

**Insular Toponymies: Pristine place-naming on
Norfolk Island, South Pacific and Dudley Peninsula,
Kangaroo Island, South Australia**

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ABSTRACT

Placenames or toponyms have traditionally been of interest to history and philology but not linguistics. In toponymy there is a deficit of theory and methods which consider a linguistic analysis of toponym structure in parallel with a detailed cultural analysis of the socio-historical significance of toponyms and processes of toponymy. Documenting patterns of pristine toponymy, or toponymic knowledge in locations where people remember the locations and histories of people and events associated with extant placenames, seems a worthwhile endeavour in linguistically pristine island environments, i.e. islands that were uninhabited prior to colonisation. Conducting an empirical pristine toponymic study in isolated, small island situations, that have witnessed recent human habitation, involves analysing convenient and confined parameters.

In order to test the utility of pristine toponymy as a conceptual tool to observe relationships between toponyms as linguistic and cultural artefacts and their connection to specific pristine socio-historical and natural island ecologies, this study used the toponymy of Norfolk Island, South Pacific as a main study and compared it to the toponymy of Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island, South Australia. Applying linguistic and cultural levels of analysis, the official and unofficial toponymy of Norfolk Island was compared to the unofficial toponymy of Dudley Peninsula. The principal research question for the study sought to establish whether the difference between official and unofficial toponyms and processes of toponymy in the two island environments was a consequence of the degree of linguistic, cultural and ecological embeddedness of these toponyms and toponymic processes.

Norfolk Island (35 km²), 1700 kilometres east of Sydney, is an external territory of Australia. The linguistic situation on Norfolk is diglossic: English and Norf'k, the language of the descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers, are spoken. Both languages are present in the contemporary toponymic landscape on the island. Norfolk is a political and cultural anomaly in Australia and its anomalous nature is depicted in the unclear boundaries not only of its human history but also in the blurring of boundaries in its toponymic history as a result of distinct and changing patterns of land use and

differing linguistic and toponymic perceptions of the same geographical space. The presence of the Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island from 1867 to 1920 and patterns of modern toponymy after the construction of the Norfolk Island airport in 1942 have had a marked effect on the history of Norfolk toponymy.

Dudley Peninsula (650 km²), the eastern peninsula on Kangaroo Island, is less remote and less politically and culturally anomalous than Norfolk. Dudley Peninsula was selected as an island comparative study to contrast principles of unofficial toponymy with unofficial Norfolk Island toponymy. Employing a comparative method also made it possible to ascertain the extent to which a nexus and theory of pristine toponyms, transparent versus opaque toponymic histories and the official versus unofficial status of toponyms is practical across two island toponymic case studies.

The study employed an ecolinguistic fieldwork methodology to gain large amounts of primary data. A taxonomy of four data sets was employed. These were topographical names, house names, road names and fishing ground names. The primary Norfolk data were coupled with secondary archival data (n = 1068) and analysed using general grammatical analyses, tagmemic analysis of Norfolk toponyms, spatial orientation analysis, analysis of official and unofficial toponyms and cultural analysis. The unofficial Dudley Peninsula data (n = 254) of topographical names and fishing ground names were analysed using general grammatical analysis and cultural analysis. A microtoponymic case study for each island situation was also presented and subsequently compared.

The results of this study revealed that the differences between official and unofficial toponyms can be accounted for by the establishment of a typology involving four toponym categories: (1) common colonial forms, (2) official and unofficial descriptive toponyms, (3) unofficial names commemorating local people, and (4) unofficial and esoteric names commemorating local events and people. While these categories appear mutually exclusive and distinct, the blurring of boundaries between the effectiveness of these categories was extensive in Norfolk Island toponymy. The linguistic structure of unofficial Dudley Peninsula toponyms, while still governed by their cultural and ecological placement and existence, did not exhibit the same degree of boundary blurring and esoteric and

insider identity compared to Norfolk Island toponyms. It was claimed these differences in the linguistic, socio-cultural and ecological history in the two island environments were due to there being more political pressures for the Norfolk Island population on Norfolk Island to express their cultural allegiances to England and Tahiti through toponymy rather than through any marked connection to Australia as compared to Dudley Peninsula's clear political and social connection to (South) Australia. The overall results suggested a broad continuum within and between 'conscious toponymic wisdom' and 'unconscious toponymic wisdom', which is realised differently in the two locations with a tendency for more 'conscious toponymic wisdom' within Norfolk Island's toponymic ethos as compared to Dudley Peninsula's more 'unconscious toponymic wisdom'. It was argued that ecolinguistic fieldwork, which makes informants aware of the importance of their intricate knowledge of their local toponymy, is a productive means to foreground the significance of local, unofficial and esoteric toponymic knowledge by working with informants.

In conclusion, this thesis argued that the concept of *insular toponymies*, i.e. undertaking an analysis of toponyms based predominantly in the documentation and analysis of primary toponymic field data, was appropriate to describe the nature of toponymy in isolated and insular island societies. As a part of documenting the history of the Norf'k language, the importance of Norf'k toponyms to language contact studies, the role of islands to toponymic theory and the application of toponymy to island studies, this study used the term *toponymic ethnography* as a worthwhile concept within the parameters of this research and is arguably of benefit for future toponymic and cultural analyses.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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Signed:

Date: 10 June 2011

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1 INTRODUCTION

An island, if it is big enough, is no better than a continent. It has to be really quite small, before it *feels* like an island. (From D.H. Lawrence's *The Man Who Loved Islands* 1986: 1)

1.1 Bev McCoy

Bev McCoy lived on *Rooty Hill Road*, Norfolk Island with his wife Dos. This winding road leads down to the houses on *Quality Row* in *Kingston*. The houses there date from the convict times for which Norfolk Island is famous (Figure 1.1). On the way down *Rooty Hill Road*, or *House Road* in the Norfolk language, you pass *Queen Elizabeth Lookout*, commemorating the Queen's visit in 1974. It is known locally as *Lizzies Lookout* or simply *Lizzies*. From here you see down to Government House, the golf course, and out to Nepean Island, Phillip Island and the expanse of the South Pacific (Figure 1.2).



Figure 1.1 – Image of houses on *Quality Row* (source: the author 2007)



Figure 1.2 – Image from *Queen Elizabeth Lookout* or *Lizzies* looking south to Nepean Island and Phillip Island (source: the author 2007)

From *Lizzies* you can taste the salt in the warm air. I imagine what the Pitcairn Islanders saw when they arrived on Norfolk Island in 1856 and how they came to name their new home. Norfolk Island toponyms remember and commemorate the fishermen, the local characters, the places they used to fish and the stories they used to tell. Norfolk Island is indeed “a linguistic archipelago: a world of words” (Ronström 2009: 179).

On my second visit to the island in February 2008, I elicited several fishing ground names in informal interviews with the Norfolk Island population—commonly known names such as *Shallow Water*, *Horse and Cart* and *Ar Side fer Doddos*.¹ I was told these offshore locations were lined up using an intricate system of triangulation which no fisherman in their right mind would convey to the uninitiated, even less a researcher writing a toponymic ethnography of Norfolk Island. These fishing grounds form an offshore linguistic and cultural map depicting the Norfolk Islanders’ fishing culture and livelihood. These mental maps only exist in the memories of the outsider-weary fishermen. But how was I going to get fishermen like Bev McCoy to talk—the war veteran who survived four beach

¹ In this thesis, specific placenames, e.g. *Lizzies*, are italicised in the text. Broader region and island names, i.e. Norfolk Island, Nepean Island, Phillip Island, Dudley Peninsula and Kangaroo Island, are not italicised.

landings during World War II, and was notorious for his temper and reluctance to speak with outsiders?

Placenames or toponyms² are a distinct word class with particular morphological, syntactic and semantic properties (Burenhult 2008). They have traditionally been of interest to etymology, philology and semantics but not to linguistics. In order to position this study theoretically, there is a large amount of research in toponymy to consult. In the following brief literature review, I will restrict my discussion to reviewing sources that are similar to what will be attempted in this thesis.

Although more commonly confined to history, geography and cartography, various scholars such as Coates (2006) have demonstrated the conceptual role toponymy can play in linguistic theory and onomastics, the study of the origin of proper names. Among the scholars in onomastics and name theory, Carroll's (1983) development of a functional and practical theory of names and naming could be applied directly to toponymy, although Carroll never made this link. In summarising a large amount of research on toponym classification, Tent and Blair (2011) suggest a semantic typology of toponyms based on the motivation of the namer. This study offers a taxonomic checklist and inventory of toponyms. There is still a need to develop the scope of Australian and international toponymy beyond mere placename listing and expanding related folk etymologies. What such theoretical approaches do not do is provide any strong tools for categorising and analysing large amounts of toponymic data based on their linguistic and cultural significance. Beyond the suggestions of papers in volumes such as Hercus, Hodges and Simpson (2002) and Koch and Hercus (2009), where the focus is primarily on indigenous toponymy of mythical significance and salvage linguistics, it is not clear what direction an empirical study in toponymy should take.

Kostanski's (2009) systematisation of toponyms focuses primarily on the social construction of the meaning of toponyms but does not undertake any analysis into the relationship between formal

² The terms 'placename' and 'toponym' and 'place-naming' and 'toponymy' are used interchangeably in this thesis. I generally favour 'toponym' and 'toponymy'. I will use the term 'placename' (no space) rather than 'place name' (with space) or 'place-name' (with hyphen) unless quoting verbatim from written sources. This is because this form is the simplest representation of a concept central to this study and is common in the literature.

toponym forms and their cultural manifestations. Walsh's (2002) propositions about what linguistic levels a toponymic analysis should involve go some way in illustrating the efficacy of toponymy in linguistic description. Walsh's (2002: 46) 'placename package', his own "inelegant expression", sets up suggestions for classifying and analysing toponyms. However, his analysis is preliminary and based on an ad hoc framework that has yet to be developed and tested. In addition, while several of the toponymic typologies Tent and Blair (2011) review appear to be conceptually sound, no suggestion is given as to how one should go about a linguistic and, even less, a cultural analysis of these toponym categories. These typologies provide a method to divide up landscape features rather than a basis for cultural analysis.

While Basso (1996), Gaffin (1993) and Myers (1986) focus on the cultural and *ecological*³ relationships, e.g. indexicality and iconicity, between names, culture, people and place, they do not centre intently on the structural features of the toponyms they analyse and what toponym grammar explains about the cultures they are dealing with. For my purposes in this thesis, these descriptions are not exhaustive enough to provide a clear description of what toponyms are and how they relate to contextual linguistic and cultural features. In order to demonstrate the relationship between linguistics, toponyms and wider cultural and ecological contexts, e.g. domains of cultural indexicality and iconicity, as espoused by, for example, Basso (1996) and Myers (1986)—the most notable works in this field—this thesis will provide a systematic analysis of toponyms that is both replicable and falsifiable.

Semantic and cultural analyses of toponyms, such as Hunn's (1996) work on Sahaptin toponyms, emphasise key structural features but give limited application to considering toponyms as serious linguistic data that can be analysed. By focusing on the role semantic classification plays in toponymy, Hunn's (1996) analysis presents research directed at defining a 'natural' cognitive foundation and its applicability to language in use. Hunn found that Sahaptin toponyms commonly describe biological and topographic features, and many Sahaptin names describe features of land

³ Without entering into a detailed discussion about the multitude of definitions of 'ecology' and 'ecological' phenomena with respect to language and culture, in this thesis I use the term 'ecology' and 'ecological' to refer specifically to the relationship between linguistic and natural environments as discussed in Pennycook (2004) and Mühlhäusler and Peace (2006).

and water as if in motion. This suggests the utility of serious semantic analysis; they do little to systematise a theory of toponymy beyond sense-based features, i.e. Hunn does not consider indexical and iconic features of toponyms. The overemphasis on the comparison 'emic versus etic' and judgments about 'Western' versus Sahaptin worldviews based on his ethnosemantic methodology strongly questions the validity of Hunn's universalist claims. His assertion that there is a relationship between toponyms, population density and the 'magic number 500' (Hunn 1994), i.e. the practical limit of toponyms any individual may presume to know well, also bears little relevance to studying toponym grammar and its application to understanding the nexus of cultural movements associated with toponym grammar.

There is a distinct gap in linguistics of a method and theory in toponymy, which outlines how to conduct an empirical analysis of toponym structure using an appropriate taxonomy. In addition, the cultural and ecological implications of toponyms regarding their connection to the nexus of place and culture where they develop and exist should be analysed in parallel with this formal structural analysis. There is no merger of theoretical domains and a deficit of research in this area. Such an approach will not only emphasise the efficacy of the structural analysis but will also accentuate the multitude of cultural and ecological parameters that are necessary to consider when conducting an ecolinguistic analysis of toponyms. This is the primary approach I have taken in this study.

Using the example of my interaction with Bev McCoy, I illustrate what it means to do fieldwork on Norfolk Island. One evening while on the island in February 2008, my new mate Truck called me. No one, including Truck, knows why his nickname is Truck. He had seen Bev at the hospital during his dialysis session. Truck had told Bev that there was a researcher over from Adelaide who was studying toponyms and fishing ground names. Truck asked Bev to help me document this knowledge lest it all be lost once Bev was gone. "Send him down!" was Bev's response. I had a meeting at 10am the next day on *Rooty Hill Road*.

Walking into Bev and Dos' home felt like stepping back in time. A kettle boiled constantly on a wood-stoked stove. There were fishing artefacts all around, symbols of years spent on the sea.

From the back window, there was a magnificent view to *Collins Head* and the surrounding sea. It was here I first met Bev McCoy, 84-year-old Norfolk Islander. He asked, "What do you want to know?" "Well, I've got a few of these fishing grounds like *Horse and Cart* and *No Trouble* but I was hoping you could show me what other ones you know and how you locate them," I said. "Gut plenty more," said Bev, in his broad Norfolk English. For the next few hours, sitting with Bev, drinking cups of Dos' tea, I was led into an inner realm of Norfolk cultural history. It was obvious that this element of Norfolk Island's culture would largely be lost if I did not document Bev's knowledge and experience of his life on Norfolk and on the sea. But this was about more than just documenting toponyms. There was evidently a whole aspect of the linguistics and culture of fishing on Norfolk Island that was very important, not only to Norfolk toponymy, but also to Norfolk identity and language. I began to realise this was about creating, maintaining and writing about relationships between language, culture and environment. I was the map maker documenting the tenuous nature of oral versus written traditions, relations between public and private cultural heritage, and the contradictions of cultural knowledge transmission and loss. This esoteric knowledge is fragile and its vulnerability expresses the fluid nature of language, and its feeble attempt to inhabit and survive in a particular environment against the movement of time.

I maintained contact with Bev while I was away from Norfolk. He continued to give me information about the intricacies of the history and location of fishing grounds and the lesser-known terrestrial names. When I returned in March 2009 and greeted him at the Norfolk Island Hospital, the frequency of his dialysis treatment had increased. He could hardly lift his hand to shake mine. He did, however, produce a warm and knowing smile when he saw my face. The nurses in the room asked, "Who's yu?" when I entered. This question shows how people on Norfolk – island people – can be a little apprehensive about outsiders if they are not sure who they are. Bev's smile and acknowledgement was testament to his sharp mind and recall. Since I had been away from Norfolk, Bev's wife Dos had passed away. Bev passed away soon after on 24 June 2009. I had thought that the information and knowledge I had obtained from him was all I would ever get, but I would quickly discover that a small legend had been created by my interaction with Bev McCoy. Speaking with him was a token that demonstrated I was serious about what I was doing. It helped me garner greater respect within the community: more toponyms and more informants. "If Bev thought you were ok, you're ok with us," said some of my new mates.

1.2 Focus of the study

This thesis documents and maps official and unofficial toponyms and analyses toponym grammar on two island environments⁴ within the political confines of Australia, namely Norfolk Island, South Pacific⁵ and Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island, South Australia. In addition, toponymic processes and aspects of the making of place will be analysed culturally in both locations. This cultural analysis is the result of a deeper consideration of the relationships between the empirical linguistic analysis of the documented toponyms and their cultural and ecological significance.

The story of Bev McCoy, and how he represented an important human element in knowledge of the Norfolk language, is integral to the methodological and theoretical focus of this thesis. This is because toponyms come about through humans interacting with real and sometimes imaginary places. The hell and paradise metaphor (Clarke 1986; Mühlhäusler n.d. a) can be applied directly to Norfolk toponymy and possibly to any toponymy on 'pristine' or previously uninhabited islands (see Section 1.3). Having been given Norfolk Island from Queen Victoria (Hoare 1999), the new arrivals from Pitcairn Island in 1856, like Adam in the Garden of Eden, were given the mandate to convert the 'hell' of the events of the first two settlement periods (see Section 2.2) into a reinstated 'paradise'. This new paradise was distanced geographically and psychologically from their previous 'hoem', i.e. Pitcairn Island. Naming was one of the tools the new arrivals used and even considered their duty to create this paradise (Mühlhäusler & Stratford 1999). People name places for various purposes such as 'linguistic claiming' (Crocombe 1991), commemoration and colonisation (Carter 1988), to orientate themselves (Levinson 2008) and even to be humorous (Koopman 2009). Toponyms are used to include and exclude people linguistically (Azaryahu 1996) and have been shown to tell us a lot about a specific culture ethnographically (Hunn 1996).

⁴ The Norfolk Island Archipelago consists of Norfolk Island, Nepean Island and Phillip Island. Broadly I consider the Norfolk Island Archipelago as a singular island entity as well as treating its three islands separately.

⁵ While some sources (e.g. *Chambers Encyclopedic Dictionary* 1993), the majority of maps (e.g. Australian Surveying and Land Information Group 1992) place Norfolk Island within the South Pacific.

The rationale for choosing Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula is given in Section 1.6.2. To the best of my knowledge, a comparative study of the toponymy of two island locations has never been carried out in Australia or elsewhere in the world. Islands generally are useful because of their manageable parameters and brief and well-documented histories. By choosing isolated islands as the field of toponymic study, I raise the importance of 'islandness' (Baldacchino 2006) and 'isolation as a linguistic construct' (Montgomery 2000) and their relevance to toponymy. In order to carry out this analysis, the thesis emphasises the collection of primary data in the field after conducting secondary archival research using the ethnographic method as espoused by Saville-Troike (2003).⁶ Linguistic and cultural analysis of toponymy using ethnography as a method involves active participant observation through formal, informal and ad hoc interviews in people's homes and on their properties, at work and at sea in people's boats. Engaging in activities with the Norfolk Island community and to a lesser extent the Dudley Peninsula community such as chopping wood, gardening and clearing land also facilitated a large amount of data collection and community acceptance.

1.3 Pristine place-naming

'Pristine' commonly means untouched or spotless. The use of the term 'pristine toponyms' in this thesis extends the definition coined by Ross (1958: 333) that a toponym is pristine "if, and only if, we are 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 and the South Atlantic such as those of Pitcairn Island and Tristan da Cunha. In a critique of Zettersten's claim of universality, Cassidy (1974: 177) comments; "these traits are so broad and general as to give the word 'universals' no real significance. Nor are they limited to island languages". In addition to a discussion of island universals and pristine toponymy, Zettersten (1969: 125) argues that on islands the evolution of 'the names of incidents', or what I consider in this thesis as 'unofficial

⁶ To emphasise this distinction, I consider 'primary' data and sources information acquired through interviews and 'secondary' data and sources published and unpublished written and archival material.

toponyms', which are more 'embedded' culturally and ecologically in 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 exonymic, i.e. they are brought in from outside and introduced to an ecology. They are not embedded in the landscape, nor have they 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 pristine, they do not express the same degree of connectedness to place and people as unofficial, colloquial and embedded toponyms. These contrasts – official versus unofficial, embedded versus unembedded and to a lesser extent pristine versus non-pristine – form a large part of the theoretical argument in this thesis.

In this study, 'pristine place-naming' refers to island case studies that were linguistically pristine prior to inhabitation, i.e. they were 'linguistically uninhabited' islands 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. Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponyms are to a large extent pristine because people know and can remember how they came into being and who named them. 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 very similar to Pitcairn, Norfolk and Dudley Peninsula. Although not explicit about the pristine nature of the toponymy of the Faeroe Islands,

possibly due to its longer human history, Gaffin (1993, 1994, 1996) outlines a history of the toponymy on these remote islands that is relevant to pristine place-naming studies.

Zettersten (1969) breaks down the Tristan lexicon into 13 semantic divisions of which toponyms are an integral element (Ekwall's 2003 study outlines these categories, e.g. 'bays, beaches, caves' and 'points, headlands, capes' and a more specific list with 24 categories). These toponym categories show a large amount of unofficial and insider toponyms, e.g. *The-Gulch-came-down-the-west-side-of-the-Ridge-where-the-goat-jump-off*, *The Hill-with-a-cone-in-it-on-the-east-side-of-the-gulch-come-down-by-the-Ridge-where-the-goat-jump-off* and *Shirt-tail Gutter*, a place which remembers a gulch where a gentleman's shirt-tail once caught fire. Ross and Moverley (1964: 170–188) list the Pitcairn toponyms *Bang-on-Iron*, *Bitey Bitey*, *Break Im Hip*, *John Catch a Cow*, *Where Reynolds Cut The Firewood* and *Oh Dear*. Some Norfolk names are *Johnny Nigger Bun Et*, *Side Suff Fly Pass*, *Ar Yes!* and *No Trouble*. Dudley Peninsula toponyms are just as humorous: *Between the Tits*, *No Reason* and *Moan a' Tree*. These names are not only idiosyncratic; they are absurd. They could possibly break records for the world's longest or most peculiar placenames and their form is not typical of toponyms at all. These unofficial names cling to landscape and reveal the shaky grip language and knowledge have on spaces and how humans strive against all odds to describe and work the environments they inhabit. Maybe some of these names would even have made Bev McCoy laugh.

This research on pristine toponyms and the process of describing relationships between unofficial place-naming demonstrates that isolated island environments, which have not had previous toponymic inhabitation, are ideal case studies for observing processes of pristine toponymy. The study of Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymy contributes to pristine place-naming because people remember a large amount of placename history. This is a strong methodological advantage when attempting to document large amounts of primary data. These locations are also effective because Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula have been inhabited for a relatively short period (cf. Gaffin's 1993 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 isolated and insular nature of island environments and insular cultures.

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 [sic] 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 [sic] 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 he published the toponymic data in Ross and Moverley (1964: 170–88) 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 (2002a) preliminary primary analysis outlining the efficacy of the pristine aspect of Norfolk place-naming to pristine toponymy, this is the first study to deal with large amounts of primary data on pristine (island) toponymy.

1.4 Research questions

The conceptual framework offered by pristine toponyms allows an analysis of, for example, opaque and transparent placename histories and forms, and observing the relationship between official (or colonial toponyms) and unofficial placenames. This thesis takes an ecolinguistic approach, employing ethnography as a method for collecting data in two island environments. Because a significant number of parameters need to be considered in an ecolinguistic approach, formal linguistic analysis of official and unofficial toponyms will be used in parallel with a detailed cultural

analysis using modern analytical tools in anthropology and ethnography. The principal research question for this thesis is:

1. Is the difference between official and unofficial toponyms a consequence of the degree of linguistic, cultural and ecological embeddedness of these toponyms and processes of toponymy?

The secondary research questions are:

2. What methods are appropriate for obtaining primary toponymic data in insular environments?
3. What is the socio-historical significance of individuals and other ecological factors in toponymy?
4. Is toponymic knowledge primarily structural or primarily cultural?
5. To what extent are there differences between toponyms and patterns of toponymy in the two island environments and how can this be accounted for?

There is a clear distinction made in this thesis between the place of Norfolk Island ('Norfolk'), and the Norfolk Island language ('Norf'k'). That is, 'Norfolk toponymy' refers both to English and Norf'k toponyms while 'Norf'k toponymy' refers specifically to toponyms in the Norf'k language.

1.4.1 Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives and sections of the thesis in which they appear are as follows:

1. To present a system for dividing up toponymic data, e.g. topographical name, house name, fishing ground name (Chapter Four).

2. To analyse in detail aspects of Norfolk toponymic grammar and to contrast these aspects with English place-naming patterns on Norfolk Island (Chapter Five).
3. To document the history of official and unofficial toponymy on Norfolk Island (Chapter Five, Appendix A) and unofficial toponymy on Dudley Peninsula (Chapter Six, Appendix B).
4. To produce maps depicting topographical names, fishing ground names, house names and road names on Norfolk Island (Chapter Five) and topographical names and fishing ground names on Dudley Peninsula (Chapter Six).
5. To compare and contrast unofficial toponymy of Norfolk Island and the unofficial toponymy of Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island (Chapter Seven).
6. To demonstrate how an analysis of toponyms can (1) further ecolinguistic theory, and (2) how a study of pristine (island) toponymy contributes to toponymic theory (Chapter Seven and elsewhere throughout the thesis).

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 thesis was on presenting the cultural and linguistic significance of toponyms and how these relate to a description of place in general rather than precise location.

