the ground. Old name, has been used for ages.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
20. Big Flat	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
21. Big Prickly	Placename	Jeff Howard 24/2/09	Descriptive names for the areas of prickly scrubland on Jeff Howard's property.
22. Bill Brian's Walk	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
23. Bill's Hill	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
24. Binnies	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
25. Binnies Track	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
26. Black Point	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
27. Blue Gum Gully	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
28. Blue Gum Gully	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
29. Blue Gum Road	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
30. Boat House Beach	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	400 metres offshore. Line the boat house up with the Point itself. Locals named it, old name. Same mark as 'Alex Boat Harbour'
31. Bore Beach	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
32. Cable Hut	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
33. Cable Hut Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Approximately 50 yards offshore. Just off from where the old cable hut is, now fallen down, on Kym Trethewey's property.
34. Canowie Patch	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	To the northwest from Gander's by around 400 metres. Named after the boat which used to fish there a lot. Named back in the early 1900s by locals.
35. Cap Barren Geese Dam Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
36. Cape Barren Geese Dam	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
37. Cape St Albans	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
38. Carey's Gully	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
39. Carey's Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
40. Carey's Pit	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Named after Dennis Carey.
41. Castle Hill	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
42. Cemetery Hill	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
43. Chapman's	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
44. Charing Cross	Placename	Nash	
45. Charlie Bates Letterbox	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
46. Charlies Gulch	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
47. Chimney Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Location of where the Tapleys had their hut.
48. Clitcher's Corner	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
49. Clitchers Corner	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
50. Congony Beach	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Bruce Bates' family's ground.
51. Contemplation Seat	Placename	Beverley Willson 22/2/09	
52. Cooches	Placename	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	As in Cooch (properly Couch) grass. As you go up Binnie's Track it is on the left. Tom doesn't know why it's named such.
53. Coranda	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
54. Crabby Jacks	Placename	Beverley Willson 22/2/09	
55. Creek Bay	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
56. Creek Bay Farm	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
57. Crocodile	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	Also known as 'Page View' - Kym Trethewey 23/2/09.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
58. Crofton's Patch	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Crofton was a manager of one of the wineries. He had a boat called the 'Kelvin'. Nils and him went to Penneshaw one day and Crofton caught four dozen whiting. This ground is a little bit south of The Strawstack Ground. Crofton showed it to Nils' father, Alvin Swanson, who had named it Crofton's Patch. Named around 1920.
59. Cultivation Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
60. Cattlefish Bay	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
61. Davey's	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
62. Davey's Hill	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
63. Dead Dog Gate	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	Named after a dead that become stuck to a gate and died. Named before Hartley and Bev Willson ever owned the property.
64. Dead Horse Hill	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
65. Deadwood Hill	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
66. Deep Creek	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
67. Devils Kitchen	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
68. Doctors Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
69. Dry Islands	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
70. Dudd's Corner	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Named such as this paddock bordered the Dudd property. Although this paddock is on Shorty's property, the Dudds used to use this paddock more than Shorty and his family ever did.
71. Duffys	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
72. Dukes Flat	Placename	Beverley Willson 22/2/09	'Duke' was the name of a bullock. The bullock died in this area.
73. Dutton's Patch	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	From the Boat House Patch you head toward American River for 1200 metres. Named such in the 1930s as Harry Dutton owned and lived in the house at Rocky Point. The house was built for Judge Gordon. The house was built in two sections – the first part probably around 1900 and the second part in 1917.
74. East End	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	The eastern end of Hog Bay.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
75. East West Road	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
76. Edgars	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Edgar Davidson. He lived just out of Mt. Barker in Adelaide and he used to come over to KI for holidays and used to catch a lot of fish. He always wanted to fish in that area. His brother, Hugh Davidson, was the manager of Adelaide stationers E.S. Wigg and Son. Nils named it, around end/after WWII.
77. False Cape	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
78. Felt Hat Corner	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
79. Fig Tree Bay	Placename	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	Named such as there is an old fig tree in the bay in this location. Tom Clarke called it that, doesn't know whether others do so.
80. Fig Tree Patch	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	Same patch coordinates as 'Alex Boat Harbour', different name.
81. Firewater Corner	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
82. Four Square	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
83. Fred's Shed	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
84. Fred's Shed Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
85. Fred's Well	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
86. Ganders	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Gander Andersen, a Danish man, used to fish there a lot. Named by locals in the 1920s.
87. Get Wood Track	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
88. Gilfillan's	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	A whiting ground two km off Gilfillan's property at Antechamber Bay. There is an old house on the property and you're in this ground when you're a little distance off and the front door on the house is straight ahead. You drop the lines between the inside weedline and the outside weedline and there's approximately one km between them.