1.5 Epistemological background to the study

Toponymy has generally been a focus of philology but not linguistics. Because toponymy involves dealing with the outside world and considers relations external to the language system, it has not been a central concern to linguistics. While this thesis operationalises language, and while wider debates into the philosophy of language will not be considered, it is still necessary to explore theories about what language is in order to situate this study epistemologically. There are other debates in the philosophy of language that relate to sense and reference relations in naming (e.g. Frege 1948; McDowell 1977) that will also not be considered. The main philosophical perspective

critiqued in this thesis is Saussure's (1983). As a theorist, Saussure's work is pivotal to a discussion of modern linguistic theory.⁷

Saussure's ideas propose that the relationship between names and what they represent is arbitrary. This perspective does not consider system-external relationships. It is these relationships that drive a large part of the analysis in Chapters Five and Six. Toponyms and the process of naming are therefore motivated. Because of their resilience, toponyms are often the only surviving linguistic record of a language that is no longer spoken (e.g. Meyer 1843 gives a description of the Ramindjeri language of South Australia of which much of the extant lexicon are toponyms). Because they are less susceptible to external influence than other elements of a language's lexicon, such as botanical names, names for objects and names for people (Swadesh 1959), there is a greater retention of toponyms in many languages (Gomila & Gelabert 2005). A study of toponyms and more specifically pragmatic aspects of toponyms as a key insight to linguistic change and linguistic adaptation demonstrate the ability of this element of the lexicon to withstand historical change and land use change and solidify local memory into reliable linguistic data (e.g. Coates 1993, 2006). Toponymy also shows how 'space' becomes 'place' through linguistic and cultural appropriation (Kostanski 2009) and how humans invent and continually reinvent and re-create place through the process and practice of naming.

There is a considerable lack in the literature of studies focusing on the referential role of the lexicon of a particular language and its usefulness to speakers for adapting and managing a particular environment (Alleyne's 1980 work on Afro-American dialects is an exception). This could be seen as an oversight of linguists who are primarily concerned with grammatical description. This stance has not necessarily come at the expense of ignoring the importance of lexical studies within the boundaries of language documentation and description. (See for example papers in Hinton & Hale 2001 and papers published in the online journal *Language Documentation & Conservation*.)

⁷ In this thesis, I use the term 'modern linguistics' and 'modern linguistic theory' to refer to structural approaches to the study of language after Saussure.

This thesis problematises Saussure's (1983) edict that system-internal relationships need not consider system-external factors. The methodological consideration of considering system-external factors is applied through an analysis of toponyms. I argue that the relationship between sense-internal and sense-external aspects of toponyms are not arbitrary and are driven by language-external factors, e.g. social, cultural and ecological factors, in addition to formal toponym structure. This has been addressed by Radding and Western (2010) who deliver a critique of Saussure and arbitrariness in language and how Saussure's edicts can be applied directly to toponymy. Saussure's system and traditional sense relations to an extent can be applied to various non-arbitrary elements of some toponyms, e.g. descriptive names that are systematic like *Red Stone* and *Flat Rock*, lexicalised spatial descriptors that depict relationships between toponyms and topography, e.g. *out/down Bumboras*, *down/up Cascade*. However, Saussure's system does not provide any powerful methodology to measure empirical relations between sense-internal and sense-external factors in toponymy, nor was this central to Saussure's perspective. By definition, Saussure's system focuses on a particular object in language that is not measurable. Saussure inadvertently then dismisses the possibility of the indexicality of signs. The value of analysing the indexical nature of toponyms as linguistic signs in relation to a particular place is the major focus of this thesis. This thesis analyses how far sense relations can be taken by looking at the specific word class of toponyms.

Saussure's (1983) specific focus is on system-internal relationships between parts of speech and/or language, i.e. 'langue', and not direct relationships between the system and processes outside the system. This view differs from a utilitarian angle that argues for 'regional universals' (e.g. Hunn 1994) where there will always be consistent 'relative' relationships between language and thought. These relationships are contingent on the particular context in which they occur, which underlies Hunn's notion of 'universal relativism'. Such approaches claim that semantics and meaning arise out of culturally salient processes and practices, e.g. utilitarian processes of naming behaviour – places are named because places are used (e.g. Hunn 1996). Whether such consistent and reliable cross-cultural patterns are found across all environments and cultures is questionable. This is one of several points where an ecolinguistic approach, i.e. a parameter-rich method to linguistic analysis that considers both synchronic and diachronic data, differs from universalist perspectives (e.g. Hunn 1996) and cultural relativist perspectives (e.g. Lucy 1996,

1997; Whorf 1956). By considering the relationship between universal and culturally specific phenomena, my application of ecolinguistics as a method is able to integrate and consider not only phenomena between, within and across contexts but consider what these contexts actually mean.

This thesis moves away from the structuralist approach espoused by scholars after Saussure to an ecolinguistic one. The strengths of an ecolinguistic approach to language and specifically to toponymy lie in their ability to incorporate cultural and ecological parameters in an empirical structural analysis. This ecolinguistic approach develops an understanding of the relationships between people, place, toponyms and language change. This approach recognises the ability to name island places adequately as a means to make islands ecologically, culturally, socially and even politically manageable. There are also several weaknesses in utilising an ecolinguistic approach: by considering many parameters in a linguistic analysis, very few conclusions can be made. This creates tension between theorising about the nature of language and measuring how language functions in the world.

Considering the massive inroads linguistics has made beyond the mere consideration of structural features of language and language use since Saussurian and Chomskyan approaches determined the common direction of linguistic analysis, a critical description of toponymy within contemporary linguistic theory and its relationship to a specific people and place requires more than mere structural analysis. Traditional linguistic approaches that see language as a matrix of system-internal relationships cannot easily conceive of the study of language form beyond the scope of this system-internal matrix, i.e. sense relationships within the system. This is where an ecolinguistic approach is warranted. Furthermore, because the study of linguistic structure has tended to focus on these sense relationships, analysis of substance relationships beyond language-internal form is not common within the boundaries of such studies.

1.6 Research rationale

This section is divided into two subsections. The first section justifies selecting Norfolk Island and the second section substantiates the choice of Dudley Peninsula as a comparative study.

1.6.1 Norfolk Island, South Pacific

Norfolk Island is important to Australian linguistics because of its history of language contact and the fact that it has a brief linguistic and cultural history that has been well documented. Due to Norfolk Island's remoteness, there is also a lack of any distinct neighbouring island or external influences. Prior to 1788, Norfolk was linguistically and toponymically a pristine environment. This means that the pristine toponyms (Ross 1958; Zettersten 1969) and patterns of place-naming on Norfolk Island arose with no influence from any possible earlier naming practices that may possibly had taken place on the island. Norfolk Island thus presents itself as close to a laboratory case study in toponymy as linguists are ever likely to get:

Because of its small size, its "shallow history" and its multiple occupations, Norfolk Island is an ideal test case for students of toponymy. (Mühlhäusler 2002a: 89)

1.6.2 Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island, South Australia

The eastern end of Kangaroo Island [Dudley Peninsula] ... is almost an island in its own right. (Taylor 2008: 101)

Dudley Peninsula is a part of a much larger island, Kangaroo Island. Because of its size, an analysis of Kangaroo Island toponymy is out of the scope of this thesis. Dudley Peninsula was an ideal comparative case study for the Norfolk dataset because it was easy to access from Adelaide

and the peninsula is part of an isolated island environment. There are several linguistic and historical parallels between Dudley Peninsula and Norfolk Island. They were both named around the same time, 1774 (Norfolk) and 1802 (Dudley Peninsula). Both islands have a history of official colonial toponymy and unofficial toponymy and both were ‘toponymically uninhabited’ or pristine prior to European colonisation.⁸ Research into the linguistic and cultural history of Dudley Peninsula is manageable due to its small geographical size and brief and transparent history. Maps, written records, histories and knowledgeable informants are readily available in and around *Penneshaw*, the main settlement on Dudley Peninsula.

The same research questions, conceptual framework, data taxonomy and methodology arising from the Norfolk Island dataset could be applied to the Dudley Peninsula dataset.⁹ This allowed for reliability tests in the classification system that was employed as well as validating the fieldwork methods used for conducting toponymy in island environments. The process of documenting Dudley Peninsula toponymy contributes to an increased contemporary interest in Australian linguistics and history dedicated to the semantics and cartography of colonial naming (e.g., Bonyhady & Griffiths 2002; Kostanski 2005; Manning 1990; Tent & Slatyer 2009). For the purpose of this project, Dudley Peninsula is not a language contact situation. This is essential to illustrate differences between unofficial toponymy in the language contact (Norfolk Island) and non-language contact situation (Dudley Peninsula).

⁸ Because the Dudley Peninsula analysis only considers unofficial (English) toponyms in current use; Tindale and Maegraith’s (1928) research on establishing traces of an extinct Aboriginal population on Kangaroo Island bears little relevance to this study.

⁹ Although the same research questions, conceptual framework, data taxonomy and methodology arising from the Norfolk Island dataset and analysis could be applied to the Dudley Peninsula dataset, only research questions, data taxa and analysis relevant to Dudley Peninsula are considered. These methodological justifications are given in Chapter Four.

1.7 Structure of thesis

Throughout this work short introductions and conclusions to each chapter will help maintain a clear argument. These serve continually to take stock of points requiring clarification and to lead to a shorter and less detailed, yet much more pointed discussion and conclusion. Chapter One has outlined the problematic context upon which the rest of the thesis builds. Chapter Two reviews literature relevant to Norfolk, the Norfolk Island language as well as ecolinguistic, language contact and toponymic theory relevant to Norfolk Island toponymy. The review of Norfolk literature also involves a brief historical consideration of non-Norfolk material and further contextualises events and language history that has influenced Norfolk toponymy prior to 1856. Chapter Three reviews the literature relevant to Dudley Peninsula toponymy.

Theory, methods and techniques are put forward in Chapter Four. The advantages of an ecolinguistic approach to language are also argued. This chapter considers some of the challenges in undertaking linguistic field research in remote island communities. This provides a framework for analysing the wider socio-cultural and ecological implications toponyms have for the study of language. Arguments for the use of the toponymic classification are given. Chapter Four also narrates the process of the study's research question selection and location choice as well as general fieldwork techniques and data elicitation methods. Norfolk Island toponyms are analysed in Chapter Five and Dudley Peninsula toponyms are analysed in Chapter Six. These two chapters lead to a general discussion and conclusion of the empirical and qualitative analyses which direct the thesis to the final discussion, conclusion and contributions in Chapter Seven. Possible future areas of research are suggested and the thesis as a whole is concluded.

2 RESEARCH ISSUES – NORFOLK ISLAND

There's the fishing spot called the Sofa, which found a name when an islander returned home to find another man intimately engaged with his wife. In his rage the husband dragged the sofa down to the cliffs and pushed it over. Maybe some details are better forgotten. All the same, it would be nice if someone remembered what were the circumstances of the naming of Dordies, Futta Futta, Half Century and the fishing ground Dodos. (From Bill Wiseman's *Living on Norfolk Island 1977*)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter takes up issues outlined in Chapter One and situates them within the context of relevant literature. It initially presents a brief history of Norfolk Island and the Norfolk language. A discussion of its social and grammatical typology relevant to toponymy is presented. This chapter then sketches out and justifies the research gap within the fields of (1) ecolinguistics, (2) creolistics and (3) toponymy. Some reflection on a study in Norfolk toponymy and its relationship to island studies is also briefly considered. In conclusion, this chapter suggests the need for a comparative island toponymic study which leads to the need to review Dudley Peninsula literature, to be discussed in Chapter Three.

2.2 Norfolk Island geography, history and culture

Norfolk's closest neighbour is New Caledonia, 800 kilometres to the north and geographically and culturally a part of Melanesia. To the south lies New Zealand, which due to its Maori heritage, is considered culturally a part of Polynesia. Aside from Australia, the only other significant geographical feature near Norfolk is Lord Howe Island, politically associated with New South Wales. The question can then be asked: what and where is Norfolk?

Politically Norfolk Island is an external territory of Australia. For this reason I will be arguing throughout this thesis that, despite its cultural connections to the rest of the Pacific and particularly Polynesia due to the influence of Tahitian language and culture through the arrivals from Pitcairn Island, Norfolk Island is geographically, politically and, at least in part, culturally a part of Australia.¹⁰ Hayward argues in his volume *Bounty Chords* (2006) that the reintroduction of Tahitian singing and dancing into mainstream Norfolk culture has had a dramatic effect on the reconnection of Norfolk to Polynesia. This was seen from the 1940s onwards with well-known recordings of original Norfolk/Norfolk songs at the Polynesian Club in Sydney.

2.2.1 A brief history of Norfolk Island

Norfolk Island is a remote place. Most people have no idea where Norfolk Island is. This is both true for Australians and non-Australians. Many confuse it with either Fraser Island, off the coast of Queensland, or Christmas Island, off the north-western coast of Australia in the Indian Ocean. For most of us in the 'Southland' (Tent & Slatyer 2009), our world ends at the east coast of Australia. A map showing the location of Norfolk Island within the South Pacific Ocean is provided in Figure 2.1:

¹⁰ Stating my position here is a matter of convenience. It enables me to undertake a toponymic study of Norfolk placenames and places the study within a historical context. This thesis does not make any claim or attempt to tackle many of the current issues associated with what Norfolk Island is culturally or socially vis-à-vis the Australian Government, or where Norfolk fits politically in the sphere of politics in Australia and the Pacific.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 22 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 2.1 – Location map of Norfolk Island in the south-western Pacific (source: Administration of Norfolk Island 2002)

Figures 2.2 and 2.3 depict the landscape and topography of Norfolk Island: the rocky southern coastline and a view from Mount Pitt looking south to Phillip Island respectively:



Figure 2.2 – The rocky southern coastline of Norfolk Island (source: the author 2007)



Figure 2.3 – View from Mount Pitt looking south to Phillip Island (source: the author 2007)

Figure 2.4 provides an overview of the geography of the Norfolk Island Archipelago:

NOTE:

This figure is included on page 23 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 2.4 – Overview of the geography of the Norfolk Island Archipelago (source: Land Services Office 2011a)

Norfolk Island (29° 02'S x 167° 57'E) has a permanent population of about 2000. About half of this population are descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers that were moved from Pitcairn Island to Norfolk in 1856 (see Section 2.2.5 for more details about the *Bounty* and Pitcairn). Norfolk Island is politically a part of Australia. Culturally, however, Norfolk is much more difficult to define. It is a part of Polynesia due to the Tahitian connection through the Norfolk language. Geographically, it is a part of the South Pacific. The archipelago consists of three major islands and several offshore rocky outcrops near the islands. The three islands in the archipelago are from north to south: the largest, Norfolk (35 km²), and two smaller uninhabited islands, Nepean (1 km²) and Phillip¹¹ (5 km²), the second largest. It is approximately 1700 kilometres from Sydney and 1100 kilometres from Auckland.

Norfolk Island was discovered by Captain James Cook on 10 October, 1774. The history of the name is well known and documented: "I took possession [sic] of this Isle as I had done of all the others we had discovered, and named it *Norfolk Isle*, in honour of that noble family" (Cook & Forster 1777). Many people on Norfolk Island consider Cook to have called it a 'paradise' which in fact he did not. Some of the names Cook did give to landscape features on Norfolk at this time are *Mount Pitt*, *Mount Bates*, *Anson Bay*, *Steels Point* and *Point Ross*. At that time, Norfolk would have appeared to Cook and his crew as an uninhabited island. Archaeological research (Anderson & White 2001; Sampson 2005) has shown evidence of Polynesian visitation to Norfolk, and the radiocarbon dating on various charcoal remains of the vegetation and animal remains from *Emily Bay* in the south-west of Norfolk confirm a date of approximately 1000 years ago (Anderson, Higham & Wallace 2001). Bananas were one of the plant food species that made it to Norfolk while other crops such as taro and yams do not appear to have been brought to the island by the Polynesians at this time. Whatever the case regarding its pre-European history, the linguistic and cultural situation from this period on Norfolk Island does not concern a post European arrival toponymic study:

¹¹ In this thesis I use the double 'l' spelling of 'Phillip' instead of the single 'l' 'Philip'. This is because the former appears more frequently in Australian Government documentation and other official documentation. The single 'l' spelling of Philip is a more recent occurrence. It appears this happened after 1856. Submission §12 in 'List of submissions received on the Phillip Island Draft Plan of Management' outlines several arguments about the spelling of Phillip Island (Reference file NINP/029 held at Norfolk Island National Park headquarters, Mission Road, Norfolk Island). Although more common in colloquial usage on Norfolk Island, this spelling originated from a mistake and does not accurately represent the spelling of *Phillip* wherefrom the island received its name. While several public submissions disputing this spelling were submitted during the proclamation of Phillip Island as a part of the Norfolk Island National Park (Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service 1989), there does not appear to be any reason to continue this mistaken appellation.

Probably the island [Norfolk] had no name, was on no string and shell map and no directions had been passed on orally by another group but evidence of their occupation did remain, to be uncovered some 1000 years later. (Sampson 2005: no pagination)

The major question and contention for linguists, archaeologists and anthropologists is: what name did the first Polynesians use to refer to this small island in the South Pacific? I have consistently been asked this question when discussing my topic with informed and interested colleagues. As no written records exist from this period, I share Sampson's view – no recorded name. It must then be assumed that Cook's name *Norfolk Isle* was given to an island, which in historical and linguistic terms, was pristine, i.e. there were no previously recorded names. Regarding the point that Norfolk did not have a name and hence no written history prior to Cook's appellation, in an abstract sense Norfolk can be said not to have been 'discovered' or to have even 'existed' in European historical terms (Carter 1988) prior to being discovered, named and claimed by Cook. This notion of claiming and colonising through naming, particularly in the South Pacific (Crocombe 1991), is common in historical accounts of the power of names (Dobbie 1961) and have had a great effect on the colonial toponymic tapestry of Australia (e.g. Tent & Slatyer 2009). I will now describe the natural and cultural environments of Nepean and Phillip Islands before detailing Norfolk Island separately and the macrocosm of the Norfolk Island Archipelago as a whole.

2.2.2 Nepean Island

Nepean Island is surrounded by shallow reef structures. The island was most likely named after Evan Nepean, the undersecretary for the Home Office, shortly after the beginning of First Settlement in 1788. Due to its tidal patterns and the east–west rip on the northern part of the island, Nepean is a difficult place to access. Apart from occasional natural history research, e.g. tracking of Masked Booby birds, gathering of Whale Bird eggs, camping and fishing, the island is rarely visited. There is a petrified wharf known locally as *The Bar* that was used by convicts to transport sandstone from Nepean to *Kingston*, the first major settled area on the island, during the Second Settlement. Other well-known toponyms on Nepean are *Convict Steps/Em Steps*, *The Crack*,

Saddle, *Unicorn* and *Stump*. A depiction of the topography of Nepean is given in Figure 2.5. An offshore view showing the toponym, *Skull*, is presented in Figure 2.6:



Figure 2.5 – Image of Nepean Island topography looking south to Phillip Island (photo: the author 2009)



Figure 2.6 – View of *Skull* on south side of Nepean Island (photo: the author 2009)

2.2.3 Phillip Island

Phillip Island was named in 1788 in honour of Captain Arthur Phillip. Situated seven kilometres south of Norfolk, it has a looming presence in the Norfolk landscape and seascape. Used initially as a place of recreation for the commanders of the penal colony for hunting, Phillip Island has been the scene of great ecological mismanagement. The island's sensitive ecology was disturbed by pigs, goats, sheep and rabbits which caused the loss of nearly all its vegetation and topsoil cover during Norfolk's first two settlement periods (see Section 2.2.4). Phillip Island was proclaimed a part of the Norfolk Island National Park in 1989 (Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service 1990). Since this time, the ecological situation on and the increase in interest in the natural history of Phillip Island locally and in Australia has resulted in marked positive environmental change on the island (Director of National Parks Australia 2008). Naturally Phillip is a haven for sea birds and other fauna, and culturally it is used by the Norfolk population primarily for camping, hiking and fishing. As an uninhabited island with a large number of toponyms relative to its size (see Phillip Island data in Section 5.3.2), Phillip Island provides an excellent micro example of broader macro toponymic and cartographic processes that have taken place on the Norfolk Island Archipelago. Some Phillip Island toponyms are *Jacky Jacky*, *Niggers Hoof*¹², *Hard Balli Stone*, *Dar Tomato* and *Halfway Round*. A map of Phillip Island is provided below in Figure 2.7 and an image of the coast of Phillip Island is also provided in Figure 2.8:

¹² In accordance with directives given by the Committee for Geographical Names in Australasia (2010: 7), this thesis will not use an apostrophe in cases where toponyms contain an element which has historically been written with a final genitive '-s'. The Australian Government *Style Manual* (Commonwealth Department of Finance & Administration 2002) also maintains that toponyms involving possessives are all to be written without apostrophes, and recommends the simplicity of this convention in Australia.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 28 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 2.7 – Map of Phillip Island (source: Director of National Parks Australia 2008: 45)



Figure 2.8 – Image of south side of Phillip Island looking up to *Jacky Jacky* (source: the author 2009)

2.2.4 Norfolk Island

I will now describe Norfolk Island itself and the Norfolk Island Archipelago as a whole. Norfolk's natural underwater infrastructure is a network of submerged crevices, canyons, rock formations and coastal pools close in to shore. These comprise several kilometres of shallow sea bottom after which the depth of the South Pacific increases to become some of the deepest in the world. The stretch of water known locally as *The Passage* lies between the southern coast of Norfolk and the northern coast of Phillip. This whole system lies within what is known locally and under Australian marine fishing laws and jurisdiction as *The Box* (Zann 2001).

Norfolk's landscape is green. The undulating topography of the island reaches its two highest points near the north coast at *Mount Pitt* (320 metres above sea level) and *Mount Bates* (321 metres above sea level). Apart from a few small areas like *Cascade* in the north and *Ball Bay* in the southwest, the *Kingston* and *Arthurs Vale* areas are the only level areas of significant size at sea level. *Kingston* (Norf'k: *Down-a-Town*) has served and continues to serve as the location of Norfolk's government and administration hub (Figure 2.9):



Figure 2.9 – Image of *Kingston* (source: the author 2007)

The natural, architectural and cultural landscape of *Kingston* provides a backdrop upon which the required excursion into Norfolk's historical periods can proceed. There is little disagreement regarding the historicity of descriptions given of Norfolk Island's past. Well-accepted accounts (e.g. Hoare 1999; Nobbs 2006; O'Collins 2002) argue with high degrees of evidence and authority about the temporal nature of changes in population and land use, and the relationship between various colonial forces present at different points in time in the South Pacific and Australia. O'Collins (2002) sketches out a reliable description of the relationship between Norfolk and Australia and what effect this has had on its political history. This research only concerns me to the extent that these well-accepted accounts problematise the toponymic situation on the island.

A clear delineation of Norfolk's historical periods is given by Rickard (1995: 481):

1. The first convict settlement from 1788 to 1814. Some First Settlement toponyms are *Queensborough, Morgans Run, Phillipsburgh, Duncombe Bay* and *Orange Vale*.
2. The 'planned hell' of the second convict settlement from 1825 to 1855. Notorious names from this period are *Barney Duffys*, commemorating the convict who lived seven years in a tree stump on the west coast of Norfolk, and *Bloody Bridge*, the purported site of the massacre of an overseer by convicts who walled his body into the bridge and later being discovered when the blood of the slain man seeped through the stonework. Other names are *The Arches* and *Hennies Lake*.
3. The relocation in 1856 of the entire population of Pitcairn Island to Norfolk Island. There are many colourful names from this period like *Stone fer George and Isaacs, Ar Pool fer Helens* and *Dar Coop*.
4. The Anglican Melanesian Mission headquarters stationed on Norfolk from 1867 to 1920. The Mota name for Norfolk Island is *Novo Kailana*. Other Melanesian Mission toponyms are *Alalang Paen, The Kerapai, Geare Pere* and *Valis we Poa*.

These four periods with one significant addition, the modern era, constitute the major historical framework for this thesis. The modern era, spanning 1942 to the present, follows the creation of the airstrip on Norfolk Island during World War II, which heralded the possibility of increased tourist

numbers to the island. This development has had an enormous effect on the economy and environmental load on Norfolk. As regards this study, tourism and a greater influx of visitors has also had a significant effect on the nature of toponymy during the modern period and how naming during the other periods are reflected in current usages, e.g. name changes, dual names and the relationship between unofficial and official names. Many of these modern names reinterpret Norfolk's linguistic landscape in terms of its past connection to the *Bounty* and Pitcairn, e.g. accommodation names – *Fletcher Christian Apartments*, *Bounty Lodge*, road names – *Pitcairn Place*, *Bligh Street*, *John Adams Road*, and business names – *The Mutiny on the Bounty Show*, *Bounty Divers*, *Bounty Folk Museum*, *Bounty Excursions*.

The fifth period, or what I term 'the modern era', sees Norfolk becoming a part of a globalised world, feeling the pressures and enticements of tourism while at the same time still being intimately connected both to a distant, European colonial past and to an almost mythical Polynesian past. This Polynesian connection fits in well within greater myths and associated folklore of the South Pacific (cf. Sahlins' 1985 description of island history in the South Pacific). This modern period saw the near loss of the Norfolk language through various political measures including the education system (Mühlhäusler 2008a). More recently, Norfolk has undergone a type of linguistic and cultural renaissance. The connection to Tahiti and Pitcairn Island is now celebrated in, amongst other things, acts of naming, e.g. the naming of *Tevarua Lane* after one of the Tahitian women who went to Pitcairn and house and business names expressing obvious Tahitian influence, e.g. *Rahooloo*, *Maititi*. There is also a common presence of Pitcairn personal names and the Norfolk language all over the island (see *Evansville*, *Hassette!!* (English: here it is!) and *Kettle se Boil* (English: the kettle's boiled) in Figures 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10 below:



Figure 2.10 – Image of *Evansville* (source: the author 2007)



Figure 2.11 – Image of house name *Hassette!!* (source: the author 2009)



Figure 2.12 – Image of house name *Kettle se Boil* (source: the author 2009)

The language, which was previously banned from being spoken in the schoolyard, has now become an integral element of the school curriculum with classes being taught at the school and with the annual Norfolk language camp forming an important part of the high school curriculum on Norfolk. Most of these initiatives have occurred after the shame associated with Norfolk's Pitcairn and Tahitian past started to dissipate.

There are no toponyms or house names commemorating Australian ministers or Australian places on Norfolk Island. Saussure's (1983) claim that the absence of a particular sign is as meaningful as its presence is thus pertinent on Norfolk. There are, however, many names remembering Britain, e.g. *Queen Elizabeth Lookout*, *Prince Phillip Drive*, *Devon House* and *Chiswick Cottage*. There are also no botanical names associated with Australian trees although there are names such as one commemorating Bishop Selwyn of the Melanesian Mission – *Selwyn Pine*. Australia is a reference point rather than a source of culture or names. This reflects the tenuous relationship between Norfolk Island and Australia politically, culturally and linguistically.

Norfolk's colourful history means that there is a lot of pride on Norfolk. People on the island, whether Pitcairn descendants or not, are aware that Norfolk is unique but like Latham (2005: 41), they are often very apprehensive about telling others why or how much history they know:

[I] did want to try and understand what made the place tick. It made me wonder if Norfolk Island really wanted to be understood. No one ever said jump in my truck or boat and I'll show you what's important to me. No one offered to show me their island, their world, the one they so desperately wanted to protect and honour. I was never invited to anything by an elected representative of an island which claims to be misunderstood, misrepresented and maligned by mainland media and politicians. I got the feeling it enjoyed its ambiguity, it helped cloud everything over. 'It takes time to understand this island,' locals kept saying, which is not surprising because so few were willing to explain it.

Pitcairn descendants (Norfolk Islanders), locals (people who live on Norfolk but are not of Pitcairn descent), TEPs (temporary entry permit holders), GEPs (general entry permit holders), researchers and tourists are the categories used by Norfolk Island immigration to classify people arriving on the island. What is important for this study in these categorisations within the Norfolk community is who has power and makes decisions, who uses and speaks Norfolk with differing degrees of fluency and who holds the placename knowledge. There are great discrepancies on Norfolk Island between what people know, what people think they (ought to) know and what people think others (ought to) know.

The relevance of Norfolk's relationship to Polynesia and the rest of the south-western Pacific is integral to understanding Norfolk's history after the arrival of the Pitcairn Islanders in 1856. The Pitcairn Islanders have strong genealogical (Varman 1992) and historical links to Polynesia and Tahiti (Shapiro 1936). The eight families – Adams, Buffett, Christian, Evans, McCoy, Nobbs, Quintal, Young – who came to Norfolk from Pitcairn, reappear in toponyms, e.g. *Christians Cave*, *Buffetts Pole*, and house names, e.g. *Daisy Buffetts*, *Edgar Nobbs*.

Presenting Norfolk as an integral part of Australia politically and yet a cultural anomaly serves two purposes (1) it allows me to incorporate my comparative study of the toponymy of Dudley Peninsula quite easily as I pose these two island locations as being politically a part of Australia, and (2) it keeps me theoretically connected to Australian linguistics and particularly Australian toponymy. By taking this position my claim for emphasising the importance of Norfolk's connection to Pitcairn, Tahiti, Polynesia and other cultures in the vastness of the South Pacific is not diminished in any way. Being strongly grounded and fixed within the Australian research context enables me to look east geographically and metaphorically into the Pacific for a much broader understanding of the linguistic influences that have created and altered the toponymy and linguistic landscape of Norfolk post 1856. This position will be made clearer in Section 5.12 where I present a more detailed linguistic and cultural analysis of Norfolk Island toponymy.

2.2.5 The relation between Norfolk and Pitcairn Island

In order to understand patterns of toponymy on Norfolk Island, it is essential to consider the events that occurred on the *Bounty* and those which subsequently took place in Tahiti and on Pitcairn Island. Here I will only consider literature relevant to the toponymic situation on Pitcairn. The mutiny, which took place on 28 April 1789, has reached mythical status within Pacific history. The *Bounty*, which left British shores in Portsmouth on 23 December 1787, had as a task to collect breadfruit plants from Tahiti, a commodity Cook discovered during his visit to the South Seas in 1774 – the same voyage where he discovered and named *Norfolk Isle* (Cook & Forster 1777). The breadfruit plants were to be transported to the West Indies where they would make cheap and adequate provisions for natives working on the burgeoning British Empire's sugar plantations in that region of the world. The breadfruit, however, never made it further than Tahiti.

The main figures that will concern my discussion of the mutiny are Captain William Bligh and Mr Fletcher Christian. I point the reader to other writings on the supposed personality clashes that existed between these two personalities (e.g. Dening 1992; Nicolson 1965) and the physical and political makeup of the ship (Clarke 1986; Dening 1988). The *Bounty* was delayed on her harrowing

trip around Cape Horn. After 10 months and 27,000 miles at sea, she arrived in Tahiti. This archipelago appeared as a paradise on the horizon for Bligh's men but not necessarily Bligh. Furthermore, Tahiti must have appeared as 'Paradise Found' (Clarke 1986: 31), with promises of exotic victuals, good weather, leisure and worldly pleasures with the dark skinned Tahitian women. They would have seemingly been goddesses of the Pacific to the *Bounty's* all-male crew. Initially, Bligh allowed his crewmen some latitude. However, being a man of honour with his eyes focused strongly on furthering his naval career and anticipating a promotion if he returned to England after completing a successful voyage, Bligh was not going to have his plan sabotaged by the lack of disciplined behaviour of his crew. This led to heated arguments between Bligh and Christian.¹³

With discontent and differing priorities at the forefront of both men's minds, it was Christian who broke the back of the situation. On leaving Tahiti after a five-month stay, Christian and his supporters mutinied and claimed the *Bounty* on 28 April 1789, approximately 1,300 miles west of Tahiti, near Tonga. Those who sided with Bligh were fated to the *Bounty's* launch with a sextant and five days' worth of food. Bligh guided his 18-man-crew to Timor, some 7000 kilometres west of the location of the mutiny. During this 47-day voyage, the only casualty was a crewman, John Norton, who was stoned to death by some natives of Tofua. Bligh eventually made it back to England, the details of which have been chronicled elsewhere (Daly 1991), and do not influence significantly any following linguistic or cultural events that affected the mutineers. The nine *Bounty* mutineers needed to leave Tahiti, where they were not welcome. They took 11 Tahitian women and six Tahitian men with them on the *Bounty* and found a safe haven in Pitcairn Island (25°04'00"S 130°06'00"W) and the community lived there until they were discovered in 1808. By this time all but one of the mutineers and the Tahitian men had either died of drink, killed themselves or had been murdered. The fact that this small community survived even up to this date is testament to the earlier conversion to Christianity by Alexander Smith, who later changed his name to John Adams.¹⁴ The Pitcairn community continued living on the small island until 1856 when the entire

¹³ It is important to note that midshipman Edward Young, from the West Indies, sided with Christian. Young was a St Kitts Creole speaker and his influence on Pitcairn toponymy is listed in Ross and Moverley (1964: 170–88). The subsequent influence on Norfolk toponymy will be considered in Chapter Five.

¹⁴ There is some disagreement in the literature about who John Adams actually was. Because Alexander Smith was illiterate when the *Bounty* made it to Pitcairn, it seems highly unlikely that he would have taught himself to read the Bible after all the events that had taken place. Some writers and interested observers on

population was moved to Norfolk Island. Other details preceding the move to Norfolk have been covered numerous times in the historical literature, e.g. the brief move back to Tahiti in 1831. Shapiro (1936) provides a detailed ethnographic account of life on Pitcairn Island.

What concerns me is the influence this language contact had on Pitcairn toponymy. There were various English dialects spoken by the mutineers, the St Kitts Creole spoken by Edward Young, and the Tahitian and Tubuaian varieties spoken by the women. These comprise the ‘toponymic worldview’ and landscape that the Pitcairners brought with them to Norfolk in 1856. Before presenting details of the history of Norfolk toponymy, I will detail a brief history of the Pitkern–Norf’k language as it concerns Norfolk toponymy.

2.2.6 Pitkern and Norf’k

Pitkern and Norf’k are considered sister languages (e.g. Ross & Moverley 1964). Different social, ecological and political influences moulded these two historically different yet related languages. My concern in this thesis is Norf’k, *not* the Pitkern variety spoken on Pitcairn Island. The most reliable modern scholarship on the linguistic and typological status of Pitkern–Norf’k language has been presented by scholars who have done primary research on the language. Norf’k has had a richer history of scholarship than Pitkern with scholars such as Elwyn Flint visiting the island for fieldwork in the 1950s (Flint 1979, n.d), local Norfolk Islander Shirley Harrison undertaking her Masters and PhD, providing the first in-depth scientific treatment of the Norf’k language (1985, 1986) and the work done by Laycock (1989) and Zettersten in the early 1970s (Zettersten n.d.). A more long-term approach to fieldwork and language documentation on Norfolk Island was started by Mühlhäusler in 1997.

Norfolk Island have speculated that John Adams was actually Fletcher Christian. Nicolson (1965) deals with many of these speculative issues.

Reinecke et al. (1975: 590) claims that:

Pitcairn English with its offshoot on Norfolk Island is of extraordinary interest because it offers as near a laboratory case of Creole dialect formation as we are ever likely to have. The place, time and sequence of events and the provenience of each of the handful of original speakers are known as are most of the subsequent influences upon the Pitcairnese community and, to a lesser extent, upon the one on Norfolk. Only two languages, English and Tahitian, were in contact.

While not entirely accurate, this position has provided the impetus and problematised Pitkern–Norf’k within creolistics as a language worthy of consideration. Due to its unique social and contact history, Norf’k is difficult to classify.

Creole¹⁵ diagnosis is based on considering diagnostic features, socio-historical features or a combination of both features. A number of scholars have used feature analysis to establish the degree of Norf’k’s ‘creole-ness’ or whether it is merely a variety of English. There have been several attempts to classify Norf’k as creole and more specifically, whether it is as an Atlantic or a Pacific creole. Based on secondary data given by Harrison, Hancock (1987) claimed that Norf’k is an Atlantic creole. Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann (2009) asserted that Norf’k is a Pacific creole. Whatever the case, it shares many of the features of the various metropolitan Englishes spoken by the *Bounty* mutineers and the St Kitts Creole spoken by Edward Young. Whatever Norf’k may be typologically does not affect how Norf’k is used in Norf’k toponymy.

There are two directions this investigation can take concerning Norf’k’s relationship to contact language linguistics or creolistics. One approach (the one *not* taken in this thesis) is to consider the typology of Norf’k and how understanding toponyms and the process of toponymy contribute to this discussion. This process would involve a review of all primary and secondary research conducted into Norf’k and how this reflects on its typological description. It would also involve redefining the language in terms of available modern classification tools. Researchers who have not conducted

¹⁵ Throughout this thesis I make a distinction between the specific use of the term ‘Creole’, e.g. ‘St Kitts Creole’ with a capital, and the generic use of ‘creole’ indicating a language type.

fieldwork and who rely entirely on secondary sources have claimed that Norf'k *is* a creole (e.g. Hancock 1987; Reinecke et al. 1975,) and a straightforward case of creolisation (e.g. Avram 2003; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). These are unconvincing as are attempts showing Norf'k as a dialect of English (e.g. Gleißner 1997). Such pre-emptive classifications of the language have also been consistently based on the use of secondary data. Those who have conducted fieldwork on Norfolk Island (e.g. Flint 1979; Harrison 1986; Laycock 1989; Mühlhäusler 2004), however, claim otherwise. These later scholars hold that Norf'k does not fit easily into any existing classifications used by creolists and suggest that the evolution of Norf'k is not a straightforward case of creolisation. Scholars who have worked with primary data suggest that much more research is still required before a convincing statement about its typology can be made (e.g. Mühlhäusler 2008b).

Due to this difficulty in classifying Norf'k and because its classification *prima facie* has little to do with a toponymic study of Norfolk Island, this thesis takes a different approach, which involves paying more attention to the social, cultural and ecological setting of the diglossic situation on Norfolk and the effect this has on toponymy. It is this consideration of Norf'k toponyms, e.g. obvious non-English forms like *Johnny Nigger Bun Et*, *Down Side Monty Drown*, *Dar House fer Ma Nobbys*, *Out ar Station* and *Dar Coop*, that is relevant to lexical studies in creolistics. Apart from the proposal of the significance of creole language and diglossia in the toponymy of creole or language contact speech community of Barbuda in the Caribbean by Berleant-Schiller (1991), toponymy has not been given any explicit interest in the creolistics literature.

Norf'k does have several creole properties such as reduplication and simplified inflectional morphology that have stemmed from two separate influences:

1. *Bounty* midshipman Edward Young who was in all likelihood a speaker of St Kitts Creole. Young was the principal linguistic socialiser during the first generation on Pitcairn and was thus instrumental in the shaping of the language. The use of 'fer' (English: of, for) in Norf'k toponyms is the most obvious example, e.g. *Ar Pine fer Robinsons*.

2. Both in the early history of Pitcairn Island and early phase of settlement of Norfolk Island by the Pitcairners, children were probably the most important language makers. The language consequently contains a number of creole-like constructions. It is also possible that around 1900 the language was actually creolised in some remote parts of Norfolk Island. The possible mixing of taboo Tahitian words in Norf'k resulted in a number of Norf'k toponyms, e.g. *Parloo Park* ('Masturbation Park') and *Gudda Bridge* ('Fuck Bridge').

What is central to this thesis is that in 1856, the entire Pitcairn population and the Pitkern language was transplanted to Norfolk Island, an island that had already had two previous settlement periods. While the social structures remained largely unchanged, the new space was significantly different and there was a need for the newly arrived Pitcairners to speak about places and adapt linguistically to their new island.

2.2.7 What sort of language is Norf'k?

Research into Norf'k has been taken as a natural extension of research into Australian English.

Ross and Moverley (1964: 203) claim:

The study of Norfolkese may be said in one sense to belong to the field of Australian dialectology. The language contains lexical borrowings from Australian English But, in the main, Norfolkese derives directly from pre-1856 Pitcairnese and therefore presents that same mixing of Polynesian and English-dialect forms.

What is interesting to note, however, is that although situated within Australia politically and socially:

phonologically and structurally, Norfolkese is related to Australian English only in so far as the latter has common features with other varieties of English. (Ross & Moverley 1964: 203)

Many other sources exist that describe the nature of the ‘Norfolk patois’ (Baker 1978) and Norfolk’s ‘bad English’ (Report from Mr Inspector Reay, Norfolk Island Public School, 30 May 1912, in Anon n.d). In a survey of Australian dialects conducted in the 1950s, the linguist Elwyn Flint travelled to Norfolk Island and included Norf’k data with the rest of the Australian data. There are, however, different schools of thought on Norf’k’s ‘Australianness’. The Australian influence on the language has been limited, especially because the first teachers came from England. There has also been varying degrees of appreciation of Australia’s influence on Norfolk and this appreciation is often inversely proportional to the use of Norf’k, i.e. an increased use of Norf’k is attributable to increased solidarity among Norf’k speakers and increased dissention towards Australian political influence on the island. It is important, however, to be aware that Norf’k plays a conspicuous role in the linguistic heritage of Australia (Baker 1978; Ross & Moverley 1964,) with the acknowledgment that the language situation on Norfolk Island is diglossic (Flint 1979; Harrison 1985). The influence of Australian and New Zealand English on the previous and current linguistic ecology of Norfolk Island is also noteworthy (e.g. Laycock 1989).

English and Norf’k toponyms are included as nationally gazetted names. Their recognition by the Australian Government is inadvertently significant. Several official maps exist, published by official Australian Government sources (Australian Surveying & Land Information Group 1992), depicting non-standard English-origin toponyms, e.g. *Dar Stool*, *Moo-oo Stone*, so Norf’k and English toponyms of Norfolk Island are integrally linked to the history of Australian toponymy (Baker 1978) and also Australian English (Collins & Blair 1989).

Over its more than 150-year history, the language now known officially as *Norf’k*, after the *Norfolk Island Language (Norf’k) Act* (2004) (Administration of Norfolk Island 2004), has assumed several names. *Norfolk*, *Norfolkese* and *Norfolk Creole* or *Norfolk Patois* (Harrison 1985, Ross & Moverley 1964) have all been used to indicate the way of speaking of the Pitcairn descendents on Norfolk Island. More recently, as a statement and acknowledgement that Norf’k was a language separate from English, Buffett (1999) proposed another spelling – *Norfuk* – to correspond with the writing system she developed with Laycock (Buffett & Laycock 1988 and discussed in Buffett 1992). It is noteworthy that although *Norfuk* is used throughout the abovementioned 1988 and 1999

publications, this spelling does not appear on the front cover of either book. This spelling has created many problems within the Norfolk community with the major contention being its close association with the pronunciation and spelling of the vulgar English form 'fuck'. The night before the language was to receive its official name through the introduction of the *Norfolk Island Language (Norf'k) Act* (2004) (Administration of Norfolk Island 2004), a decision was made by members of the Norfolk Island Government in collaboration with other language experts that representing the language spoken on Norfolk Island as *Norf'k* was more appropriate. This form avoided association with the vulgar English word as well as adhering more consistently to the use of the schwa vowel 'ə', as put forward in Buffett's (1999) writing system, expressed using an apostrophe in this phonological environment. Having a consistent name for a language does not in any way mean that it will be protected. In the case of *Norf'k*, since its official acknowledgement in 2004, the creation of an official *Norf'k* language policy is still pending (sketches of such a policy are presented by Mühlhäusler 2002b, n.d. b). What a consistent and accepted spelling of the language name has done is pave the way for greater national and international recognition and acceptance of the language. This spelling, along with the fact that *Norf'k* is endangered, was recognised internationally by UNESCO in 2007 (UNESCO 2007). Creating dual naming and bilingual signage on Norfolk is an important part of increasing the public recognition of the language. Thus creating an adequate spelling system for *Norf'k* is essential in establishing this recognition.

2.2.8 Norfolk Island – many stories

There are as many stories as people on Norfolk Island. For a small island in the middle of the South Pacific, there is a large number of significant people, events, politics and even souvenirs that have come from this small island. Three major narratives which drive Norfolk culturally are:

1. The relationship between the colonisation of Australia and colonial movements in the South Pacific (usually associated with the First Settlement).

2. The history and fascination of the penal settlement established in 1825 and lasting until 1855, i.e. during the Second Settlement, and its associated architectural and cultural relics (Best 2007)
3. The arrival of the Pitcairners in 1856 and Norfolk Island's relationship to the *Bounty*, Pitcairn, Tahiti and the rest of the Pacific (e.g. Nicolson 1965).

Early descriptions of the new colony portray Norfolk as a lush, new, Pacific garden bed that would do well to serve the desires of British rule in Australia. Placenames like *Queenstown*, *Queensborough* and *Phillipsburgh* serve as a colonial inscription on the evolving name-scape of Norfolk. After the suggestion that Norfolk pines would serve as masts for ships in Her Majesty's navy was abandoned due to the tendency of the wood to rot, Norfolk took on several guises, including being considered the toughest penal colony in the British Empire. The elements of this history and the reasoning behind it have been given in numerous publications (e.g. Britts 1980; Hoare 1999; Smith 1997), and the effect it has had, primarily on the *Kingston* landscape, has been the subject of great interest to researchers and the interested public concerned with the history of colonial Australia. (O'Connor 2007 gives a description of the bridges of Norfolk Island, based on several fieldwork visits to Norfolk, to find what appears to be the oldest bridge in Australia and its territories, and Wilson & Davies 1983 for their account of the significance of the structures built during the Second Settlement to the cultural and architectural history of Australia.) Best (2007) claimed that the 'thanatourism' (death tourism) associated with the Second Settlement is one of the major attractions for tourists coming to Norfolk. The toponyms that came about during the first two settlement periods on Norfolk still play an important part in the orientation aspect and pragmatic usage of toponyms in modern daily life on Norfolk, e.g. *Bloody Bridge*, *Commissariat Store*. However, they have also created much confusion regarding where Norfolk fits within British and Australian colonial history and even where Norfolk's own periods fit and apply to each other. Norfolk's connection to Pitcairn and Tahiti also adds to this confusion. The fact that Norfolk is an endangered language (UNESCO 2007), without a standardised spelling system that is in common use, means the language remains an enigma, even to long-term Norfolk residents and speakers of Norfolk.

2.2.9 Spelling Norf'k

The Norf'k spelling issue has left the community divided. There is much individual and family variation in spelling Norf'k and there are social and political stigmas associated with each system.¹⁶ Norf'k orthography is a practical problem relevant to Norfolk toponymy with the main concern relating to how Norf'k appears in signage. The two most well-known systems for spelling Norf'k are Buffett (1999) and Palmer Nobbs (1986). While both these publications give a serious representation of how Norf'k is spelled, both volumes are for sale at the weekly Sunday markets on Norfolk Island. Because Norf'k has not had any notable literary history beyond the local publishing of several poetry anthologies (e.g. Christian 1986), literacy in Norf'k still remains a strongly political question, which is far from being solved. Any solution to the issue of Norf'k spelling must consider the role complex social factors and community allegiances play in addressing the technical linguistic concerns of how Norf'k speakers want their language spelled.

In this thesis I do not take a position on how Norf'k toponyms should be spelled. The 'Norf'k-ising' of well-established English names such as *Anson Bay* to 'Ans'n Bieh' will probably do more harm than good. The politics of such issues are beyond of the scope of this project. Being an unfocused language (Le Page 1980; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), imposing a standardised spelling system for Norf'k at this point in its history may be detrimental to its revitalisation efforts:

Reducing an unfocused unwritten language such as Norfuk [sic] to a linguistic grammar is not an easy task and potentially a very dangerous one for the small community that speaks it. Language written down can exercise normative pressure and restrict the healthy heterogeneity of language and use of language on Norfolk Island. Once standardized, the language will be of far less interest to the linguistic profession and its speakers. (Mühlhäusler 2004: 800)

This section as a whole has presented an outline of Norfolk's geography, history and culture relating to its toponymy. In the following sections of this chapter, I will discuss the relationship between toponymy and ecolinguistics and toponymy and islands.

¹⁶ Orthography concerns are periodically voiced in the two local newspapers on Norfolk, *The Norfolk Islander* and *The Norfolk Window*.

2.3 Toponymy and ecolinguistics

Ecolinguistics can be divided into two major strands:

1. Environmental discourse analysis, often termed 'eco-critical discourse analysis', 'critical ecolinguistics' or 'the language of ecology and environmentalism'.
2. Language ecology, specifically the interactions between humans, mind and environment, often expressed through lexico-grammatical studies of how humans talk about and adapt linguistically to new and foreign environments, i.e. the ecology of language.

I will not be overly concerned with §1 in this study. Since its beginnings in the 1980s and 1990s, ecolinguistics has grown into a research field in its own right, although the boundaries of what an ecolinguistic analysis is and how one should go about doing ecolinguistic research has not been made explicit by scholars working in ecolinguistics. The linguistic community has also questioned the relevance of ecolinguistics as a subdiscipline and on what theoretical ground ecolinguistics actually stands (e.g. Edwards 2008; Ostler 2001; Owen 2004) and there are several critical voices concerning various aspects of ecolinguistic research (e.g. Goddard 1996; Siegel 1997). With the exception of Garner (2005), scholars and theoreticians have not been explicit enough in clearly stating theoretical breadth of ecolinguistics and its practical implications for general linguistic theory. A major review of literature concerning ecolinguistics has already been undertaken (Mühlhäusler & Peace 2006) therefore I will not attempt to evaluate the major works in ecolinguistics here (e.g. Fill 1993, 1996, 1998; Harré, Brockmeier & Mühlhäusler 1999; Kettemann & Penz 2000; Mühlhäusler 1996). The importance of toponyms to ecolinguistic theory has been suggested by Mühlhäusler (n.d. c).