89. Grays	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	From The Front Door you go out 400 metres to the southwest and you come to Gray's. Named such as Gray, a butcher on KI, had built the house (house used in lining up The Burnt Out House). Old name.
90. Hannover Paddock	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
91. Hardstaff Shoal	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	No locals call it Hardstaff Shoal but is known locally as 'The Shoal' or 'The Lump'. Just off Kangaroo Head, a couple of miles out.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
92. Harold's	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	800 metres to the northwest from Gray's. Harold was the Christian name, Nils can't remember his surname. He lived at American River. Wasn't a very good fisherman but used to go fishing there a lot. Named around the 1930s by locals.
93. Haystack Ground	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	So named because the marks used to line up the ground used to include a haystack. Name is approximately 100 years old. Shown to Shorty by a professional fisherman from American River. Approximately one mile out. Also known as 'Strawstack Ground (The)'
94. Hog Bay Mining Company	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
95. Hog Bay River Corner	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
96. Hog River Willsons River Road Corner	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
97. Holland's	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
98. Hoppy's Farm	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
99. House Dam	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
100. House Paddock	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
101. Ironstone	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
102. Jacks Paddock	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	The paddock in which local legend Jack had his first time.
103. Johnsons Corner	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
104. Lake Ayliffe	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
105. Left Chimney Patch	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Uses the left side of The Burnt Out House as a mark.
106. Linnett's	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	400 metres to the south of Swanny's Patch. Johnny and Lionel Linnett used to fish there a lot. Named by locals as 'Linnett's' in the 1930s.
107. Little Porky	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
108. Little Prickly	Placename	Jeff Howard 24/2/09	Descriptive name for the areas of prickly scrubland on Jeff Howard's property.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
109. Little Wonder Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	This paddock had a small dam in the middle. It was a wonder because it never went dry.
110. Lubra Creek	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
111. Lyall's Beach	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
112. Manganese Mine	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
113. Marians Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	In the Cable Hut area, down from Alex Lookout Bruce Bates and Co. went down there one day and Marian, Daniel Sowerby's mother, caught a large number of whiting. Close in to the shore, named around 20 years ago.
114. Middle Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
115. Middle Paddock	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
116. Middle Terrace Patch	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	When you are fishing along Ironstone Point in Penneshaw and line up Middle Terrace (looking straight down the road) and know your distance out, then you know you are in the Middle Terrace Patch.
117. Mirror Rock	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
118. Mirror Rock Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Go along the coast until you get to Mirror Rock (Rex Buick named it Mirror Rock), drop anchor there and catch sweep. (Go a little further and then you come to Cable Hut Patch.)
119. Moan a Tree	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
120. Moffies Paddock	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
121. Mount Thisby Patch	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	Two trees make a 'V' and the trees come right on the corner of Mt. Thisby when you are about two kilometres out in the Eastern Cove area.
122. Mouth Beach	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
123. Mouth Flat Beach	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
124. Myalls Beach	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
125. Nat's Shed	Placename	Taylor 2008: 94	Named after Nat Thomas.
126. Neave's Gully	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Named such as the Neave family used to own this area.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
127. Neave's Gully Dam	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	The dam located in Neave's Gully.
128. Nevermore	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
129. New Country	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
130. New Ground	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
131. Ninth Fathom	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	A few metres from 'Seventh Fathom' obviously in deeper water, i.e. nine fathoms' depth.
132. No Reason	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Geoff Howard stopped the boat one day when he was out with Shorty, put the anchor down and people asked, "Why did you stop the boat?" and Geoff said, "No reason". Turns out to be one of the best fishing grounds in the area and it's still used today. Was named approximately 20 years ago. About half a mile out.
133. Off Congonys	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	Geoff Howard stopped the boat one day when he was out with Shorty, put the anchor down and people asked, "Why did you stop the boat?" and Geoff said, "No reason". Turns out to be one of the best fishing grounds in the area and it's still used today. Was named approximately 20 years ago. About half a mile out.
134. Old Aerodrome	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
135. Old Canowie Patch	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
136. Old Golf Course Corner	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
137. Perce's Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Named after Percival Clarke, Tom Clarke's father. Bruce Bates: "He was semi-retired and had a little cutter and every day he would row along to this particular location where he would like to fish. He would catch quite a lot of whiting and sell them to the guesthouses. He would always fish in the same place and it became known to us as Perce's Patch. Close inshore, not far out from Jack's Creek. It's a little bit to the west of the creek itself and it's not very far out. You line up two poles in front of the council office [now the Penneshaw Business Centre] and there's a power pole in front of one of those houses near Jack's Creek, the one Bill Howard used to live in. It's next door to the Williams'. And when that pole lined up with a certain window on her property then you knew you were in Perce's Patch.