Although not explicitly 'ecolinguistic', there are many extant studies that illustrate a deep awareness of the cultural and ecological specificity of toponymic analysis. Simpson's (2001) analysis of hypocoristics in Australian toponyms, Burridge's (2004) comments on abbreviated insider toponyms in Australia, and Kearney and Bradley's (2009) study of toponyms and emotional

geographies emphasise the need to situate toponyms within the thought and physical worlds of the people who use them. Other studies in Australia (Harvey 1999) and in the South Pacific (Crocombe 1991) suggest there is a strong cultural, political and social relationship between toponymy, language change and ways of viewing, knowing and interacting with the world. Other work in Australia (e.g. Kostanski 2005, 2009) highlights the interplay of various colonial and indigenous toponymic ideologies on the toponymic and linguistic map of Australia. Through this work the notion of micro *language ecologies* (e.g. Amery 2000), and macro systems of language groups in Australia arises (e.g. Bower & Koch 2004). The ecology of language metaphor (Haugen 1972), its application to the Australian context (Amery 2001) and specifically to Australian (indigenous) toponymy (e.g. Hodges 2007), put forward the advantageous use of language ecology and hence ecolinguistics as a useful heuristic tool to deal with, for example, a corpus of indigenous and/or colonial toponyms in Australia.

Ecolinguistics provides a clear conceptual question: what is the relationship between people, language, place and names, and how can these relationships be empirically measured? Research in linguistics has generally focused on linguistic structure decontextualised from the environment the language is spoken in. Sociolinguistic research has contributed significantly to an understanding of language use and language in social context (Labov 1966; Hymes 1972) just as ecolinguistics has created awareness of language as an ecological phenomenon (Haugen 1972). Some ecolinguistic research has focused on more obscure issues, to the extent that some would claim that much of what is in the interest range of ecolinguistics does not concern linguistics at all. Various papers in Fill and Mühlhäusler (2001) outline the worth in dealing with these issues. Regardless, there is a need for contextually sensitive empirical analyses which ask questions about interrelationships concerning language, culture and environment without alienating mainstream linguistics. Broad philosophical analyses of the relationship between lexicon and environmental management are important in their own right. However, it leaves unanswered the question of how to analyse specific aspects of particular linguistic ecologies, e.g. toponyms.

Sapir (1912: 231) suggests the efficacy of studying transparency of toponyms for ecolinguistics:

The case is even clearer when we turn to a consideration of place-names. Only the student of language history is able to analyze such names as Essex, Norfolk, and Sutton into their component elements as East Saxon, North Folk, and South Town, while to the lay consciousness these names are etymological units as purely as are “butter” and “cheese”. The contrast between a country inhabited by an historically homogeneous group for a long time, full of etymologically obscure place-names, and a newly settled country with its Newtowns, Wildwoods, and Mill Creeks, is apparent.

As one of the early proponents of exploring relationships between language and its bio-cultural environment, Sapir’s suggestions about toponymy are still remarkably relevant. In traditional views of linguistic analysis, languages can be studied without any reference to the bio-cultural context in which they are used. They can also be transplanted and replace other languages; they are arbitrary codes to express universal cognitive categories. These concepts have been at the heart of the ecolinguistic critique of traditional linguistics. The degree to which linguistic practices are detachable from the world suggests that one can distinguish between two prototypical language types:

1. Ecologically embedded languages; and
2. Disconnected languages.

These are idealised types and in reality most languages are a complex mix between being constructed by their environment and constructing their environment (Mühlhäusler 2003a: 2). However, such a split between conceptions of what languages are does help in an empirical analysis. As a category, an ecologically embedded language should exhibit properties such as:

1. Words reflect social interaction between humans and their environment, e.g. *Moo-oo Stone* on Norfolk Island is an offshore rock formation with a large amount of moo-oo, native

Norfolk flax; *Dar Fig Valley* is the name of a valley where locals used to grow figs; *Deep Water* is a fishing location on the east coast known for the depth of the water in this area.

2. Lexical and grammatical forms are not regarded as arbitrary, e.g. the toponym *Johnny Nigger Bun Et* (English: *Johnny Nigger Burnt It*) as a grammatical unit is a sentence. It expresses an idiosyncratic Norfolk personal name form, i.e. 'Johnny Nigger' remembers the uncontrolled burning of a coastal area by a Melanesian Mission member. There is a strong racist sentiment associated with the form of this toponym and its historical connection to the Melanesian Mission.
3. The same word can be used to describe human and other life forms, e.g. the Norf'k word *horg* (pig, hog) is used to describe animals, humans and even the name of a fishing location. *Dar Horg* is named after a terrestrial feature which resembles a pig from the sea.
4. The lexicon and grammar of space reflects topography, e.g. *Out ar Station* is in a distant location on Norfolk; *Up in a Stick* is topographically 'up' in comparison to the commercial centre of Norfolk.
5. Language is a memory of past interactions between humans and nature, e.g. *Gun Pit* is a concrete structure on the west coast of Norfolk built during World War II. It is also the name of the fishing ground *Ar Gun Pit* which uses *Gun Pit* in one of its marks. A diachronic approach is of vital importance to the study of synchronic patterns of language use.

An understanding of interrelated phenomena particular to the ecolinguistic approach can be achieved by interacting in real-world situations with members of the respective speech communities in the actual ecology where the language is spoken and used every day. Names associated with tourism on Norfolk, e.g. *Hibiscus Lodge*, *Daydreamer Holiday Apartments*, *Riggers Retreat*, show how history affects naming. Once again, the vision of Norfolk as an island paradise is portrayed through these names. This ecocritical (re-)construction of Norfolk is seen in many domains of naming including the reintroduction of Polynesian names and the absence of Australian anthroponyms.

An ecolinguistic point of view considers toponyms as important linguistic, cultural and environmental artefacts. By having access to toponyms and their histories, toponymic maps and toponymic books or gazetteers, the tapestry of toponymic and topographic contours (names and the world) is revealed (e.g. Pouderoux et al. 2007). Ecolinguistics provides a basis upon which the analysis of this cross-disciplinary mix of linguistic, social and environmental relationships can be undertaken. What ecolinguistics does in this situation, however, is provide a philosophical and conceptual framework rather than major methodological and theoretical suggestions. By employing a parameter-rich approach that is common in ecolinguistics and applying this approach specifically to toponymic research specifically related to islands, the theoretical fields and relevant application of this study are vastly broadened.

2.4 Toponymic theory

Although much name theory and notions of 'properhood' in noun theory appear to be quite thorough (Coates 2006; Dalberg 1985), and despite a long history of place-naming theory in linguistics (e.g. published papers from the 23rd International Congress of Onomastic Sciences in Ahrens, Embleton & Lapierre 2009), there is no commonly accepted method to obtain and analyse large amounts of toponymic data. Recent work in creating toponymic typologies (e.g. Tent & Blair 2011) focuses primarily on the semantic division of toponyms. While such structural systems enable researchers to assess the environmental and physical nature of geographical names, these systems do not allow an in-depth analysis of the social, cultural and ecological aspects of toponyms. Other disciplines, e.g. anthropology, ethnography and history, do provide relevant (generally qualitative) theoretical insights into empirical analysis of toponyms and these will be reviewed in turn below.

In her PhD dealing with Australian toponymy, Kostanski (2009: 43-44) shares some of her experiences:

Having examined the available literature and discussed the current research trends at international conferences with established toponymists it is apparent that there is currently a gap in the academic literature. Internationally the gap exists in theories of the social and cultural components of toponyms. Within Australia the gap extends from a lack of focus on the cultural import of toponyms. This thesis therefore aims to be a catalyst for filling these gaps. Indeed, the scope and extent of toponymic research in Australia has previously been so limited as to leave few national research resources available for this doctoral program. [...] This limited availability in Australia of reference and research material which is widely available to European and North American toponymists has meant that my search for relevant literature has at times been hindered by availability and access issues. With the ongoing development of electronic research resources this has been alleviated to some extent and frequent attendance at international conferences has been necessary to ensure exchange of ideas with established researchers in this field. Whilst in no way is this explanation of research material availability in Australia offered as an excuse for any literature oversight in this thesis, it is provided as a rationalisation for the reliance this thesis has had with selected texts from a broad range of literature in the fields of geography, history, psychology and sociology.

I agree with Kostanski's claim that there is "a lack of focus on the cultural import of toponyms" in Australia and that there is a need to extend research in Australian toponymy beyond the limits of toponymic description and history. Several studies have considered toponyms as important cultural ephemera essential to understanding how people and cultures relate to landscapes through language. Henshaw (2006) explored how toponymy can help inform broader scientific narratives about changing toponymic and social environments. She showed how Sikusilarmiut toponyms reflect Inuit multisensory notions of place and provide insight into the changing movements of people across the land, sea and ice. While Henshaw does not label her research a *toponymic ethnography*, a term I use and develop throughout this study, her anthropological study of Sikusilarmiut toponymy on Baffin Island, Canada provides a very detailed description of the ethnography of the Sikusilarmiut through the medium of toponymy. This suggests the usefulness of toponyms in describing wider linguistic, cultural and environmental parameters.

Gaffin (1993) observed similar phenomena in ethnographic research into placenames and people in the Faeroe Islands. The sensual, temporal and personal elements of these names are ever

changing and informed by more experiential and practical knowledge. It is this coupling that Henshaw (2006) and Gaffin (1993) acknowledge is important to a holistic toponymic description of place and culture. Several quotes below from Gaffin's research summarise this perspective:

Faeroese customary usage of placenames for landscape and people 1) mark and remark on economic and historical conditions, 2) individuate people and highlight aspects of personalities, 3) express and preserve social and political (egalitarian) relationships, and 4) enact and enhance local, regional and national cultural identities. (1993: 55)

Details of the landscape and its legendary inhabitants quickly become fixed in named places. Locales take on lives and truths of their own and the landscape becomes a storybook. (1993: 58)

As a shorthand to history, placenames, alone or attached to people, provide a literal and symbolic predictability, an ontological certitude. Life and landscape become indistinguishable. (1993: 58)

Individuals may either give places personality and/or take on the personality of places. (1993: 60)

Each person is an object as well as a maker of the landscape and culture. (1993: 65)

Such research emphasises the necessity of evaluating the unstable match between the environment and the ability of humans to adapt to the environment through toponyms. Hunn's (1996) toponymic typology of Columbia Plateau Indian toponyms and Ingold's (2000) temporality of the landscape and dwelling perspective emphasise the need to evaluate toponyms in terms of how people construct notions of self, personhood and identity. Certain methodological issues arise here: how to do research in toponymic ethnography and what framework to use. Because islands have not been put forward in linguistic or toponymic literature as efficacious locations for the study of toponyms, in the following section I assess the relevance of small islands to (pristine) toponymy.

2.5 Island toponymy

Literally, islands are landmasses surrounded by water. Figuratively or metaphorically, islands are areas or space resembling an island, especially when isolated, detached or surrounded in some way. An island then is literally or metaphorically any geographically or cognitively isolated place. Because this study considers islands as locations of research interest, the research is relevant to *nissology*, the study of islands on their own terms (McCall 1994). The islands I analyse in this thesis are remote and non-urban. These are landscapes where the speaker-inhabitants have occupied the area for several generations. The main reason islands offer researchers a specific challenge over and above continental or mainland environments is because island people see themselves different to non-island people. This is reflected in the way they relate to and talk about the world (King & Connell 1999) and this creates a strong sense of self, which is idiosyncratic to the particular place where they live (Péron 2004). Being surrounded by water, there may be little contact with external influences for long periods of time. The isolation and seclusion of islands give a keen sensation of cognitive and social isolation requiring a greater reliance on the sea (Forman 1967) and a need for community strength (Cohen 1987).

Measures of 'islandness', isolation, difference and their relationship to geographical remoteness are problematic. A major dilemma for practitioners of the linguistics and anthropology of toponymy is to demonstrate that the remoteness and uniqueness of islands is somehow reflected in toponymy (cf. Levinson 2008). It is important to this study to consider whether there is any significant difference in the naming of island places from mainland places. Aside from some secondary historical research into island toponymy and island names by Coates (1991, 2009), there is little primary toponymic research conducted on islands that considers the importance of the insular nature of islands, i.e. looking at islands as locations worthy of specific toponymic investigation. (Henshaw 2006 is an exception.) Rather, islands provide situations where extraneous factors are reduced. Where islands have brief histories, the transparency of land use, people movements and names makes analysis more concise and precise. Analysing the linguistic implications of pristine toponymy in the island situation, however, has been shown to be ideal where the studies are islands with recent human histories or what I term 'shallow time depths'

(Ross & Moverley 1964; Zettersten 1969). Linguists in Australia and elsewhere have not posed the study of Australia's islands as a specific area of investigation, possibly because linguistic analysis specific to islands has already been covered in detail by other broader linguistic studies. In addition, it may also be because islands are not seen as providing a unique field setting methodologically, nor are they seen as theoretically different from any other mainland or continental situation.

Putting a linguistic spin on island studies is nothing new. Studies into isolation as a linguistic construct (Montgomery 2000), island dialectology (e.g. St Helenian English by Schreier 2008) and the attraction of islands to linguists for observing the development of new language systems and language change (e.g. Long 2007) build on age-old notions of the 'islands as experiments' metaphor (Spriggs 2008). The study of lesser-known varieties of English in relation to islands (see chapters on island Englishes in Schreier et al. 2010) emphasises the great tussle between isolation and linguistic adaptation. Toponymy starkly emphasises some of the cultural and ecological requirements that islanders need to be able to describe adequately in order to manage the environment in which they live:

Each villager is a "naturalist", knowledgeable in the ways of sheep, birds, whales, fish, potatoes, weather, tides, etc., and names encode that knowledge. Like links of kinship, placenames and locational persons' names are a relational system binding habitat and society together. Placename use is a kind of conservation ecology. (Gaffin 1993: 68-69)

There has not been a great research interest in toponymy or island studies on the effectiveness of analysing technical (linguistic) and cultural (social, ecological) elements of toponyms. Language, identity and social and ecological change have consistently been central to arguments about relationships between place and people (e.g. Radding & Western 2010) and this is particularly true of islands. Fitzhugh and Hunt (1997) have posited isolated sociocultural and natural environments as more sensitive to outside influence, cultural change and environmental mismanagement, all key notions in island studies. It is suitable to observe such linguistic and cultural phenomena in the island situation and particularly on small, remote and toponymic pristine islands. This position puts

forward the possibility of *island toponymy* as a sub-discipline of toponymy. This has arisen because although some linguistic studies of islands have made cursory mention of toponyms (e.g. Coates 1991; Hudson & Higman 2009; Schreier & Lavarello-Schreier 2003), there has not been a clear statement about the relationship between nissology and its relationships to toponymy. It is hoped this work stimulates thought and debate on these topics. Due to the length and scope of this thesis, however, only the possibility and speculation of island toponymy can be presented.

2.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter I presented a historical description of Norf'k as it concerns Norfolk Island toponymy and its relationship to Tahiti, the mutiny on the *Bounty* and Pitcairn Island. In the section dealing with the sociolinguistic aspects of Norf'k, I problematised typological descriptions of the language. The relevance of a toponymic study on Norfolk Island and Norf'k's relevance to creolistics was outlined. The basis of ecolinguistic theory was put forward and its relevance to lexical studies and toponymy was argued. This discussion led to an examination of general toponymic theory and how this theory relates to the case of undertaking empirical toponymic research on island environments and more specifically islands that are toponymically pristine. In the following chapter, I review historical literature relevant to Dudley Peninsula toponymy.

3 RESEARCH ISSUES – DUDLEY PENINSULA

Here, at the southern head of Antechamber Bay on Kangaroo Island's Dudley Peninsula, Mavis and Adrian at last stood on their ancestors' land. They could look at the same view Nat Thomas and his Tasmanian Aboriginal 'wife' had once enjoyed; they could hear the same sounds: the waves crashing against the rocks, the dogs barking, the breeze stirring sweet winter grass. They too could breathe in the salt air and feel the sense of timeless space. (Taylor 2008: 5)

3.1 Nils Swanson

American River fisherman Nils Swanson also passed away during my doctoral candidature. He took with him an amazing amount of 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. The name *American River* honours Americans who settled in the region in the 1910s. Matthew Flinders named the same place *Pelican Lagoon*, describing the large sea birds that flock to this marshy lagoon area (Cooper 1953). An Irish gentleman named the same area *Big Duck* describing all the 'big ducks' he saw by the water (Kevin 'Shorty' Northcott p.c. 2009). 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 a 'local', a born-and-bred Kangaroo Islander. He lived in *American River* all his life.¹⁷ Nils remembered the fishing grounds in *Eastern Cove* off *American River* in the form of a cognitive map. 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* (see Figure 3.1 for image of *American River*). Kangaroo Island fishermen today mainly use GPS to locate fishing grounds. Nils never did.

¹⁷ 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 on Dudley Peninsula in their marks.



Figure 3.1 – Image of *American River* looking south-east towards Dudley Peninsula (source: the author 2009)

Although Nils was physically challenged, his remembrance of the location and history of fishing grounds was, like Bev McCoy's, 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. He spent most of his life out on those 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. I was sure this would be the only time I would see Nils.

3.2 Dudley Peninsula geography, history and culture

Nils' story provides context to my summary of historical and linguistic research applicable to Dudley Peninsula toponymy. The relevance and importance of Dudley Peninsula as a comparative island toponymy study to Norfolk Island is argued. A location map of Dudley Peninsula is presented in Figure 3.2:

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 57 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 3.2 – Location map of Dudley Peninsula (source: Land Services Group 2011b)

Figures 3.3 and 3.4 depict the landscape of Dudley Peninsula and the sea around *Penneshaw*.



Figure 3.3 – Image of *Penneshaw* looking north-east towards mainland South Australia (source: the author 2009)



Figure 3.4 – Image of *Penneshaw* looking north-west (source: the author 2009)

Kangaroo Island is Australia's third largest island. Its history is integral to South Australia's history because it is related to the colonial exploration and quest for the discovery of the 'Great Southern Continent', *Terra Australis*. Several volumes have chronicled and summarised the accounts of Flinders, Baudin, Freycinet and Péron (e.g. Cooper 1953). There has also been recent interest in the French voyage to Australia and particularly to the coast of South Australia (Fornasiero & West-Sooby 2011). This research has highlighted how European contact through toponymy has become a part of the cultural landscape and history in South Australia and Kangaroo Island.

Dudley Peninsula was proclaimed in 1874 by Governor Musgrave of South Australia. Musgrave married a daughter of Dudley Field, a noted American jurist, which may explain 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 at the time of colonisation. 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). While being historically sound, Nunn (1989), Lampert (1981) and Taylor (2002) do not detail or address linguistic or cultural aspects of a detailed toponymic analysis of Dudley Peninsula or Kangaroo Island toponyms.

I now summarise Cooper's (1953) historical account of English and French influences on Kangaroo Island toponymy. 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 Duc du Decres, a French Minister of Marine and Colonies. While *Kangaroo Island* became the official title, both English and French toponyms mark the Kangaroo Island coastline commemorating those 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 de 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, so I will have little more to say about French language contact and its influence on Dudley Peninsula toponymy today.

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 a small community of Europeans and Americans as well as Aboriginal women living outside of colonial control who survived through trade with passing vessels (Clarke 1998) as well as living off

the gifts of the land. The plight of these Tasmanian Aboriginal women exiled to Kangaroo Island has been detailed in Taylor (2008). 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) of which all set the scene for the continued colonial intrigue of Kangaroo Island. This legacy is remembered in many of Kangaroo Island's 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 a huge amount of 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 of Australian indigenous toponymic practices (cf. Harvey 1999). Some examples are *Bundilla*, *Arltunga*, *Parndana*, *Allomba*, *Aluka*, *Karatta*, *Churinga* and even *The Aboriginal*, an area on the eastern side of *Hog Bay* in *Penneshaw* so named because early on in the settlement a white settler, who married a native woman, was allocated a block of land there (Taylor 2008).¹⁸ These imposed names give a sense that the Kangaroo Island landscape is exotic. Introduced names illustrate another important element in pristine place-naming and adaptation through naming places. Other examples of introduced names are provided in Figures 3.5 and 3.6:

¹⁸ This area was also known locally as *Blackfella Town*. Some now call it *Snob Hill* due to the upmarket houses in this part of *Hog Bay*.



Figure 3.5 – Image of house and property name *Brighton Downs* (source: the author 2009)



Figure 3.6 – Image of *Parndana* (source: the author 2010)

There are also many resources describing toponyms presented in both official and unofficial sources such as Nunn (1989) and Cumpston (1970) and in nautical information sources like Scarce (1985) describing ship moorings in far-flung locations around Kangaroo Island. Cooper (1953) gives an in-depth account of the toponyms given by both Flinders and Baudin while the unofficial folk accounts offered by Mensforth and Irving (2000) dealing mainly with fishing provide a local perspective on how names are given, passed down, published and remembered in a fashion more digestible to the general populace. It is these anecdotal and local name histories which give spice to the folk toponymy of the island and suggest a gap in the documentation of unofficial Kangaroo Island toponyms. What has occurred on Kangaroo Island in terms of toponymic history forms a mosaic of official and unofficial placenames including the French names given by Baudin and Freycinet in 1802, those ascribed to Flinders and more localised unofficial toponyms which have never been recorded or mapped.

3.3 Pristine toponymy on Dudley Peninsula

Dudley Peninsula shares much in common with the proclamation and colonisation of South Australia as a colony in early 1836. Like Norfolk Island, Dudley Peninsula has a brief history of recorded, European inhabitation. Apart from the scant documentation given in Tindale and Maegraith (1928), there are no detailed written records of the Kurna and Ngarrindjeri occupants 2000 years ago or records of toponyms on Dudley Peninsula prior to European arrival. Apropos pristine toponymy, Dudley Peninsula is an 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 case, who named them. The principles of pristine place-naming outlined in Section 1.3 and attributed to Norfolk (35 km²) can be applied to the Dudley Peninsula topographical landscape (650 km²). In this study I put forward the possibility that Dudley Peninsula toponymy is similar to Norfolk toponymy due to the influence of isolation. The extent to which geographical, social, cultural and political isolation affects pristine toponymy in the two island locations is one of the theoretical perspectives analysed in this thesis.

The influence of French naming, which is still so prominent on contemporary Kangaroo Island, will not affect the theoretical or practical development of a description of Dudley Peninsula folk toponymy. The reason is simple: French is not spoken on Dudley Peninsula nor is French or any other language used, to the best of my knowledge, in current naming practices.¹⁹ The Dudley Peninsula analysis is the control study, which focuses on facets of unofficial toponymy and how principles from the Norfolk data analysis can be applied to an appropriate comparative situation. Like Norfolk Island, Dudley Peninsula bears the cultural weight associated with a powerful claim of long established family heritages. It is worth noting that the Dudley Peninsula family names such as Bates, Buick, Lashmar, Neaves, Willson and Trethewey carry similar historical baggage to Norfolk Island family names such as Adams, Buffett, Christian, Evans, McCoy, Nobbs, Quintal and Young. The methods used to elicit data collection on Dudley Peninsula are outlined in Section 4.4.

3.4 Chapter summary

In this chapter I presented a description of Dudley Peninsula history as it pertains to toponymy. The relevance of pristine toponymy to Dudley Peninsula was outlined as was the efficacy of using Dudley toponyms as a control to the Norfolk Island situation. This chapter concluded by suggesting that linguistic and cultural processes of toponymy on Dudley Peninsula could be compared to the Norfolk Island data. A description of the methodology of this thesis is given in the following chapter.

¹⁹ The recent name change of *Brown Beach* to *Baudin Beach*, i.e. the use of a well-known French proper noun, is an exception.

4 THEORY, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

One of the few ways in which human territoriality differs from that of other animals is that we can extend our claims by naming our environment, which is easier than having to urinate on it every morning. (Crocombe 1991: 216)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three major sections: theory, methods and techniques. In the first section, the basis of ecolinguistic fieldwork and its relation to pristine toponymy is presented. The second section deals with field methods including the need for a comparative island study and the implications of the data classification. The final section of this chapter details the actual fieldwork techniques carried out in the two fieldwork sites.

4.2 Theory

4.2.1 Epistemology and research question

It is worth repeating the principal research question:

Is the difference between official and unofficial toponyms a consequence of the degree of linguistic, cultural and ecological embeddedness of these toponyms and processes of toponymy?

I have argued for the need to consider relationships between toponymy and linguistics. Therefore, a more refined statement of the relationship between theory and research object is required. This thesis is ultimately concerned with interconnections between people and the social and natural world and how people use language to make these interconnections. In order to obtain access to some of these perspectives, I view language and specifically toponyms as a tool to access the cultural and ecological realities of these relationships. By using toponymy as a key, relationships between people and the social and natural world and the methods people use to adapt to and create places from space or 'non-places' (Sopher 1978) can be measured. Fishing ground names are an excellent example of creating place from space because they are brought into existence through human need. There are several directions an empirical study of the form, content and meaning of toponyms can take. The direction I have chosen to take in this research is based in ecolinguistics.

4.2.2 Ecolinguistic theory

The assumptions of an ecolinguistic approach differ from mainstream linguistics in a number of ways. Some of these are:

1. The interrelationship between language and people and the natural and cultural environment is seen to be both an explanandum and a source of explanations.
2. Linguistic research and fieldwork is seen as long-term engagement with the language community. Fieldwork is not restricted to making recordings and linguistic documentation but includes participant observation and participation with the community in, for example, creating language legislation, museum exhibitions and involvement in signage and placename documentation.
3. Language documentation and linguistic fieldwork cannot be separated from participating in the everyday activities of the community. This includes sharing practical activities with language users such as chopping wood, cutting corn, repairing gutters,

weeding and watering vegetables. It is in such situations where the context of language in use is clear that excellent data can be obtained.