138. Pig Sty Ground	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
139. Pig Town	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	Old local name for Penneshaw.
140. Pigs Head Corner	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	



Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
141. Pigs Waterhole	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
142. Pin Money Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
143. Pine Gap	Placename	Beverley Willson 22/2/09	
144. Pink Bay	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
145. Pirkey's	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	On the east end of The Lane in Penneshaw.
146. Point Coutts	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
147. Possum	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
148. Possum	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
149. Pot Park	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
150. Punishment Paddock	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
151. Ragsey's	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Named after nickname of local fisherman Gary Buick. Shorty doesn't know how the nickname came about. Gary found the ground first. It was named approximately 20 years ago.
152. Red Hill	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
153. Red House	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
154. Red House Bay	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	There is a tendency now to call it Kona Bay because of the shipwreck there. Also known locally as 'Kona Bay'.
155. Red House Bay	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
156. Richmond Park	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/	
157. Rifle Range Gully	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
158. Rock Villa	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
159. Rough Rock	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	

## AN INSULAR TOPONYMY: PLACE-NAMING ON DUDLEY PENINSULA, KANGAROO ISLAND

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
160. Sadlers	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
161. Salt Lagoon	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
162. Sanctuary	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
163. Sandhurst	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
164. Sandra's Hole	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Another ground in the same area as other fishing grounds. Shorty doesn't know why it is named such.
165. Sandy Creek Dam	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
166. Seventh Fathom	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Offshore from the Gillfillans' property in Antechamber Bay. Named such as that was the average depth of the water there. Approximately 400-600 metres offshore. Named by locals back in the 1920s.
167. Shag Rocks	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	A fishing ground Tom's brother named and used to use. About two km off Shag Rocks. Shag Rocks is about one km west of Kangaroo Head. Used to catch snook there.
168. Shepherd's Grave	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
169. Shepherds Hill	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
170. Shorty's Block	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
171. Snapper Patch	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Don't anchor at this point, just steam around in the two bays around Snapper Point and catch fish, not in one particular spot. Only 15-20 metres off the rocks. One steers the boat, the other fishes.
172. Snapper Point	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	Don't anchor at this point, just steam around in the two bays around Snapper Point and catch fish, not in one particular spot. Only 15-20 metres off the rocks. One steers the boat, the other fishes.
173. Snook Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Bruce Bates' family's snook patch. Location is possibly around the Kangaroo Head area.
174. Southern Cross Windmill	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
175. Spring Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
176. Staggerjuice Corner	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
177. Stink Bush Hill	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
178. Stink Corner	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
179. Stink Corner	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
180. Streaky Grass	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
181. Swanny's Patch	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Coming in from the south-west about half a mile from Crofton's Patch. It was first found by Nils' grandfather in 1890 and he showed Nils' father the mark who showed it to Nils. The locals named it. It is approximately 1.5 miles out. Ian (no surname given) calls it 'Outside Willson's'.
182. T.O.'s Hole	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Named after Thomas Owen Willson – He was a legend around the place. Shorty was with him and his son K.P. Willson in American Beach and for no reason T.O., who was quite a stern and demanding man and not a keen fisherman but just happened to be in the boat on that day, insisted that the anchor be dropped there and they started catching fish. Named approximately 30 years ago. A couple of miles offshore.
183. Tapleys Headquarters	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
184. The Aboriginal	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
185. The Aerodrome Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
186. The Airstrip Paddock	Placename	Jeff Howard 24/2/09	
187. The Basin	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
188. The Big Thicket	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
189. The Block	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
190. The Bullock Track	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
191. The Burnt Out House	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Used as a mark for several people's fishing grounds. In the American Beach area. It was Sander's house. He was a bloke who took up land in that area. He built a house and it used to just sit there with only walls and nothing else for donkey's years. Now people live in it. Approximately 400-500 yards out.
192. The Canyon	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
193. The Canyon Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
194. The Chimney	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
195. The Chimney Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
196. The Doctors Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Bruce Bates would go fishing in Doctor McCombe's boat. He still lives on the island today. Off Kangaroo Head there's a shoal, a well-known fishing ground, They were off there one day and they weren't getting any bites at all. Bruce then mentioned to the doctor and pointed toward some other fishers who were fishing away from them and said "I've heard they've found a good spot. It's generally not done to crowd in on another person's patch, but the doctor didn't mind. The other men took exception, left the area and went further out to sea and ever since then I've called that ground 'The Doctor's Patch'.
197. The Dry Islands	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
198. The Fence Ground	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	The fence divides two properties. You follow the fence out off Congony Beach, less than 1 km out. Tom named it.
199. The Fig Tree Patch	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	Same patch coordinates as 'Alex Boat Harbour', different name.
200. The Front Door	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Back 800 metres from The Gums you come to this patch. Named such as you use the front door of The Burnt Out House in the mark. Named a long time ago.
201. The Grain Shed Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
202. The Grave Hill	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
203. The Gums	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Northeast 400 metres from Edgar's. Named such as some big gum trees in by Deep Creek were used as marks. Named by locals around WWII.
204. The Halfwindow Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Start from Christmas Cove then go out till you are in line with the house on Walkers Road, the end house nearest the sea. From there get square on with the house and go straight out go out until you see half the window on the house. When you can only see half the window then you are in the right spot. Approximately 100 yards from the shore.
205. The Hospital	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	A locally known crayfish spot near Cape Hart

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
206. The I.M.	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09.	A ground a short way off from the Black Rock Cliffs, close inshore. There is a quartz rock, an outcrop about 4 to 5 metres large, which has 'IM' inscribed on it. The rock is set back into the cliff face. It was used to line up this fishing ground. You don't anchor, you just keep moving right up against the rocks. It is a very old fishing ground, named way before Shorty's time. Tom Clarke - 'I.M.' is not engraved in the rock but the rocks simply look like an 'I' and an 'M' from a distance.
207. The Inn	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
208. The Kipsie	Placename	Nash 22/2/09	
209. The Little Wonder Dam	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
210. The Looking Glass Rock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
211. The Meat Tree	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
212. The Mill	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
213. The Mill Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
214. The Miners Arms	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
215. The New Country	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
216. The Old Faithful	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	Straight off Batty's Ramp at Baudin Beach. Tom and Co. never failed to get whiting there so if they couldn't get a bite they would go there and they would always get something. Approximately two km out. Tom named it 'The Old Faithful' in the last five years. Before that they would just say, "We're going 'Off Batty's'".
217. The Old Road	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	There is a road that went up the hill just down towards Congony Beach way. The road is still there now. You would line up the Old Road and you would just go out and stay in line with the Old Road. Very old name.
218. The Pig Sty Patch	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Approximately 1.5 km out in the Congony Beach area which uses the pig sty as a mark.
219. The Pinch	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
220. The Poles	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Named such because two different lots of electricity poles come together when you are lining up the ground. Named approximately 20 years ago.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
221. The Possum Tail	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Bruce used to own this land. He sold the land but kept a small piece of it and called it The Possum's Tail.
222. The Purple Patch	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	A self explanatory name meaning "you've done well, you've struck a purple patch". Shorty named it approximately 20 years ago. A couple of hundred yards out.
223. The Reefs	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
224. The Right Chimney Patch	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Uses the left side of The Burnt Out House as a mark.
225. The Scrapers	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
226. The Seal Ground	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	So named because when Shorty was fishing in the area once and nearby there was a seal playing around with a whiting. Shorty and co. thought there must be more in that area so they dropped anchor and now it is a proven fishing ground.
227. The Spurs	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
228. The Spurs	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
229. The Straight Stretch	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
230. The Thicket	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Heavily vegetated area on the Willson property.
231. The Tits	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Descriptive name for the undulating terrain near YMCA Corner on the way to Kingscote.
232. The Triangle	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
233. The Waterworks	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	Directly out from the newly established desalination plant near the cemetery which was established around 10-12 years ago. A common fishing ground name, everybody knows it's that. Approximately 100 metres out.
234. The Wheat Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Now known as 'Grain Shed Paddock (The)'
235. Tigers Cairn	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	A place up behind YMCA Corner, up on a hill there is a human made pile of rocks which looks out to Pelican Lagoon and the South Coast. It was named by Tiger Simpson.
236. Tigers Hill	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
237. Tigers Tooth	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	A piece of land 300-400 acres large, owned by Tiger Simpson for many years at Cape Hart.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History (mostly verbatim quotations from informants)
238. Top Paddock	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
239. Tourmaline Mines	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
240. Turners	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
241. Turners Paddock	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
242. Unites Paddock	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
243. Vernon Station	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
244. Victory Paddock	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
245. Wab's Gully	Placename	Taylor 2008: 94	"In Wab's Gully a thin corridor of cleared land, a pass for bringing through sheep, divides two scrubby hills. Wab, we were told, had been an Aboriginal woman who had lived alone in the gully in the time of Nat Thomas."
246. Waterhole Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
247. White Point	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	
248. Windmill Bay	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
249. Woolshed Paddock	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
250. Yacca Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	It is one area of the Willson farm where they used to grow yacca.
251. Yacca Park	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
252. Yarloop Hill	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
253. YMCA Corner	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	

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