The choice of ecolinguistics as a theory is not neutral. I have chosen this perspective because it is very effective in gathering large amounts of primary and secondary data through the creation of diverse social networks in the field sites. Furthermore, ecolinguistics encourages a 'parameter rich' approach which does not discount the relevance of including any variable in field data collection, nor in the analysis of this data. As I made clear in Section 2.3, an ecolinguistic perspective poses language as an embedded cultural and ecological artefact which is related intricately to the place where the language is spoken. Specifically, ecolinguistics considers toponyms as a word class that can be analysed for its cultural and ecological meaning and significance.

4.2.3 Friendship and fieldwork

In order to establish the social networks needed to acquire data for analysis in the actual places where toponyms exist and therefore derive their meaning, there is a need to spend time in and understand the workings of the people who possess the toponymic knowledge. Because this study involved dealing with the people in and toponymy of culturally remote and isolated communities, time was required to garner trust and interest in my project. Ecolinguistics offers a clear set of assumptions from which to gather data in such situations.

The insularity of both communities in the field locations quickly became very apparent. Although I am an Australian male, as a rank outsider it took time to gain trust and establish friendships with knowledgeable and reliable informants. This took considerably more time and involved different activities on Norfolk Island than on Dudley Peninsula. The difference between the two field locations emphasise being sympathetic to local, social norms and patterns of behaviour. On Norfolk Island, it was essential for me initially to engage in hard physical work in parallel with conducting linguistic research. This was because being accepted and liked by key Norfolk Island

community members, custodians of the Norfolk Islander ethos and those involved with the Norfolk language was integral to gaining access to toponymic data. On Dudley Peninsula, I did not undertake any notable physical work but still managed to gain access to a group of local residents with extensive toponymic knowledge. While Dudley Peninsula informants were sometimes puzzled as to why I wanted to document their unofficial toponyms, they freely gave this information which even they often saw as trivial.

Along with traditional linguistic data gathering techniques as outlined in Samarin (1967) and Healey (1964) to more modern approaches dealing with, amongst other things, digital data storage and focused elicitation techniques put forward by Crowley (2007) and Bower (2008), it is imperative that a congenial rapport is established early on in fieldwork dealings, otherwise very little will happen by way of language documentation which specifically focuses on the cultural saliency of language in relation to a particular place. Specific to this study, because of the strict demarcation between insider and outsider in the interpretation of the sociology of knowledge in the two island environments, this study emphasises the need to value a symbiotic fieldworker-language community relationship. This symbiotic relationship can be summarised in the following quote:

Long-term field research in toponymy is by nature slow, but it is far from unrewarding. It allows the researcher not only to gather primary data, in this case place names, but to observe the culture in which they are embedded and their relationship to changes in land use and landscape. The researcher can experience the place and its people, incorporate local language and speech into the study, and elicit the contributions of native speakers. Far from being misinformed, local residents are the only sources of local speech, oral tradition, and place names that are not on maps or that differ from those maps. They are also the only providers of information that leads to an understanding of indigenous systems of knowledge and ways of ordering and classifying the world. (Berleant-Schiller 1991: 92-93)

I label my approach an 'ecolinguistic fieldwork methodology'. This perspective holds that sustained contact, conducting research affably and interpersonal dealings, the establishment of friendships and even the exchanging of gifts are what constitute a good fieldwork process. This even involves making informants aware of developments in the research and what part they have played in this

evolution. This ecolinguistic fieldwork methodology considers factors that traditional linguistic fieldwork considers extraneous. Moreover, it claims that fieldwork and the fieldworker are interacting with the linguistic ecology, and that the aim is an understanding of the significance of the locally specific categories and processes as this significance is revealed through interaction. In many ways too, the linguistic ecology and the cultural and linguistic consideration of the toponymy of Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula have become a part of academic discussions at the University of Adelaide and abroad during conference presentations.

Drawing on information and written sources in the possession of community in the case study areas, this thesis has been necessarily and integrally informed by community members' memories of the names, locations and stories behind Norfolk and Dudley toponyms. These stories and the interaction between people, place, language and questions of an outsider narrate what happened historically on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula vis-à-vis toponyms. Furthermore, these processes describe how they can affect language usage today and the possibility of language maintenance and revitalisation in the future. The eclectic nature of Norfolk society and the Norfolk language has been reflected in my eclectic approach to fieldwork and the final product of the thesis as a whole.

4.2.4 What has affected toponymy on Norfolk Island?

Ecolinguistic fieldwork necessitates observing interconnections, interconnectedness and relationships between people, language and place. My fieldwork experiences, particularly on Norfolk Island, have shown that much toponymic knowledge has been either forgotten or rendered obsolete over time. That is, the places or the knowledge associated with them have disappeared or the toponymic knowledge is of little practical significance to people today, i.e. you do not need this knowledge of place or association to find your way around anymore. Some examples which are gone:

1. *Paradise Hotel* – a hotel run for many years in *Kingston* and a favourite watering hole for locals that closed down in the 1980s.
2. *Pine Avenue* – a beautiful avenue of 375 pines planted during the convict settlement, demolished during World War II to make way for the building of the airport. The avenue was in the south-western part of Norfolk and ran from the *Longridge* area to *St. Barnabas Chapel* on the old Melanesian Mission grounds.
3. *Dead Rat Lane* – a small laneway in the commercial part of Norfolk named because a dead rat was once found there. It has been renamed *Mitchells Lane* although many islanders still use the old name.
4. While they are remembered and mapped, the histories of names like *Ghossie Ghossie*, *Ghost Corner*, *Monty* and *Half Century* have mostly been forgotten.

When observing interconnections from an ecolinguistic perspective, the process where names disappear or ‘die’ should be considered because these could possibly give insight into how people forget places and names. I put forward four points that have contributed to the loss of a large amount of toponymic knowledge and history on Norfolk Island (these points are not necessarily relevant to Dudley Peninsula toponymy):

1. Television. It was a common cultural practice on Norfolk Island for people to come together, especially in the evening or on the weekend, for large-scale community socialising involving music, singing, food and produce sharing. After the introduction of television in the mid 1980s, the amount of Norf’k spoken decreased markedly.²⁰ There has also been a noticeable decrease in discussions about ‘old timers’ and the places where they used to live and what they did.
2. Refrigerators. The introduction of cooling systems for food minimised the need to go out and fish every day. Refrigerators also allowed for a much greater amount of food storage, and also meant more introduced foods from the mainland could be stored and consumed on the island. This meant that it was no longer essential for families to go fishing for their

²⁰ Mühlhäusler (2008a) outlines further reasons for the decline in the use of Norf’k associated with the Norfolk education system.

livelihood. It was in these situations that the children would learn Norf'k, the ways and culture of their elders and the names of the onshore and offshore fishing locations. Some fishing grounds whose history or locations are forgotten are *Ar Side fer Doddos*, *Martys*, *Sweat Bank* and *The Billy Tin*.

3. Cars and motorcycles. The use of motor vehicles has reduced the distance and frequency people walk, cycle or ride on horseback on Norfolk. This has rendered many of the minor paths and tracks which people used to traverse obsolete as thoroughfares. A few obscure Norfolk road names are *U.J. Road*, *J.E. Road* and *Peters Highway*, a short stretch of road on *Ferry Lane* near the junction of *New Farm Road*. It commemorates a workman named Peter who was involved in the construction of the airport.
4. Fences. The erection of fences to create obvious property boundaries has meant that people were not able to wander across people's properties with ease as in the past. This has made it illegal to walk across large areas of land on the island.

These points and the implications these toponyms illustrate suggest that a study documenting Norfolk, and possibly Dudley, toponyms would have been more fruitful if undertaken several generations ago. This once again illustrates the dynamics of oral and (possibly) isolated cultures – people generally never think to write down and comment on their own history although they believe it is important. The strong and closed sociological influences that are present in island societies often mean that people take large amounts of cultural knowledge to the grave. The diachronic application of archival research in sourcing forgotten etymologies as a type of 'salvage toponymy' is a strength of the ecolinguistic method. While telling the story of Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula on whatever level is a difficult task and a mammoth undertaking, I was consistently encouraged during fieldwork and by colleagues to continue contributing to a real-life language documentation situation.

4.3 Method

4.3.1 Ethnographic method and ecolinguistic method

The ethnographic method of participant observation as outlined by Labov (1966) and Saville-Troike (2003) was used to put aspects of ecolinguistic theory into action in both field locations. As a method for collecting data, ethnography focuses on speech acts and communication in action. While the ethnographic method can incorporate diachronic archival data dealing with sociological components of language in use and context, it is primarily concerned with collecting and analysing synchronic speech in action. As a result, focusing on 'language in context' and fixing certain predetermined parameters to be observed when collecting data can be considered reductionistic. The ethnographic method can become simultaneously too vague and too specific, e.g. it is often not clear where the context of language in use ends. This method also does not consider the many variables in linguistic, social and ecological interaction that go beyond what is observable in speech acts in the communicative setting and language in context.

On the other hand, ecolinguistics uses tools common to ethnographic data collection but extends the analysis of these data by considering parameters not commonly present in an ethnographic analysis. Because the primary concern with ecolinguistics is on interconnections and relationships and not categories or classification, the ecolinguistic method helps select fields and topics of inquiry that are convenient and practical for analysis. Like the study of ecology, ecolinguistics cannot incorporate all parameters for analysis. Ecolinguistics selects those relationships which illustrate key patterns for describing the linguistic ecology. For example, the ecolinguistic method considers that the fishing ground names *Bills*, *Acme* and *Dar Milky Tree* are related to more than just the people who fished in those areas or the boats or the terrestrial features used to line up the grounds. The social meaning of these toponyms, the processes of history associated with how toponyms come about and the inevitability of toponyms as ecological artefacts that can be lost over time are also considered.

Ecolinguistics asserts that because each ecology is different, similar and different processes and patterns of collecting data and observing social and ecological connections can be observed in their real-life context. This approach does not impose any predetermined rules or guidelines for what data should be collected or how it should be analysed. The inductive nature of collecting and analysing data from an ecolinguistic perspective considers synchronic language in use, and structural analyses as well as archival sources, deeper ethnohistory and the linguistic effect of the intricacies of environmental factors, e.g. isolation, language contact, interaction between different ways of thinking and acting. By combining synchronic, diachronic and environmental history considerations into a structural linguistic analysis, ecolinguistics is a strong method for observing similarities and differences between the form and function of language in social and ecological context. Because each ecology is different but at the same time similar, each ecology must be treated differently. What may happen in one ecology linguistically and toponymically may not happen in a different ecology. For this study in toponymy, this suggests a need for a comparative study to emphasise similarities and differences between different toponymies in different ecologies.

4.3.2 Comparing Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymy

As was made clear in Section 1.6, this thesis compares the toponymy of two island environments and analyses the transparency of pristine placenames and the relationship between toponyms and other cultural and ecological phenomena. This comparison enables generalisations to be made about data from both locations. The island locations analysed in this thesis are useful for ecolinguistic fieldwork because:

1. They have no conflicting neighbours.
2. Patterns of pristine place-naming can be observed.
3. Patterns of unofficial and official toponymy can be contrasted.
4. They are manageable due to their small size.

5. They have written histories and known and isolatable human histories.
6. There is the possibility of obtaining oral evidence because there are living informants with large amounts of knowledge.
7. Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponyms, especially unofficial toponyms, represent an element of the folk lexicon of the two locations that can be isolated and analysed.

Analysis of the Norfolk Island toponymic data will form approximately 70% of the load of this study. The Dudley Peninsula data will comprise approximately 30%. This difference is because:

1. Norfolk Island is the major study of this project.
2. Norfolk Island has a more diverse toponymic history than Dudley Peninsula.
3. More data were collected and more absolute time was spent on Norfolk Island than Dudley Peninsula.
4. Norfolk Island is a much more manageable project of intense focus due to its small size and close-knit community.²¹

Unofficial toponymy on Dudley Peninsula is the control for the official and unofficial toponymy of the major Norfolk Island study. The major question I ask in this thesis concerns the difference between official and unofficial toponyms. The control study of unofficial Dudley Peninsula toponyms will help emphasise the difference between official and unofficial toponymy on Norfolk Island.

4.3.3 Data elicitation

In order to collect enough data so that an adequate toponymic analysis could be undertaken, travel and intensive fieldwork in the case study locations were required. Primary interview research and

²¹ As outlined in Section 1.6.2, this is also why Dudley Peninsula was chosen as a comparative study rather than all of Kangaroo Island.

concentrated and exhaustive secondary data collection in both fieldwork locations were required to obtain the two datasets. The specific techniques for data elicitation are outlined in Section 4.4.

4.3.3.1 Selection of names for analysis

Analysed toponyms were chosen for their saliency. That is, those toponyms that lent themselves to comparison were analysed. Toponyms were also chosen for their ability to demonstrate illustrative principles of place-naming patterns, and their related social and environmental contexts. This selection aimed to be representative of both datasets as a whole.

In the qualitative or cultural analysis, five Norfolk toponyms and three groups of Dudley toponyms were selected from the datasets. While these names only represent a small number of toponyms from both datasets, they were chosen to show precisely the culturally bound relationships between people, language and place. The selected names emphasise several key parameters that exist in the social and linguistic ecology on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula and show how toponyms provide key insight into the workings of these parameters.

4.3.3.2 Data division and taxonomy

In this section I divide the data into analysable taxa. These divisions provide a pre-theoretical classification that can be used to describe the toponym data. This categorisation is described for both Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula data, illustrating how the data from the respective locations are simultaneously similar and different. This justifies the choice of the latter as a comparative study. Key terms and concepts are defined and described and the boundary of each data taxon is given. The overall taxonomy leads into a description of the tools used to analyse the data.

The first division to be made is based in the geography of the two fieldwork sites. Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula are two distinct island locations. They share little in common concerning the actual names ascribed to the places in the respective regions. What these two islands share vis-à-vis their toponymic history is:

1. The majority of the initial naming occurred around the same time, i.e. the late 1700s for Norfolk Island (Hoare 1994) and the early 1800s for Kangaroo Island (Cooper 1953).
2. They are both coastal locations whose populations have been dependent on the sea for their livelihood.
3. There has consistently been a tug-of-war on both islands between the status of official and unofficial names (e.g. Wiseman 1977 for Norfolk Island; Taylor 2008 for Dudley Peninsula).

The first step in describing the taxonomy for this thesis is to present a geographical taxonomy for Norfolk Island (Figure 4.1):

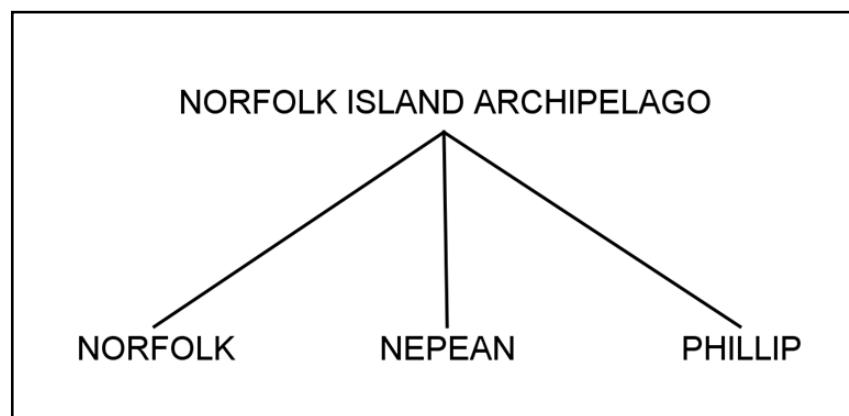


Figure 4.1 – Geographical taxonomy on the Norfolk Island Archipelago

Because I will only be considering Dudley Peninsula toponyms and not any other toponyms on Kangaroo Island, there is no need to provide a geographical taxonomy differentiating between areas on Kangaroo Island. In Figure 4.2, I present a taxonomy that has arisen out of conducting long-term toponymic research in both field locations:

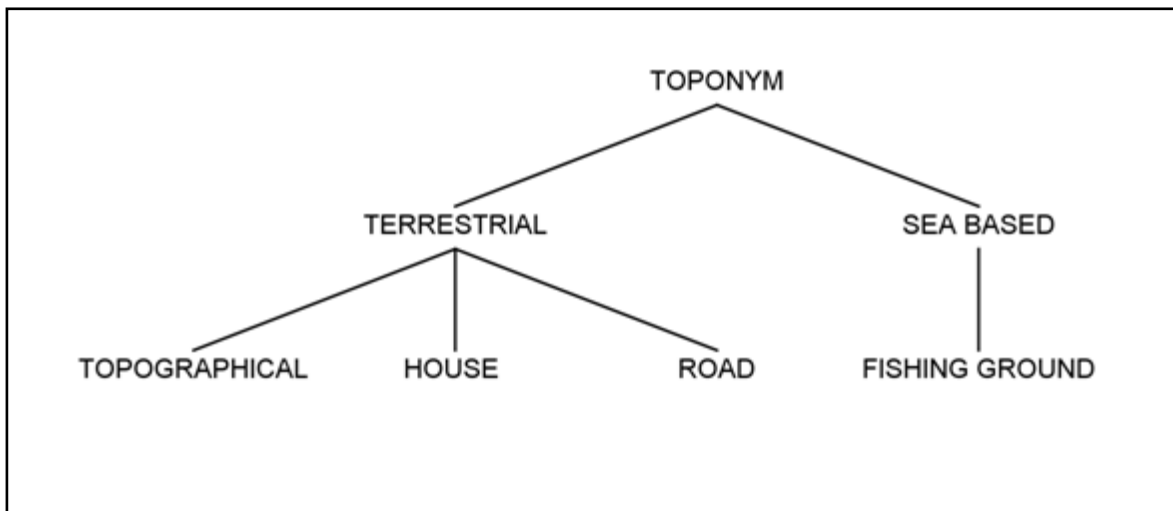


Figure 4.2 – Toponym taxonomy for island toponymy (source: the author 2011)

The usefulness of these categories developed during the fieldwork and analysis components of this research. This taxonomy was satisfactory because it adequately divided the data into taxa that could be analysed grammatically as well as for their cultural import. This taxonomic system also helped compare official and unofficial names and Norfolk and English names across toponym taxa. During this research programme, I have not come across a similar method to describe toponymic data. I have also not come across a similar taxonomy for dividing up (island) toponyms into clear, distinct categories. It appears such an explicit system does not exist in Australian toponymy or linguistics. This taxonomy makes a contribution not only to island toponymy but also to Australian and international toponymy.

This system is employed to analyse in detail the Norfolk/Norfolk data and all its taxa. For the Dudley Peninsula data, however, the taxa that will be analysed are (1) toponyms, particularly those that were prior to this study not found on maps, and (2) offshore fishing ground names. I assume these two Dudley taxa can account for, at the required depth, the Dudley Peninsula toponymic situation as a comparative study. I will now turn to describing the general assumptions and definitions of the toponym taxa.

4.3.3.3 Toponym taxa

The division of data for the Norfolk Island section adheres to the following hierarchical distribution:

1. Topographical names.
2. Fishing ground names.
3. Road names.
4. House names.

As previously mentioned, only the first two taxa will be considered for Dudley Peninsula data, i.e. topographical names and fishing ground names. The geographical taxonomy has been put forward and the levels of toponyms have been presented. I now turn to defining each data taxon and how the data were acquired.

4.3.4 Toponym definitions

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines 'place name' as "the name of a geographical location, such as a town, lake, or a range of hills" and 'toponym' as "a place name, esp. one derived from a topographical feature". The OED defines toponymy as "the study of place names". I refine and expand the OED definition to encompass any part of the geographical or topographical landscape or offshore environment:

Toponym: the name of any geographical location, such as an island, town, land or sea-bound area, creek, street or road including underground and underwater features.

This is the general term I use to refer to any kind of geographical name, i.e. in the hierarchy presented in Figure 4.2, fishing ground names and house names fit under the broader category of

toponym (geographical name). The OED defines 'toponym' as "a place name, esp. one derived from a topographical feature". I agree with this definition yet restrict it even further:

Toponym: a placename derived from and only from a topographical or land based feature.

Although I have used the overarching term *toponym* until now as a broad term indicating any placename, in the two data analysis chapters (Chapters Five and Six) the term *topographical name* will refer specifically to a land-based geographical name and not the other three taxa. In the following sections I define and delineate each taxon of the data in terms of how they fit within the toponymic landscape of each respective fieldwork site. Brief reviews of the research relevant to each respective toponymic taxa are presented in Chapter Five prior to the analysis of each taxa.

4.3.4.1 Topographical names

Topographical names are the most generic classification within toponymy. In this study they describe terrestrial features that are not house names or road names, e.g. *Pop Rock* on Norfolk and *Hoppys Block* on Dudley Peninsula. Topographical names can also inspire fishing ground names, e.g. *Ar Pine fer Robinsons* is both a topographical name and a fishing ground name.

Like all toponyms, topographical names can either be transparent, where their meaning and history are known, or opaque, where the history, meaning and etymology are not initially apparent (Radding & Western 2010). The descriptive nature and power of topographical names means they are often the most transparent and definable level of toponymic research.

4.3.4.2 Fishing ground names

Fishing ground names are a subcategory of hydronyms, names for water features. The term is used frequently in the literature (e.g. Hovda 1961, 1971 discusses the plethora of variants of fishing ground names in Norway). Similar terms, e.g. 'fishing shots' and 'fishing shot names' (Blair 2006), illustrate the same concept. Fishing grounds are transient ephemera; the offshore location of these 'no places' that become 'places' through naming can be lost when terrestrial markers, such as trees, are altered. Reviewing research in fishing ground names suggest that because of their transient nature, they are a toponym taxon, susceptible to being lost or forgotten if not recorded. They also express a large degree of grammatical variation. These ideas are explored in detail in the fishing ground name analysis in Chapters Five and Six. Some comments by Hardy (1974: 227) accentuates some of the practical factors involved in recording fishing grounds:

It is not much use taking bearings if they are not accurately recorded for future reference. The human memory for such details is fickle and the eye is easily deceived. ... It is asking a lot to try to carry details of 4 points in the mind for each fishing point that may be worked. It is imperative that they be recorded, and it is a good idea to mark them on an Admiralty chart in similar manner [sic] to that used in our sketch.

Many of these areas are shallow reefs and underwater crevices that have been found through trial and error over time, e.g. *Shallow Water* (named after underwater reef features), *No Trouble* (named such because you have no trouble catching fish there). Because of their ephemerality, the unofficial and insider nature of the processes by which they are named and handed down, and because they are so easily lost and forgotten makes this section of toponymy of great interest to this study. Modern tracking systems, sonar, GPS and the removal of trees and other landmarks used in locating grounds have rendered a lot of the spatial information and much of the sociohistorical import of the names obsolete. Researchers studying the anthropology of fishing ground names have commented on the reluctance of fishermen to give away their most valuable spots and names:

A fisherman rarely teaches the art of lining up a specific fishing spot, and a boy's apprenticeship consists largely of curiosity and persistence. While a fisherman is always delighted to have a young apprentice help to augment his catch, he avoids taking him to a preferred spot. (Forman 1967: 422)

4.3.4.3 House names

House names are a highly personal and unofficial realm of the toponymic landscape of Norfolk Island.²² The practice of naming houses gives a unique window into the past of a specific place because house names are especially resilient entities that continue to exist even after people have passed away. (Varman 1984 gives a detailed architectural account of Norfolk houses which includes a large amount of historical data that has been highly valuable to this study.)

Topographical names can also become house names, e.g. *Out Yenna* and *Aut Yenna* are both a topographical name and a house name respectively.

Creating a house name on Norfolk Island is often as simple as putting up a sign. Humour, sarcasm and irony as well as descriptive and environmental aspects are employed in house names more than in any other taxon. This personal approach to naming on Norfolk explicates dramatically the relationship between official and map-based toponymy versus colloquial and adlib and spontaneous naming practices.

4.3.4.4 Road names

'Road name' is the generic term I use to refer to roads, streets, easements and lanes. The majority of these thoroughfares on Norfolk Island are named. This aspect of toponymic history demonstrates the relationship between official and unofficial naming as well as an active process of community based language planning, as the 2008 example on Norfolk illustrates (see Section 5.6).

On Norfolk Island roads, alleys and lanes are Crown land and require official recognition in

²² House name and road name data will not be considered for Dudley Peninsula.

accordance with legislation prior to the erection of signage. This differs significantly from the process of erecting house and hotel signage which can be carried out in a much less official fashion (these have been outlined in the document, *Road Issues – Naming*, Administration of Norfolk Island 2008).

There are, however, many examples of unofficial naming of official roads in colloquial use, e.g. *Dead Rat Lane* was linguistically sanitised to *Mitchells Lane*. This implies that official strategies of road naming are not always the more important parameters of language planning and, ultimately, how names are used. The most extreme examples of (naïve) language planning are the removal and/or defacement of erected signs where ‘unofficial’ opinion of naming or signage erection may differ from official implementation. Such examples represent well-established norms of behavior common on Norfolk Island. This practices possibly represents an element of social defiance and general dislike towards outsider influence on what are commonly considered insider matters.

4.3.5 Analytical framework

In this section I describe the method used to analyse the data in the two data analysis chapters. Although analysis of Dudley Peninsula toponyms is smaller than the Norfolk Island data set, the same analytical tools will be employed. These are:

1. Data presentation and grammatical analysis.
2. Tagmemic analysis (only for Norfolk).
3. Spatial orientation analysis (only for Norfolk).
4. Comparative analysis of official and unofficial forms (only for Norfolk).
5. Cultural analysis.

There are two principal methods for analysing the data which inform the research: quantitative and qualitative. Through combining mixed methodologies primarily from linguistics and secondarily from ethnography and anthropology, the quantitative analysis develops a more qualitative focus. This quantitative means of analysis involved the initial collating and presentation of raw numerical data. These describe the absolute and relative numbers and percentages of the toponymic taxa and the general data division. This leads into a deeper grammatical examination of toponymic structure, once again being focused on the quantitative aspects of linguistic analysis. After summarising this quantitative data, the study moves into the qualitative domain. It employs methods and means of analysis that expose the dataset to what I claim is more appropriate to describe the processes of linguistic, social and environmental adaptation through toponymy. These analytical methods are outlined in Section 4.4. Both the quantitative and qualitative frameworks allowed for multiple data collection tools and methods of analysis, primarily the use of archival research, individual and community oral history interviews, list creation and the production of toponym maps.

At the beginning of Chapters Five and Six, absolute numbers and percentages of toponyms for each taxon are given. Data and compiled maps for Norfolk, Nepean and Phillip Islands are given in Chapter 5 and Dudley Peninsula in Chapter Six. All original maps in this thesis were produced with the assistance of a professional cartographer at the Land Services office in Adelaide from January to May 2011. All maps were produced in WSG 84 projection. Other maps relevant to each toponym taxon are presented in the analysis of each relevant taxon. These initial data and geographical categorisations make the initial grammatical analysis more manageable. For Chapter Five, these divisions also help in analysing the Norfolk data according to its various historical periods, e.g. First and Second Settlement, Melanesian Mission. Furthermore, it enables a distinction between English and Norfolk toponyms.

The general grammatical analysis is based in a method common in linguistics. I select salient toponyms from each taxon and analyse what patterns are productive. This process emphasises other considerations important for later analyses, e.g. whether names are official or unofficial, and how some toponyms are more or less socially and ecologically embedded. A statement about Norfolk's historical periods and its effect on how toponyms are categorised is also given in Chapter

Five. A brief morphophemic description of the use articles in Norf'k toponyms and other idiosyncratic forms in Norf'k toponyms, e.g, the *fer* construction, conclude this initial grammatical analysis.

Because of the building block or slot-like nature of many Norfolk toponyms, a tagmemic analysis will be employed in Chapter Five. This analysis is based on the work of Pike (1958) as presented in Elson and Pickett (1968). Tagmemics is a powerful tool for ascertaining the relationship between obligatory and optional slots in toponyms. It provides a convenient pre-theoretical tool, which leads to a method of classifying data.

A spatial orientation analysis of Norfolk/Norf'k toponyms follows these initial grammatical analyses. (A spatial analysis of Dudley toponyms is not attempted.) The consideration of space and its relationship to language is well established within anthropological linguistics (e.g. Bennardo 2002; Senft 1997) and has been applied particularly to toponyms (e.g. Levinson 2008). This reflection on the cognitive and cultural aspects of Norf'k spatial grammar and its relationship to the synchronic and diachronic treatment of Norf'k toponyms within the topographical and cultural framework of Norfolk Island opens up the need for a broader cultural analysis.

The four components of the Norfolk Island analysis and the grammatical analysis of Dudley Peninsula toponyms lead each analysis chapter into the cultural analysis section of each chapter. Salient toponyms are analysed in these chapters to illustrate how wider parameters of the social and natural ecology of both islands are reflected in intricate linguistic and toponymic relationships. In order to establish whether toponym structure and grammar can account for the entirety of the history of toponymy on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula, this section incorporates ethnographic analyses in its linguistic descriptions. There are several other analytical tools that could have been chosen at this point, e.g. natural semantic metalanguage (NSM) (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2002) as demonstrated by Bromhead (2011). While Bromhead does use explications to illustrate intricacies in relationships between topographical features and their semantic content, this approach cannot account for issues such as (1) official versus unofficial status of toponyms, (2) the relationship

between toponym structures and how toponyms are a part of a lexical inventory located and embedded in a particular place, and (3) how spatial considerations, historical concerns and fading social memories can illustrate the need to consider domains, other than grammar, when considering the history of the connectedness of an island people to the place they have inhabited and 'colonised' toponymically.

In the cultural analysis section I argue that the linguistic and cultural components together constitute a more accurate linguistic, social and ecological account of the Norfolk Island and Dudley toponymic landscapes. The results and the implications of these two sections are compared in Chapter Seven. Several tools have been selected to aid in the cultural analysis in both chapters. The cultural framework is constituted by several anthropological and ethnographic perspectives on language, people and place, namely:

1. Milroy and Milroy's (1985) network theory.
2. Basso's (1988) speaking with names and 'wisdom sits in places' approach (Basso 1996).
3. Kearney and Bradley's (2009) emotional geographies.
4. Myers' (1986) notions of self.
5. Ingold's (2000) dwelling perspective.
6. Gaffin's (1993) landscape, personhood and culture approach.

It also considers historical approaches to colonial history and cartographic landscape creation put forward in Carter (1988). Dominy's (2001) station toponymy is used particularly in Section 6.4.1. (Due to the extent of Chapter Five, a much smaller account of the relationship between linguistic and cultural components will be attempted for Dudley toponyms.)

4.4 Techniques

4.4.1 History of this research and methodological rationale

As the members of the Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula community age, the immediacy of documenting aspects of the linguistic ecology of these two locations is apparent. This is especially true of aspects of the Norfolk lexicon. By engaging in real-life fieldwork with actual people and informants in the place where the toponyms are used and their culture lived, i.e. embedded toponyms, field data is personalised. The intensity of personal experience in social networking, which meant eventually meeting and earning the trust of the members of two island communities was the result of this fieldwork experience. Being aware of the importance of personalising data and healthy researcher–informant relationships, e.g. creating and maintaining friendships, is the best way to elicit good data (see Section 4.2.3).

The majority of research dealings on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula took place with people of advanced age. Because land use has changed so dramatically, knowledge of embedded toponyms for residents' physical and social livelihood has lessened. It is not as essential for locals now as it was generations ago for them to know names such as *Low Top Pine*, *Jerico Jerusalem Babylon*, *Dar Pudding* and *Now Now Valley* on Norfolk and *Devils Kitchen*, *Jacks Paddock* (where Jack had his first time with a girl) and *Staggerjuice Corner* on Dudley Peninsula. While these names are not commonly used on contemporary Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula by people under the age of 50, it is often acknowledged by those who do not possess this knowledge that these names are a key cultural apparatus. Through a small amount of interaction with younger informants, it is clear that much toponymic knowledge in both locations is considered folklore by the younger generation. They do not have access to or use this knowledge in their everyday life and some feel disappointed in their own lack of knowledge in this domain.

Dealing mainly with the older population involved primarily using maps, interviewing them, asking whether they remember the places and who lived there, who named these places and what activities were carried out in these places. This obviously would have been a much more fruitful

exercise 30 to 40 years ago as many of the knowledgeable people have now passed on. Many remember the names of places, their location and what they did there but in many cases they do not know (1) who named them, and (2) why they were named such. At times I would probe in order to understand how people came to acquire this esoteric knowledge such as fishing ground locations. Informants told me they would simply go out fishing with the old boys when they were around 10 years old and the old fisherman told the younger men where the old places were. The men knew who *Johnnies* and *Frankies* were named after; they worked with them, had a beer with them after work and their children played together. Because of the insular nature of Norfolk and Dudley, *insular toponymies* developed in both places. These *insular toponymies* serve not only a linguistic and practical social function involving communication; they became vital economic tools and provided a means of adapting ecologically to a place. Fieldwork in these places is a reliable method to access this insider knowledge and these *insular toponymies*.

While interacting with Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula residents and discussing the structural properties and history of toponym forms, it became clear that physical interaction with them in their speech environment was essential to obtaining accurate and reliable data because these names have never been recorded. Relating in a socially intimate manner was very important to observing how these names 'work' in the minds of the members of these two communities and how they perceive place in terms of these names.

As the intellectual and practical evolution of this work developed continually during the course of the fieldwork and research process, the method and theoretical development is qualitative. This approach is common for such a study in ecolinguistics and has been shown to produce adequate results (Maffi 2001). Simultaneously, the quantitative side of 'data crunching', tallying and explaining and producing grammatical analyses that can be quantified and measured with appropriate conclusions constituted the other major and initial component of the analysis. The process of combining preliminary archival research, initial exploration of the field, question and problem devising and initiation, literature search and review, several stints of intensive fieldwork, presentations of work-in-progress findings to colleagues at conferences leading to the refinement

of research questions and the final write-up of the thesis have been integral to the evolution of this work.

To reiterate, this thesis is an empirical study into the interconnectedness of toponyms as social, cultural and ecological artefacts. Toponyms are not arbitrary ephemera that exist in a vacuum. They are culturally embedded and live, exist and make sense in the minds and the environment of the people who know their meanings. The research questions and aims and objectives that directed this thesis arose systematically out of a combination of theory and method; fieldwork informed toponymic and ecolinguistic theory which then refined the direction further fieldwork and data collection would take.

4.4.2 Uniqueness of study

While not commonly a central concern to toponymy, documenting unofficial toponyms and the *microtoponymic* analysis of the insider micro names of a specific and focused area has been shown to be effective for illustrating key principles of language change and adaptation through place-naming (Thériault 2007, 2010). Dominy's (2001) exploration of the 'station toponymy' of the New Zealand high country illustrates the relevance microtoponymy has for a spatial and orientational ethnography of place. This suggests and encourages incorporating a more detailed consideration of the cultural and ecological relevance and connectedness of toponyms to place and their importance as markers of insider identity and cultural belonging (e.g. Gaffin 1993). It also outlines the role toponyms play as spatial descriptors and the importance of considering spatial orientation in a toponymic analysis (cf. descriptions of spatial grammar relevant to toponymy in Levinson 2008 and other papers in *Language Sciences* 2008 30 (2-3)).

Analysing technical aspects of toponyms does not necessarily account for their cultural and ecological significance. Kostanski (2009) put forward the possibility of measuring the emotional aspect and sentimentality of toponyms and people's attachment to place. Furthermore, scholars

such as Kearney and Bradley (2009) found that researching the 'emotional geographies' of toponyms open up the possibility of an inclusive toponymy rather than one that excludes parts of a place's history.

While there has been a recent interest in indigenous toponymy in Australia, this should not come at the cost of documenting and considering local, colonial and/or English toponyms. Certain elements of this process have been considered in a volume in toponymy published in the *Victorian Historical Journal* (2005 76 (2)), but none of the papers in this volume (e.g. Kostanski 2005) attempted to do an analysis similar to this study, i.e. interviewing people on their family properties and coastlines and carrying out linguistic analysis on what are incidental and descriptive names, even considered 'boring' by those who use them. These names could easily be argued to be trivial and of little relevance to toponymy. However, I argue that these names are integral to describing who these people are and how these names have become essential elements in the cultural and physical landscape of the place these people are connected to and move through every day. Places are understood, remembered and managed through names – how people think about, talk about, move around in and manage this ecology of toponyms is central to this study.²³ Toponyms are therefore vibrant cultural entities and artefacts that cannot exist apart from the cultural and ecological niches in which they exist. The term *toponymic ethnography* adequately describes what I present in this work.

The chief research questions for this thesis were developed and continually refined throughout the study. This is a key outcome of the inductive nature of doing ecolinguistic fieldwork, i.e. there were no set categories or expected outcomes. Rather, the inductive approach allowed social networks to develop during fieldwork. A clear research focus was maintained throughout the doctoral candidature by the clearly delineated topic – toponymy on two islands – and the lack of any previous documentation on this topic. Having such a clearly defined research question has been a luxury, because it eliminated inevitable tangents that present themselves to any researcher while conducting fieldwork and analysing data. On the other hand, it has meant that there has been little academic flexibility; producing an empirical toponymic analysis of two islands, while very broad

²³ While I speculate throughout about the pragmatics of toponyms in use, I will not be considering pragmatics in any great detail in this thesis.

ranging and potentially far-reaching theoretically, is such a specific topic that one is almost bound by its specificity. It is hoped the conclusions presented in Chapter Seven adequately illustrate that this thesis makes a new and unique contribution to linguistics and toponymy.

4.4.3 Research history and participant identification

4.4.3.1 Norfolk Island

Norfolk Island has a population of about 2000. Within this population, there are numerous key social groups and networks. Questioning and data elicitation can be tricky and is best done with informants after introductions have been made through already established contacts. Because of the insulated nature of Norfolk society, direct questioning can be counterproductive to getting answers and obtaining data. Spontaneous, informal and ad hoc dealings, which would be difficult to categorise as interviews, often result in large amounts of useful data.

Four trips to Norfolk Island were undertaken to collect data. The dates of these trips are:

1. March to May 2007 (7.5 weeks)
2. February 2008 (3.5 weeks)
3. March to April 2009 (2.5 weeks)
4. November to December 2009 (2.5 weeks)

Prior to arriving on Norfolk Island I had several contacts involved with the Norfolk language project. I acquired large amounts of data from these initial contacts. However, it was the social linking that developed from these contacts that expanded my informant base and helped create longstanding research relationships.

Because the nature of this field research was cumulative and meetings and interviews often very spontaneous, it is extremely difficult to give an exact number of informants and the number of interviews carried out. This is a result of the ecolinguistic research methodology. It is not possible to state that one particular interview was dedicated to documenting any one toponymic taxon. The clearest example of interviews dedicated to one specific taxon was discussing fishing grounds with fishermen – these interviews were entirely dedicated to the documentation of names and their locations and histories. The following details, however, are necessary:

1. Collecting toponyms took place consistently over the field trips. Approximately 50 interviews (some organised, some ad hoc) with 30 informants (male and female) helped make up the bulk of the primary data. There were an equal number of male and female informants. These were supplemented with secondary archival sources, e.g. toponym lists compiled from previously published (e.g. Hoare 1994) or unpublished maps and documents (e.g. Buffett n.d.), entered into the database to make up the complete toponym taxon.
2. Nine fishermen (only males²⁴) were interviewed over 15 interviews to compile the list of fishing ground names and historical information.
3. House names were collected by photographing house signs, questioning informants about the history of the name of their house and through secondary archival information (e.g. Varman 1984). Many of the house names were collected in parallel with toponymic data. Approximately 20 interviews with 15 informants were carried out.
4. Documenting road name data was done using two methods (1) photographing Norfolk road signs, and (2) compiling a road name list (Administration of Norfolk Island 2008) of the Norfolk Island Government into the database.

²⁴ A gender imbalance exists in the Norfolk fishing ground data. This is not something I have selected but the imbalance resulted because fishing on Norfolk Island is exclusively a male domain.

There was also a large community meeting held in April 2009 at *Christians Cave*, a local conference centre.²⁵ A large number of toponyms were documented at this meeting with the help of elder members of the Norfolk community.

It is essential to give some personal information describing the initial evolution of this research. The first field trip to Norfolk Island spanned seven and a half weeks and was undertaken in late March 2007. It involved becoming familiar with the research location and learning to read, write and understand the Norfolk language. I became acquainted with relevant stakeholders and institutions, and lived and worked with a community environmental group on a farm property dedicated to organic agriculture and tree planting. This was an important aspect of becoming established and recognised within the Norfolk community and to become clear about the linguistic and cultural issues at play. A large amount of background reading, photography and preliminary data collection was carried out and contacts were made. On returning to Adelaide in May 2007, a clear project involving documenting and theorising about Norfolk toponyms, with the need for a comparative island toponymic study, was formulated. The following nine months involved archival research dealing with published material relevant to Norfolk, particularly its relationship to Pitcairn Island, and the history of the Pitkern–Norfolk language. It became obvious during this period that a project documenting Norfolk toponyms was not only relevant and clearly delineated as a project in its own right, but also that it was worthwhile and achievable within the timeframe of a doctoral research project.

Due to the intricate social fabric of the Norfolk Island population, Norfolk Islanders are reluctant to share cultural information with members of their own community. Outside ‘help’ in recording potentially sensitive information is necessary to prevent attrition of linguistic data. Norfolk Islanders are reluctant to speak to outsiders and are prone to ‘hoodwinking’, tricking or lying to researchers in the interview situation. In my experience, informants were forthright and data could be cross-referenced across interviews and often with written sources for verification.

²⁵ *Christians Cave* is also a toponym on Pitcairn Island. It is said to have been “Fletcher Christian’s place of retreat in the event of a visit from a searching warship” (Ross and Moverley 1964: 174). Connections to Pitcairn are still strong in Norfolk toponyms, and the use of this name brings with it a large degree of community sentiment within and towards the Christian family.

The boundary between 'insider' and 'outsider' on Norfolk Island becomes clear during day-to-day dealings. Having never lived on Norfolk for an extended period, I have only been privy to the life of a field linguist, and the approach and methods necessary to collect and document data from people who generally want to give it to you, but are not quite sure what you will end up doing with it. This is a very common trait of island people (King & Connell 1999) and here it reflects the insular nature of Norfolk society. Although the Norfolk community are generally very hospitable and welcoming to outsiders, they often show apprehension towards probing through questioning. Avoiding offence is not too hard but getting the information during one visit or even two is often not possible. For example, I suspended one interview when I perceived the interviewee was not happy with me taking photographs of the fishing ground maps we were discussing. I deleted a large number of photos and reiterated that my task involved documenting cultural knowledge that would be worthwhile for future generations on Norfolk. I was there to catch placenames not fish!

The second field trip took place in February 2008. While still working with and being housed on the property of the community environmental group on the western coast of the island, it was during this period my project became known to the community. Contacts made from the first field trip were followed up and other connections and friends were created through continual persistence and following leads. During this period the toponym classification system (Section 4.3.3.2) became very clear and the major breakthrough during this period was the discovery of the taxon of fishing ground names. This arose serendipitously and has provided much of the cultural and ethnographic interest for this project. It was during this field trip, spanning three and a half weeks, that I interviewed several, respected, elder Pitcairn descendants. In such a closed community, a vote of confidence from elders is extremely important and this greatly increased community confidence in the worth of my study. Three of these informants have since passed away.

The immediate need to document these fishing ground names became obvious. This was a tiring process that is possibly the result of ecolinguistic fieldwork, i.e. by considering a large number of parameters. Many interviews and informants turned out to be less than ideal for the task of collecting toponymic data. There is a large discrepancy on Norfolk Island between how much toponymic knowledge people have and how much knowledge people think other people have. The

quintessential Norfolk concept 'demtull' (rumours, gossip) comes into play here. I often ate a lot of lemon cake and drank lots of cups of tea in the company of pleasant people without much in the way of obtaining toponymic data. This had very little effect on the quality of the data elicited elsewhere but it did often result in 'fieldwork fatigue'. These interviews evolved into a type of cultural rubber stamp which I could use at future interviews and meetings: "If Bev spoke to you and liked you, well, you must be alright." The local newspaper, *The Norfolk Islander*, became a part of the fieldwork process at this stage with the posting of notices, requests and thank you notes serving to inform the community about movements and happenings in the research.

Fourteen months passed until I returned to Norfolk in March to April 2009. During this period I maintained contact with community members by email and post, an element deemed just as important for the fieldwork process as physical contact. This research was undertaken in parallel with continuous secondary archival research, individual interviews, photographic documentation of house names and placename locations, and a large community meeting on 4 April 2009 with the most knowledgeable members of the Norfolk community regarding toponymic knowledge. The majority of the data collection for the Norfolk absolute and relative spatial orientation system was acquired during this period.

The fourth and most recent field trip was carried out in late November and early December 2009. It was here that the importance of conducting long-term ecolinguistic fieldwork became very clear. Boat trips were made around Norfolk Island and to Nepean and Phillip Islands. Photo documentation was finalised and data collection was concluded. The data were collated in alphabetical order into a FileMaker Pro database (Appendix A). The results of this analysis of salient and illuminating elements of these data are outlined in Chapter Five.

4.4.3.2 Dudley Peninsula

Two field trips to Dudley Peninsula were required to collect adequate data to undertake the comparative analysis. The dates of these trips were:

1. February 2009 (10 days)
2. December 2010 (5 days)

Because the field trips to Dudley Peninsula took place after two periods of fieldwork on Norfolk, the methodology and data taxonomy were much clearer and interview research was much more focused and took less time. The following details concerning the number of informants for the two Dudley toponymic taxa are:

1. Collecting toponyms took place consistently over the two field trips. Fifteen interviews (some organised, some ad hoc) with 10 informants comprised nine male informants and one female informant.
2. Nine fishermen (only males²⁶) were interviewed over 15 interviews to compile the list of fishing ground names and historical information.

After undertaking archival research, I conducted my first field trip on Dudley Peninsula in February 2009. I was based in *Penneshaw*, the main settlement on the Dudley Peninsula. Research involved informal interviews with elder members of the Dudley Peninsula community. These contacts were made by my host who is well known and respected within the community. Several interviews took place on people's family farms and properties; some of the interviews took place in people's work situations where they use these unofficial toponyms. Collecting offshore fishing ground names involved interviewing four fishermen exploring the name, history, usage, and possibly eliciting the location and bearing information of the fishing grounds. Fishermen found this component of

²⁶ Similar to Norfolk, a gender imbalance exists in the Dudley fishing ground data. This is again the result of fishing on Dudley Peninsula being exclusively a male domain.

questioning to be quite sensitive and like on Norfolk, they were often apprehensive about revealing the location of their fishing grounds.

I travelled to Dudley Peninsula with an outline of a general toponymic classification system derived from the Norfolk fieldwork to investigate whether a similar system existed. The main interest was the 'discovery' of:

1. A commonly known and well-established corpus of unofficial toponyms not listed on maps.
2. Offshore fishing ground names and their location coordinates as known to local fisher folk.

It became clear quickly that these categories indeed did exist and that analysing them would provide an adequate comparative study to the larger Norfolk study. The questions used to elicit the data are presented in Section 4.4.4.

As with Norfolk Island, there is an immediate necessity to record Dudley Peninsula toponyms, due to the advanced age of the informants, with detailed toponymic and cultural history knowledge. All respondents were born on Kangaroo Island and had lived most of their life on the island. They were all well respected and well known within the community. The majority were retirees while two older non-retired males still maintain family owned farming properties. All data have come from people who have been involved in farming well-established family estate allotments and/or were involved in providing fish to the local tourism industry. Two fishermen had been professional while the other two were recreational. Data from one elderly female informant has been included in the sample. Dudley Peninsula data were entered alphabetically into a separate FileMaker Pro database (Appendix B). Along with cartographic, historical and ethnographic information, these Dudley Peninsula data were analysed.

4.4.4 Methodology and data collection

The Norfolk Island data collection involved obtaining data both from primary sources, e.g. interviews and analysed published sources such as Varman (1984), and unpublished secondary sources (e.g. Hoare's 1994 *Rambler's Guide to Norfolk Island*). I also collected local unpublished maps (e.g. Buffett n.d.) and several handwritten maps and fishing journals used by Norfolk fishermen. The library at the headquarters of the Norfolk Island National Park provided an excellent source of secondary material on Phillip Island and how its inclusion as part of the Norfolk Island National Park affected its toponymy. These resources also offered a lot of information about Norfolk's natural history and its relationship to the toponymy on the Norfolk Island Archipelago. The planning section of the Norfolk Island Government was an excellent source of maps.

The Dudley Peninsula data collection was only done through primary interview research. Some of these data, however, were cross-referenced with sources such as the *South Australia State Gazetteer* (South Australian Environment & Geographic Information 1999)

4.4.4.1 Collecting topographical names

The main tool used throughout fieldwork was the 'Edgecombe-Martin' map. I use this term to describe the two different versions of the same map that were published in two different forms and places (Edgecombe 1991: 102; Martin 1988). This map is presented in Figure 4.3. The Martin (1988) version is a locally published map that was collated by several Norfolk Islanders to coincide with the Australian bicentennial celebrations in 1988. It was the first time such a map documenting and depicting 'the Pitcairn names', as is stated on the map, was ever made public. This map was an authoritative source that could be used to obtain the meanings and histories of already known places, and be used as a reference map to plot names that had not yet been plotted.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 97 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 4.3 – Edgecombe-Martin map (source: Edgecombe 1991: 102)

Norfolk topographical names (n = 461) were collected through six processes:

1. Using the Edgecombe-Martin map and other well-known maps (e.g. Murphy 1900, Pacific Maps 1979) and unofficial map sources (e.g. Buffett n.d., ca. 1980) acquired on Norfolk Island (secondary).
2. Documenting histories of topographical names during interviews (primary).
3. Documenting histories during several community consultation sessions (primary).
4. Using several published Norfolk Island Government and local Norfolk sources (secondary).
5. Using several unpublished local sources through archival research and through collating other people's sources (secondary).

6. Utilising toponymic data from a comprehensive archaeological survey of Norfolk historical structures (Varman 1984) (secondary).

Dudley Peninsula topographical names (n = 198) were collected through one process:

1. Documenting histories of topographical names during interviews (primary).

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.

The Dudley Peninsula microtoponymic example involved collecting toponyms on *Vernon*, a well-established family property on the northern coast of Dudley Peninsula. This analysis is presented in Section 6.4.1 and contrasts with the Norfolk analysis of *Cascade Road roof* house names presented in Section 5.5.1. These two examples aim to demonstrate the effectiveness of unofficial micro toponymic case studies in illustrating key principles in toponymy change and evolution: the *Vernon* property analysis considers landownership history and insider names and maps on a property that has been a part of a family's sociolect for several generations while *Cascade Road roof* names deal with community perception and humour and their relationship to toponymic processes. These two studies were chosen for their ability to emphasise key similarities and differences in Norfolk and Dudley toponymy.

4.4.4.2 Collecting fishing grounds

Norfolk fishing ground names were collected through one process:

1. Documenting names, locations and marks of fishing grounds during interviews (primary).

In order to carry out this process I liaised with and interviewed five Norfolk fishermen over three field trips. These interviews involved creating an offshore map of Norfolk that incorporated both the plotting of locations to names and documenting the history of these names. Seventy-three fishing ground names were elicited during this time.

Dudley Peninsula fishing ground data were collected on two field trips through one process:

1. Documenting names, locations and marks of fishing grounds during interviews (primary).

I interviewed four Dudley Peninsula fishermen using a map and relying on their memories. A total of 56 fishing ground names were elicited over these two field trips.

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 intently with, both onshore and offshore, I could freely ask questions about their fishing grounds. Common questions I posed to the fishermen were:

1. What is the name of the fishing ground?
2. Who named it and when was it named?
3. Where is it and how do you locate it?
4. What kinds of fish would you catch there?

While the maps presented in Figure 5.21 (Norfolk Island) and Figure 6.5 (Dudley Peninsula) show fishing ground locations, it is the cultural and ecological links to language and place that are integral to this thesis rather than exact locations.

4.4.4.3 Collecting house names

Norfolk house names were collected using five processes:

1. Using the Edgecombe-Martin (see Edgecombe: 1991) map (secondary).
2. Taking photographs of property signs while on the island (primary).
3. Documenting histories of house names during the interview situation (primary).
4. Consulting the unpublished cultural map of house names produced by the Norfolk Island Museum (ca. 2007) (secondary).
5. Utilising the house name data from a comprehensive archaeological and historical survey of historical structures on Norfolk (Varman 1984) (secondary).

These names (n = 401) were collected during four field trips to Norfolk Island (see Appendix A for raw data and Chapter Five for images of selected house names and signs).

4.4.4.4 Collecting road names

Norfolk road names were collected using four processes:

1. Using the Edgecombe-Martin (Edgecombe: 1991) map (secondary).
2. Taking photographs of road signs while on the island (primary).
3. Documenting histories of road names during the interview situation (primary).
4. Consulting the list of published road names produced by the Administration of Norfolk Island (2008) (secondary).

These names (n = 133) were collected during four field trips to Norfolk Island (see Appendix A for raw data and Chapter Five for images of selected road names and signs).

4.4.4.5 Other elicitation techniques

Other techniques that were used to collect the Norfolk data need to be outlined separately.

Collecting spatial orientation data

Norfolk/Norf'k spatial data related to toponyms were collected via questioning informants about colloquial use of locative prepositions in describing space and direction on the island, e.g. *Out ar Mission, Up in a Stick, Down a Town*. These observations were coupled and compared to data collected by Flint in the 1960s and by Harrison in the 1970s. Data were collected both in the unmonitored language use situation, i.e. through passive observation of prepositions in toponyms used by Norf'k speakers, and through monitored questioning. Data from 20 informants are included in this sample.

Acceptability of Norf'k variants

To assess the acceptability of various Norf'k forms, 10 informants were asked to rank their preferences for common Norf'k toponyms like *Ar Side fer Honeys* and *Ar House fer Ma Nobbys*. The results of this analysis are presented in the tagmemic analysis in Section 5.9.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter summarised the theory, method and techniques used to acquire Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula data. It considered the role of ecolinguistic theory in employing an ethnographic

method to toponymic data collection in insular communities. It also defined several key concepts fundamental to the study. A taxonomical division of the data was given and each data taxon was described. These descriptions led to explaining the analytical tools that will be used in Chapters Five and Six. These are general grammatical analysis, spatial orientation analysis, tagmemics and a cultural analysis. Other elements including the process of compiling maps and creating a database for easy retrieval of the data were explained. Analysis of these data is the topic of the following two chapters.

5 NORFOLK ISLAND RESULTS

There is a fishing ground to the north east of Norfolk off *Steels Point* named *Horse and Cart*. The reason the fishermen named this place *Horse and Cart* is because after finding your bearings, the gap that appears in *The Passage* between Phillip Island and *Bucks Point* is wide enough to drive a horse and cart through it. It's about nine miles out from Norfolk, in an area the old fishermen used to call *Ar Side Fer Doddos*. I don't know who Doddos was but he must have been one of the old fishermen who originally came from Pitcairn. *Horse and Cart* is a new name created by the younger generation. (Bev McCoy, Norfolk Island, February 2008)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results for the Norfolk Island component of the research project. Quantitative aspects are presented first, followed by qualitative accounts of place-naming behaviour, and the relationship between place, names and language in the Norfolk landscape. Maps are produced based mainly in primary research while incorporating secondary archival data.

5.2 Chapter division

The structure of this chapter is:

1. General presentation of toponymic statistics.
2. Presentation of maps for Norfolk, Nepean and Phillip Islands.
3. Relating these maps to the four main toponymic taxa, i.e. (1) toponyms, (2) fishing ground names, (3) house names, and (4) road names.
4. Tagmemic analysis.

5. Spatial orientation analysis of Norfolk toponymic grammar.
6. Comparative analysis of official and unofficial Norfolk toponyms.
7. Cultural analysis of salient Norfolk/Norfolk toponyms.
8. Conclusions.

5.3 Toponym statistics

A list of 1068 Norfolk toponyms was created (Appendix A). Using the toponymy classification outlined in Chapter Four, the data has been divided into the following categories:

1. Topographical names.
2. Fishing ground names.
3. House names.
4. Road names.

Of 1068 toponyms, 461 (44%) were topographical names, 73 (6%) were fishing ground names, 401 (38%) were house names and 133 (12%) were road names. These results are tabulated in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1 – Norfolk toponymic data (source: the author 2011)

Feature type	n	Percentage
Topographical name	461	44
Fishing ground name	73	6
House name	401	38
Road name	133	12
TOTAL	1068	100

Table 5.1 demonstrates that the majority of toponyms are topographical, followed by house names, road names and finally, fishing ground names. In this chapter I will speculate about these disproportionate numbers across these taxa. In the following two sections I will present data for Nepean Island and Phillip Island before presenting a broader outline of the Norfolk Archipelago as a whole.

5.3.1 Nepean Island data

Although quite small in comparison to the other two islands in the Norfolk Archipelago, Nepean Island has played and continues to play an important role in Norfolk's cultural history. It expresses differing layers of naming priorities across Norfolk's historical periods. It also shows how toponymy doublets or synonyms, e.g. *The Convict Steps / Em Steps*, can be linked to two different conceptual usages of the same place.

To my knowledge, there has never been a comprehensive toponymic survey of this small, uninhabited island and no toponymic maps of Nepean exist. Nepean serves as an excellent micro case study of toponymy because it has a large number of culturally important names in a relatively small area. I present a map of Nepean Island toponyms in Figure 5.1:



Figure 5.1 – Nepean Island toponymic map (source: the author 2011)

There were 22 Nepean Island toponyms in the sample. As there are no roads or houses on Nepean, there are only two relevant toponym taxa for the island, namely topographical names and fishing grounds. Of these 22 names, 15 (68%) (plotted on Figure 5.1) were topographical names and seven (32%) were fishing ground names located near Nepean Island (plotted on Figure 5.22). The Nepean data comprise an element of the entire Norfolk dataset to be analysed.

5.3.2 Phillip Island data

Phillip Island is an important element in the landscape of the Norfolk Archipelago. Figure 5.2 depicts the seven kilometre view south to Phillip Island from Norfolk Island while Figure 5.3 illustrates the rocky landscape of the island on the south-western coast offshore from *Dar Tomato*:



Figure 5.2 – Phillip Island looking south from Norfolk Island (source: the author 2008)



Figure 5.3 – Image of south-western coast offshore from *Dar Tomato* on Phillip Island (source: the author 2009)

Over the three major periods of settlement on Norfolk (Section 2.2.4), Phillip Island demonstrates a great deal of variation in its toponymy and how different people have treated and named the same place according to different priorities. The main point of contention in Phillip Island toponymy and cartography is the discrepancy in the names given by Australian Government workers on ‘Coyne’s Map’²⁷ (Figure 5.4) during the rabbit eradication programme in the late 1980s (Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service 1989) and the names published in the revised plan of management (Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service 1990) after consultation with the local community. In this example of micro language planning, the authenticity of ‘imposed’ toponyms was questioned by the Norfolk Island community and this resulted in the current Phillip Island toponymic map. In order to document all the toponyms on Phillip Island, Coyne’s Map and the map published by Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service (1990) are combined in Figure 5.5:

²⁷ This map is called ‘Coyne’s Map’ because it is attributed to the work carried out by Peter Coyne, the head officer the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service on Norfolk Island at that time. Coyne was responsible for much of the documentation work on Phillip Island, which led to Phillip Island being proclaimed as part of the Norfolk Island National Park in 1996.

NOTE:

This figure is included on page 109 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 5.4 – Coyne's Map of Phillip Island (source: Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service 1989)

NOTE:

This figure is included on page 110 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 5.5 – Combined toponymic map of Phillip Island (source: Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service 1989, the author 2011)

In the following sections the results for four toponymic taxa for all three islands in the Norfolk Archipelago will be presented. Each respective taxa will be preceded by a brief literature and theory review. This serves as an introduction to contextualise the results of each data taxa within modern toponymy.

5.4 Topographical name analysis

Because general and specific details concerning toponyms and toponymy, i.e. topographical names, have already been presented, I will not precede the first taxa with a literature review. In this section I analyse Norfolk topographical names focusing on the differing periods of Norfolk toponymic history. First and Second Settlement names will be considered, followed by a brief description of the toponymy of the Melanesian Mission. Elements of modern toponymy are also considered.

5.4.1 First and Second Settlement analysis

The relationship between First Settlement (1788–1814) and Second Settlement (1824–1855) names and how these relate to Third Settlement matters is a major point of contention in Norfolk Island’s cultural history. Not only are these periods not starkly delineated as has been previously outlined (e.g. Hoare 2003; Nobbs 2006), but the influence of each respective settlement period on one another and each period’s toponymy has generally not been emphasised. Unlike the *Bounty* mutineers and their counterparts arriving on Pitcairn Island in 1790, the Pitcairners arriving on Norfolk in 1856 were not coming to a toponymically ‘pristine’ environment.

First Settlement names and the circumstances surrounding their appellation exist in the writings of Hunter (1793):

We then rowed to the north-east point of the island, off which lies a cluster of high rocks; I called them Cook’s rocks, in memory of the late Captain James Cook, who discovered the island, and landed near these rocks in 1774. (229)

The small bay, which I named Ball-bay (after Lieutenant Henry Lidgbird Ball) lies in a west-north-west, and east-south-east direction... From this bay, we rowed round the south-east point, and

opened the two islands, the largest of which, I named Phillip-Isle, after Governor Phillip; and the smallest, Nepean-Isle, after Evan Nepean. The point of Norfolk-Island, opposite Nepean-Isle, I called Point Hunter, after Captain John Hunter. (296)

It is noteworthy that these names, apparently given in a 'pot-shot' manner commemorating (generally male) members of the British admiralty, have stood the test of time and are still in use on Norfolk. The most comprehensive walking guide to Norfolk Island (Hoare 1994) still lists these names as do official Australian archaeological surveys (Varman 1984; Wilson & Davies 1983) and cartographical surveys (Australian Surveying and Land Information Group 1992; Pacific Maps 1979). This illustrates their historical resilience and relevance to Norfolk toponymy. Other more modern and detailed research (Otto Cserhalmi & Partners 2002) has documented the names and structural and historical integrity of the *Kingston and Arthur's Vale Heritage Area (KAVHA)*. This was the primary settlement area during the First and Second Settlement periods, with *Cascade* on the north coast serving as a secondary settlement.

The First Settlement and Second Settlement have left their mark on Norfolk toponymy. Names derived from sources such as Varman (1984: ff) like *The Big Flat*, *New Farm West* and *Ledwichs Gulley* resemble common English colonial topographical names. The following selection of First and Second Settlement topographical names accentuates common English placename syntax. The patterns that emerge are:

1. A single English (proper) noun is productive, e.g. *Cascade*, *Barnaby*, *Avalon*.
2. (Proper) noun + (generic) noun is productive, e.g. *Headstone* (monolexeme), *Pole Point*, *Charlotte Field*, *Ball Bay*, *Hurlstone Park* (bilexemes).
3. Numeral + noun + noun is productive, e.g. *Nine Acre Piece*, *One Hundred Acre*.
4. Adjective + noun is productive, e.g. *Middlegate* (monolexemes), *Rocky Point*, *Bloody Bridge* (bilexemes).
5. Adjective + noun + noun is productive, e.g. *New Farm West*.
6. Definite article + adjective + generic noun is productive, e.g. *The Big Flat*.

7. Adjective + (generic) noun is productive, e.g. *Little Cascade, Fat Gulley*.
8. (Proper) noun + possessive + noun is productive, e.g. *Sheres Gulley, Commandants Store, Burns Farm, Collins Head, Steels Point*.
9. Generic noun + proper noun is productive, e.g. *Mount Pitt, Point Ross*.
10. Proper noun + proper noun + possessive is productive, e.g. *Barney Duffys*.

These patterns can be summarised in the following rules:

1. (Proper) noun (+ (+ possessive + noun) (+ (proper) noun)) (excepting *Barney Duffys*).
2. (Definite article) (+ adjective) + noun (+noun).

These observations account for all the possible sequential patterns except in rare instances containing possessives after a bilinear proper noun, e.g. *Barney Duffys*, and toponyms containing numerals, e.g. *One Hundred Acre, Nine Acres Piece*. Note that in §1 although all possible sequences are outlined, they do not occur at the same time. The two abovementioned rules, however, account for the large majority of First and Second Settlement data.

From a historical point of view, it was essential that I considered topographical names from these periods. The above patterns are not particularly surprising because English was the only language used in place-naming during the first two settlement periods on Norfolk Island. Colonial English toponyms on Norfolk represent the most stringent toponymic forms vis-à-vis grammar; these names have few variants and are commonly named after people who never set foot on Norfolk. The historicity of First and Second Settlement names have been considered in publications like *Morgan's Run* (McCullough 2000) and Hoare (1994). Elements in the mapping of some of these names will be considered in the house name map presented in Figure 5.9.

5.4.2 Melanesian Mission data

The Melanesian Mission was stationed on Norfolk from 1867 to 1920 in the south-western region of the island (Figure 5.6):



Figure 5.6 – Map of Norfolk Island showing Melanesian Mission area (source: Murphy 1900)

Up to 200 Melanesians were educated at the boarding school at any one time. The 400 plus hectare area designated to the Mission is known locally as *The Mission* and in Norfolk as *Ar Mission* with the location and general area known as *Out ar Mission* or *Aut Mishan* as one house name expresses. The Melanesian Mission grounds resembled an English village, a scene especially attractive to the clergy and Mission administrators brought in from afar (Hoare 1999: 89). Figure 5.7 depicts St. Barnabas Chapel and the mission inmates present in 1908:



Figure 5.7 – St Barnabas Chapel and Melanesian Mission inmates in 1908 (source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/state-records-nsw/>)

Novo Kailana was the more acceptable Mota phonotactic variant for many of the Mission inmates and the Mota name for Norfolk Island. There were at least 27 languages in contact at the Mission on Norfolk Island (*Supplement to the Church Gazette of the Melanesian Mission*, March 1875: 3). Mota, a reef Santa Cruz language, was the main teaching language in the Mission school. A variety of Melanesian Pidgin English also came to be used among the inmates (Mühlhäusler 2002c), and the eventual acceptance of Pidgin English by the missionaries as a language of common use at the Mission displays its dynamic and adaptable nature. While this language contact may have had an influence on Mission toponymy, there does not appear to be any record of non Mota or non-English toponyms within the realm of Melanesian Mission toponymy (Coombe 1909; Mühlhäusler 2002c). A question arises here: to what extent can the Mota and English toponyms from the Mission period (1867–1920) and commemorative names associated with the Mission that evolved later document in part the linguistic history of the Mission? Furthermore, because there was contact between the

Mission clergy and inmates and the recently arrived Pitcairners, it is important to understand to what extent these two groups knew about each other's place-knowledge and how this contributes to these Melanesian Mission names as a part of Norfolk's toponymic history. I deal with these issues through a structural analysis of Melanesian Mission toponyms that are presented in the map in Figure 5.8:

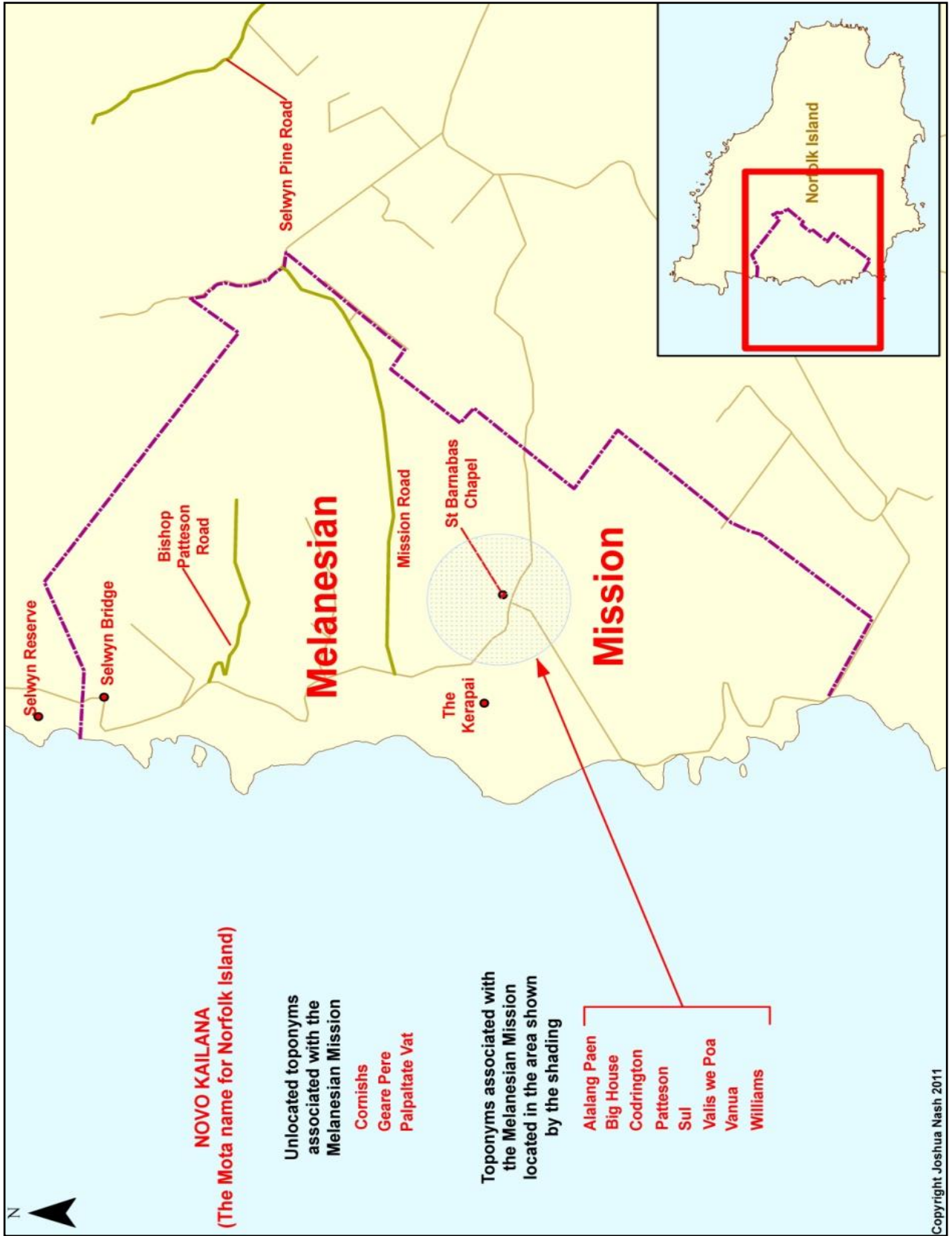


Figure 5.8 – Toponymic map of the Melanesian Mission (source: compiled by the author from various sources including Varman 1984 and Coombe 1909)

Several patterns emerge in the data:

1. A single English proper noun is productive as a house name, i.e. *Codrington*, *Patteson* and *Williams*
2. English house names can take the form proper noun + possessive, i.e. *Cornishs*, *Lizzie Carrs*, *William Kendalls* and *Dave Baileys*.
3. Adjective + noun is productive as a house name, i.e. *Big House*.
4. Proper noun + noun (+ noun) is productive for topographical names and road names, i.e. *St. Barnabas Chapel*, *Selwyn Pine Reserve*, *Selwyn Pine Road*, *Selwyn Bridge*, *Bishop Patteson Road*, *Taylor's Road*, *Mission Road*.
5. Noun + possessive + noun is productive as a house name, i.e. *Bishops Court*.
6. A single Mota common noun is productive as a topographical name, i.e. *Sul* (people) and *Vanua* (place).
7. Mota nouns take English articles to form toponyms, i.e. *The Kerapai* (big tree or valley) (this is limited to one instance).

The patterns of English names associated with the Melanesian Mission do not differ substantially from the English names associated with First and Second Settlement. The structure and function of the Mota names *Alalang Paen* ('Under the Pines', named because a clump of Norfolk Island pines overshadowed the area), *Geare Pere* ('place of big or scarred rocks'), *Palpaltate Vat* (a horseshoe shaped place with a little creek running to the dam with lots of rocks around, most likely *Ball Bay* or *Cockpit*) and *Valis we Poa* ('Big Grass', the name of an old meadow, dotted with pines, lemons and white oaks, stretching right away to the cliff) will not be considered. These names constitute a very minor element of the toponyms coined during this time. To the best of my knowledge, these names are unknown among contemporary islanders. As interesting as they appear in their own right, they exist as historical footnotes to the development of Norfolk toponymic history. The influence of Bishops Selwyn and Patteson have been well chronicled in the literature about the Melanesian Mission on Norfolk and elsewhere in the Pacific (Hilliard 1978). This has also had an influence on Norfolk toponymy.

The following points about Melanesian Mission toponymy are noteworthy:

1. Eight Melanesian Mission toponyms have Mota words in them. No other Norfolk toponyms have Mota words in them.
2. While there was the possibility for up to 27 languages to be in contact at any one time at the Mission (*Supplement to the Church Gazette of the Melanesian Mission*, March 1875: 3), there are no recorded non-Mota or non-English toponyms.

The Melanesian Mission was disbanded in 1920 and the buildings were shipped wholesale to Siota in the Solomons. What houses were left by the Mission were either lived in or demolished with materials sold for use in constructing new houses. Varman (1984) provides some examples:

Table 5.2 – Other houses from Varman (1984) associated with the Melanesian Mission (source: Varman 1984)

NOTE:

This table is included on page 119 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

These house names illustrate how Melanesian Mission materials, history and names have become absorbed into the history of Norfolk Island. This questions the sharp separation of the four major historical periods commonly claimed to exist on Norfolk (e.g. Rickard 1995: 481). Most descriptions of the influence of the Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island (e.g. Nobbs 2006) do not incorporate the importance of the more than 50-year presence of the Mission on toponymy (Mühlhäusler 2002a is an exception). Historical analysis of house names from Varman (1984) shows that the Mission is remembered through a continuation of naming, re-creation of landscape using recycled Mission materials, and historical information and a strong blurring of the boundaries of Norfolk's historical periods. However, it is also possible that Melanesian Mission names were not incorporated into the widely known corpus of Norfolk toponyms because of the Mission's association with colonial dominance, and racist attitudes towards people and things of non-European heritage. The fact that there are few Melanesian Mission names remembered by the Norfolk community emphasised perceived historical 'otherness' of the Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island. This 'othering' elucidates how a toponym remembered is as significant as a toponym not remembered. While there was a degree of contact between the Norfolk population and the Melanesian Mission clergy and inmates (Coombe 1909), it appears that if the Norfolk community had any knowledge of Melanesian Mission toponyms they were either forgotten or suppressed. This suggests that toponyms are an element of culture and language where this 'othering' of unwanted elements is depicted. An element of this 'othering' is Norfolk's racist past. Toponyms such as *Niggers Head*, *Niggers Hoof* and *Johnny Nigger Bun Et* are evidence of Norfolk's racist past that has become fossilised in the linguistic and cultural landscape of Norfolk Island.

5.5 House name analysis

The power of house naming vis-à-vis rural sociology, kinship, property transference, social memory and community based power relationships has been observed by Pine (1996). Similar research conducted by Reitman (2004) poses neighbourhood names as essential tools in social and political identity construction, and that housed areas can undergo linguistic 'makeovers' and revitalisation in conjunction with the use or introduction of a new name. Modern critical placename studies (e.g.

Rose-Redwood 2008; Rose-Redwood, Alderman & Azaryahu 2010) have moved away from etymology and taxonomy to analysing the spatial inscription of political semiotics and symbolic resistance through methods such as house naming. All these perspectives, although strongly politically motivated, are relevant to establishing (1) an understanding of the relationship between the grammatical form of house names and their historical, social and ecological embeddedness, and (2) the relationship between house names as key linguistic orientational tools in the Norfolk landscape. House names also present a stark example of the blurring of English and Norfolk forms. The analysis in this section aims to establish what comprises a Norfolk house name and furthermore, how this unofficial toponymic taxon can illustrate the nexus between toponyms, spatial relationships and cultural delineation on Norfolk Island.

The whole tapestry of Norfolk house names provide a substantial canvas upon which to base an intricate analysis of the nature of Norfolk sociology, architectural practices and social memory. Such an approach could follow Gaffin's (1993) extensive research in the rural sociology on the Faeroe Islands. For my purposes, this thesis will present house name data, a brief grammatical analysis and a cultural analysis of Norfolk house names. This aims to establish patterns in the grammar and ethnography of Norfolk house names. House name data are provided in Appendix A. A cartographic representation of a large number of house names and locations is provided in Figure 5.9:

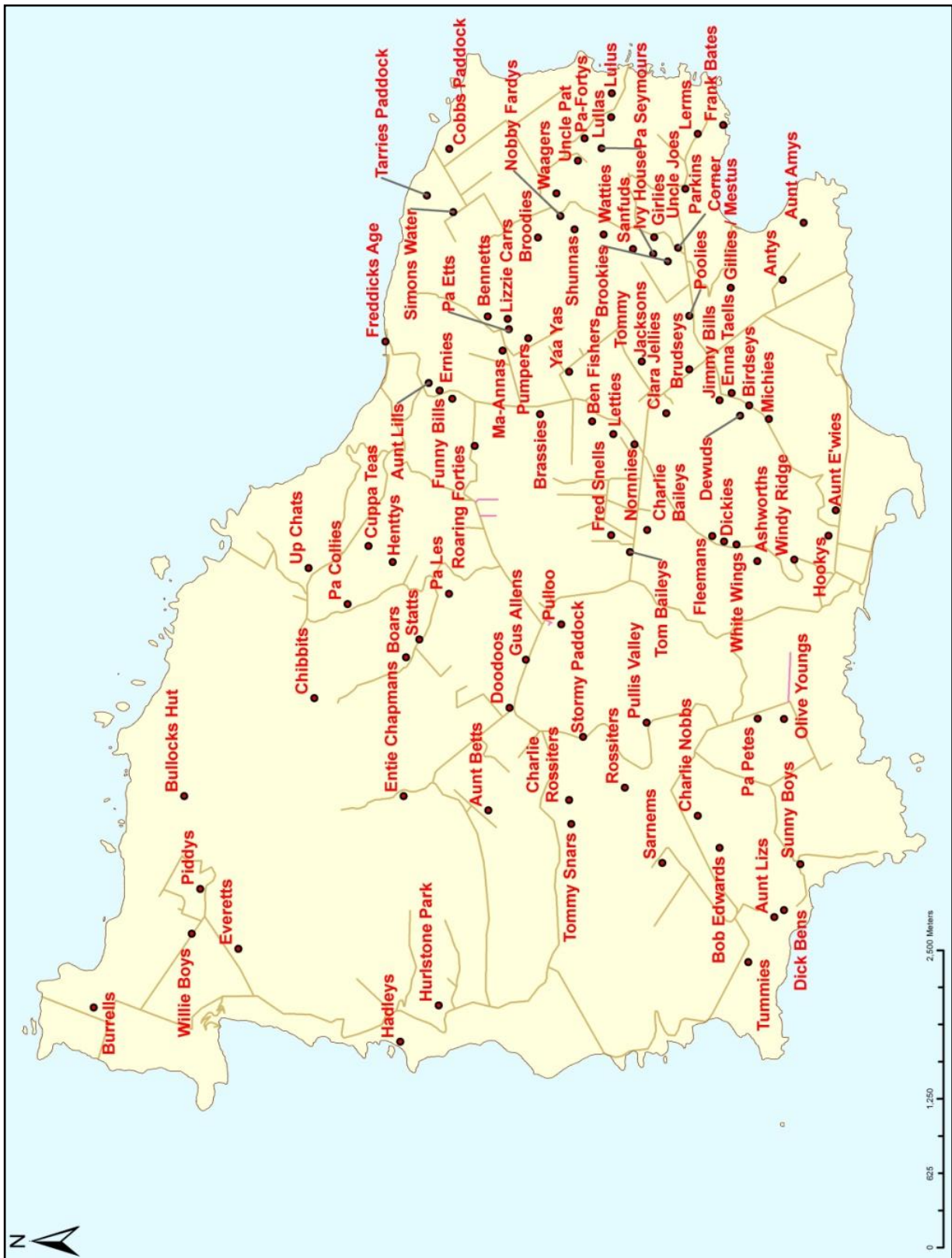


Figure 5.9 – Norfolk Island house names (source: compiled from Edgecombe 1999, Varman 1984 and the author 2011)

Out of a total of 398 house names, there is a lot of structural ambiguity particularly concerning the appearance of proper nouns. That is, in the absence of common Norf'k function words like *ar*, *dar*

and *fer* and Norf'k pronouns, e.g. 'auwas', there are no criteria to establish whether proper nouns in Norfolk house names are English or Norf'k. This ambiguity cannot be solved using structural criteria. In this analysis I will therefore restrict my main focus to names that are historically salient and statistically prevalent, i.e. names which take the typical form of mono and billexemic proper nouns + possessive, e.g. *Hookys*, *Girlies*, *Everetts*, *Burrells*, *Dickies*, *Willie Boys*, *Lili Oodoos*, *Tom Baileys*, *Gus Allens* and *Funny Bills*. These represent typical house naming practices on Norfolk Island. A subset of the data corresponds structurally to this pattern but incorporates name status nouns in house names, e.g. *Auntys*, *Mumma Norns*, *Uncle Joes*, *Pa Collies* and *Ma Nobbys*. This key cultural meme functions as an honorific marker. Such a meme emphasises the localised, small scale and insider nature of Norfolk house names as embedded cultural ephemera.

Some additional observations of house name patterns are:

1. House names can be a single uninflected proper noun, e.g. *Lindisfarne*, *Palmerston*.
2. Houses can be named using either a single English compound or a single Norf'k lexeme, e.g. *Bedrock* and *Hettae*.
3. House names can consist of Norf'k words, e.g. *Auwas Hoem*, or a combination of English and Norf'k words, e.g. *Auwas Paradise Roof*, *Truly Auwas*, *Dar Shed*, *Kettle se Boil* (English: 'the kettle has boiled').
4. Norf'k house names can be named after people, proper noun + possessive, e.g. *Girlies*, *Ben Fishers*, *Dick Bens*.
5. Norf'k house names can be exclamations, e.g. *Hasette!!*.
6. Norf'k house names can use the common Norf'k double possessive form, e.g. *Dar Side fer Beras* (see tagmemic analysis in Section 5.9 for more details).
7. Homophony and analogy are productive in Norfolk house names, e.g. *Tern Corner* (Figure 5.10) and *Ternwood*, e.g. this name alludes to a wooded area with tern birds and the process of turning wood.

8. Nicknames as house names are productive, e.g. *Cuppa Teas*. This house name was named after a fellow 'Cup a Tea' Buffett who lived in the *Red Road* area on the north coast of Norfolk. He received his nickname due to his dark skin colour. Others islanders say he always welcomed people to his house for a cup of tea, hence his nickname.



Figure 5.10 – Image of house sign *Tern Corner* on *Taylor's Road* (source: the author 2007)

House names are to a large degree compositional in that they can incorporate all of Norfolk Island's historical periods. Because Norfolk/Norf'k topographical names and Norfolk/Norf'k house names may be structurally similar, much of what will be covered in the tagmemic analysis in Section 5.9 can also be said of house names.

5.5.1 Microtoponymic case study 1: *Cascade Road* roof names

Since early 2007 a system of micro language planning was developed on a one-kilometre stretch of *Cascade Road* between the *Norfolk Island Central School* and its junction with *New Cascade*

Road. Figure 5.11 gives the location of the area where this process of naming took place and is still taking place:



Figure 5.11 – Location of microtoponymic case study on *Cascade Road* (source: the author 2011)

The initial establishment of a single house sign and name began a process of linguistic landscaping (Landry & Bourhis 1997) and social networking (Milroy & Milroy 1985) that has involved residents living nearby and a large number of interested community members. The initial name giving sparked a creative outburst which focused on ‘roof’ as a key metaphor. This acted as a commentary on the other names and provided patterns and distinguishing features that commented socially on the others. These names place the namers of the houses within the cultural and ecological space of the road. Observing such microtoponymic processes in confined situations illustrates house names as a defining element of social differentiation, contact and belonging.

Because the naming patterns that have developed (see Figures 5.12 and 5.13 for house sign images) also incorporate the use of Norfolk lexemes, the example is similar to Dray's (2010) analysis of the appearance of Jamaican Creole, i.e. the solidarity function of unofficial naming, in the Jamaican linguistic landscape. However, the Norfolk Island example is different because the production of language, i.e. house names as toponyms in the linguistic landscape, is not brought about through an ideological struggle but rather through humour, analogy and unofficial spatial and linguistic narrative. This concurs with Pennycook's (2009, 2010) descriptions of graffiti landscapes or 'graffscapes' as political and spontaneous locations of unofficial linguistic landscaping. The analysis of the creation of a micro zone of unofficial house name toponymy within a very restricted geographical sphere may elucidate many of the key factors involved in the relationship between language, toponyms and place creation on Norfolk Island. I have not been on Norfolk Island since December 2009 so it is likely there have been several more additions to this intricate local system of naming and place creation.



Figure 5.12 – *Kaa sii da Roof* ('can't see the roof') on *Cascade Road* (source: the author 2009)



Figure 5.13 – *No Roof* on *Cascade Road* (source: the author 2009)

The data for *Cascade Road* roof names are:

Table 5.3 – Data for *Cascade Road* roof names (source: the author 2011)

1. <i>Auwas Paradise Roof</i>	12. <i>Orange Roof</i>
2. <i>Gumm's Blue Roof</i>	13. <i>Red Roof</i>
3. <i>Hip Roof</i>	14. <i>Redder Roof</i>
4. <i>Holy Roof</i>	15. <i>Rented Roof</i>
5. <i>Hot Tin Roof</i>	16. <i>Roof Roof</i>
6. <i>Jazzy Roof</i>	17. <i>Rugs Roof</i>
7. <i>Kaa Sii da Roof</i>	18. <i>Rusty Roof</i>
8. <i>Leekee Roof</i>	19. <i>Silver Roof Party Headquarters</i>
9. <i>Leslie's Green Roof</i>	20. <i>Skeeters Roof</i>
10. <i>No Roof</i>	21. <i>Woods Roof</i>
11. <i>Nuffka Roof</i>	

5.5.1.1 Linguistic patterns of *Cascade Road* roof names

1. *Roof* is present in all the names.
2. *Roof* is the generic element in all the names (*Kaa Sii da Roof* may be an exception; *Roof Roof*, a name homophonous with English dog barking onomatopoeia).
3. Specific elements can be common nouns, e.g. *Nuffka Roof* ('Nuffka' is a Norfolk Island bird), proper nouns, e.g. *Skeeters Roof*, adjectives, e.g. *Orange Roof*, *Rusty Roof*, and adjectival phrases, e.g. *Hot Tin Roof*.
4. Norf'k spelling is used in two names, *Nuffka Roof*, *Kaa Sii da Roof*. It is possible that the name *leekee* (English: *leaky*) in *Leekee Roof* is in accordance with Buffett's (1999) spelling conventions.
5. The form *No Roof* is a humorous anomaly in the data.
6. The only name that does not have *roof* as the final syntactic element is *Silver Roof Party Headquarters*.

The use of Norf'k relates to a previously established orthography and all of the names reflect the previously established template of 'roof-ness'. The use of *roof* in these names has become a default which can nevertheless be exploited to humorous effect, e.g. *No Roof* and *Roof Roof*.

Some of these names also work as an ecological commentary on neighbouring names, e.g. *Red Roof* and *Redder Roof*.

5.5.1.2 Cultural patterns of *Cascade Road* roof names

Like other instances of Norfolk house naming, *Cascade Road* roof names are practical because they describe the referent and provide users of these names with a pertinent and powerful orientation tool, e.g. 'it's north of *Orange Roof* or 'it's near *Leekee Roof*. The process of naming roofs on *Cascade Road* involved both residents who were of Pitcairn descent and those who were

not. By adhering to the *roof* name template, the namer affirms their adherence and loyalty to a process of group membership that bridges ethnic boundaries. In some senses, this harmonises the different ancestries on Norfolk by creating a focal point of shared interest. Initially, a trend was established, which was followed by nearby residents, based on a need for social inclusion and personal demarcation where one does not exclude the other. There was also a degree of humour and a running joke between residents that eventually developed. It is possible that a type of 'one-upmanship' based on the degree of humour and irony of the naming situation came into effect, e.g. *Kaa Sii da Roof* (Norf'k: 'can't see the roof'). *Cascade Road* roof names set a friendly yet competitive template, where in order to be different to others, one needs to follow the template. Naming yields naming, naming begets naming.

Identity is reflected in the personalisation of and toponymic attachment of names (Kostanski 2009) to the place of *Cascade Road* and its many *roofs*. It designates and delineates community space and creates 'place' and 'neighbourhood' (Ingold 2000) among residents of *Cascade Road*. *Cascade Road* and its residents are therefore set apart from the rest of Norfolk Island. There are individual *roof* names and their relationship to *Cascade Road* roof names. These *roof* names as a whole exist within a larger sphere of Norfolk house naming and are simultaneously separated from them. There is a key meme depicting the inclusion and separation of different houses, their relationship to the road and the aggregate of *roof* names as compared to Norfolk house names as a whole. *Cascade Road* roof names become symbolic and their inclusion into Norfolk toponymy becomes emblematic albeit anomalous.

This process is a symbolic vehicle for convergence between different backgrounds because the name surfaces as a thing detached from the person. This is why this process of naming has shown itself to be easily manipulable. This *roof* template is so profound that some locals have suggested that *Cascade Road* be changed to 'Roof Road'. If *Cascade Road* were to become 'Roof Road', this contextually sensitive name would reflect a similar pattern to the unofficial naming in Norf'k of *House Road* and *Store Road*. *House Road* has many houses on it, *Store Road* leads to the old store and they are in the vicinity of *Cascade Road*. They are not road names per se but illustrate how a road name can adequately describe its surrounding environment. It is as if 'roof-ness' wants

to exists. It has imposed itself on the people of Norfolk Island; its expression can include *No Roof*, where 'roof-ness' is present although it is negated.

5.6 Road name analysis

The naming of roads began very soon after British forces arrived on Norfolk Island. Early maps (e.g. Murphy 1900) show *Country Road* and *Middlegate Road* as names conforming to common colonial descriptive name practices. Since this time, Norfolk has had a long history of land use changes which have affected its corpus of road names and many roads have remained unnamed until a process of community consultation was established in 2008. The process of naming these roads is summarised in Administration of Norfolk Island (2008). The Norfolk Island Land Titles Office is responsible and answerable to the Commonwealth for matters concerning the maintenance and upkeep of Crown land on the Island, and also for the establishment and maintenance of signage, maps, subdivision of land and land titles. This includes the maintenance and upkeep of Norfolk's roads.

The direction this analysis of Norfolk Island road names will take has been succinctly summarised by Azaryahu (1996: 479):

Spatially configured and historically constructed, commemorative street names produce an authorized rendition of the past.

Due to the five major settlement periods on Norfolk, there are four major eras that are remembered in road name toponymy including (1) a combined history of the First and Second Settlements, (2) the names associated with Pitcairn Island and events post 1856, (3) the history of the Melanesian Mission, and (4) modern road names. Figure 5.15 depicts a typical road junction on Norfolk with a road sign:



Figure 5.14 – Image of *Country Road* and *Taylors Road* (source: the author 2007)

In Figure 5.15 I present a map compiling well-known Norfolk roads and in Figure 5.16 an enlarged map of roads in the *Burnt Pine* and *Middlegate* area:

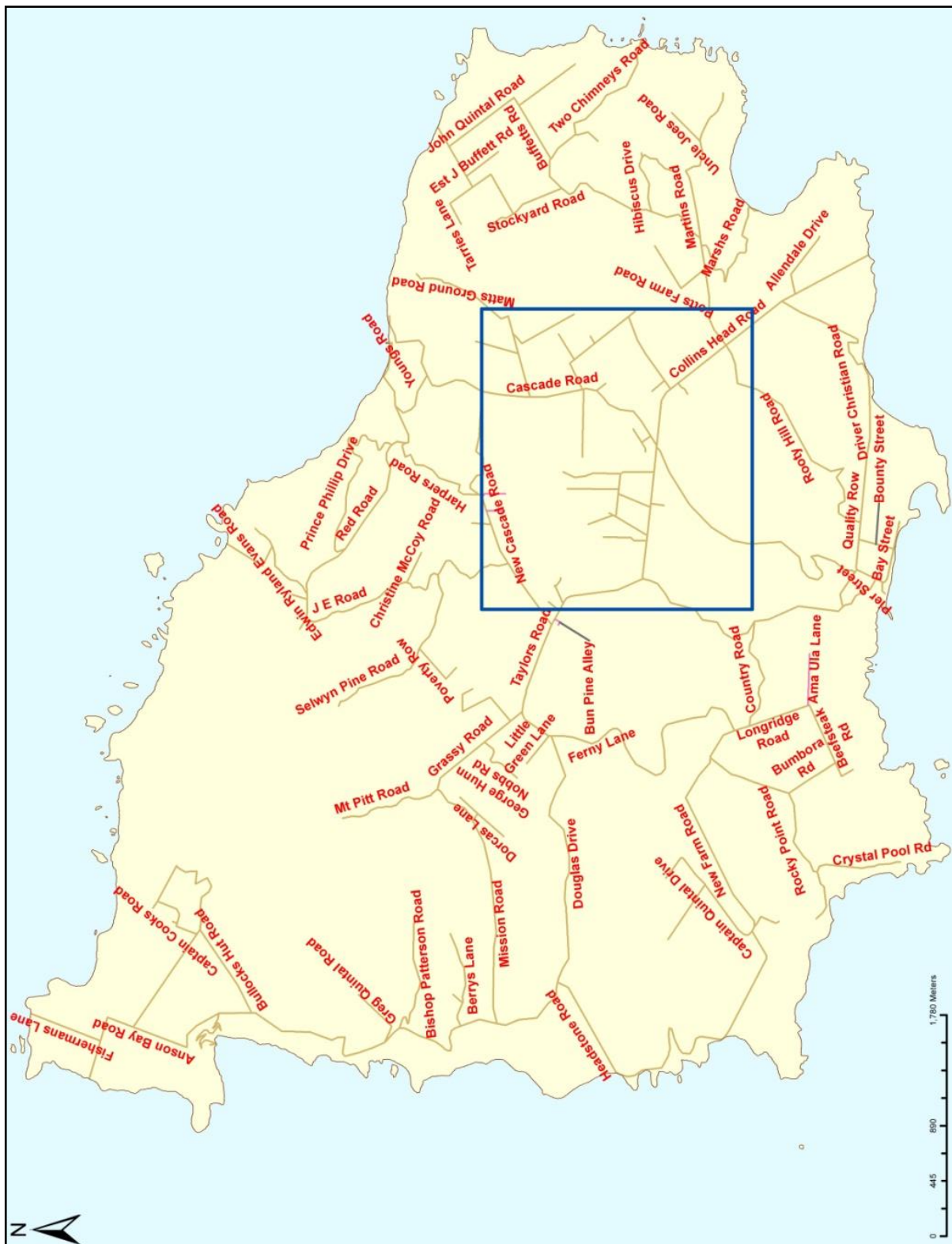


Figure 5.15 – Norfolk Island road names (source: the author and Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)

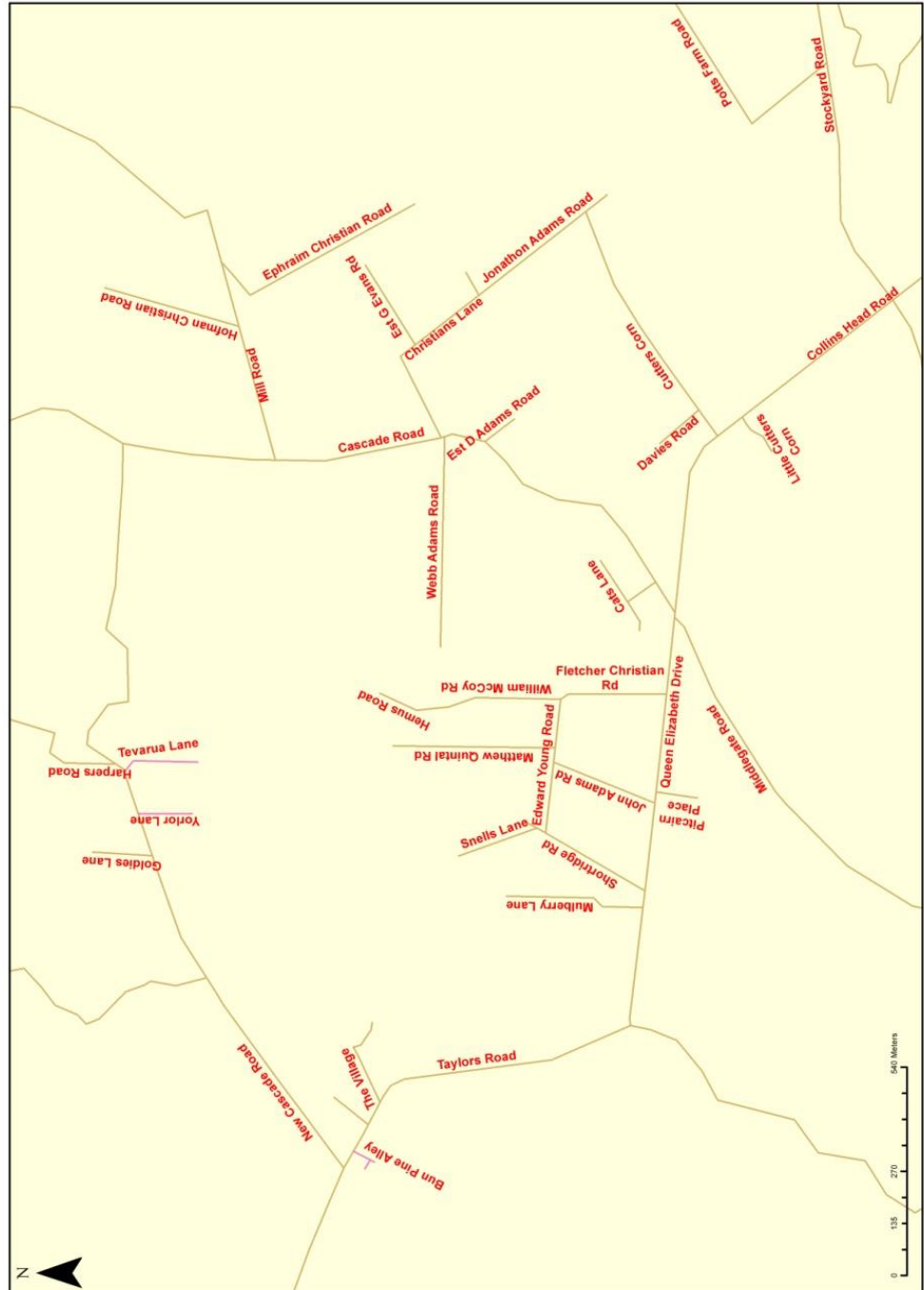


Figure 5.16 – Enlargement of road names in *Burnt Pine* and *Middlegate* (source: the author and Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)

Norfolk road name forms are very similar to English names. The only distinguishing feature between English and Norfolk road names is the use of a Norfolk lexeme. There were five Norfolk road names in the sample. Only three of these, i.e. *Ama Ula Lane*, *Bun Pine Alley* and *Yorlor Lane*, actually contain Norfolk lexemes. The other two Norfolk road names are *House Road* and *Store Road*. These names are acknowledged as Norfolk names on the Edgecombe (1999: 102) map because these

names were first coined by the Pitcairners and are generally only used by Norfolk speakers.

Although these names contain English lexemes, these names are pronounced in Norfolk, i.e. [hæʊz rɜ:d] (*House Road*) and [stɔ: rɜ:d] (*Store Road*).

Supplementing the list of current road names of Norfolk Island (Administration of Norfolk Island 2008) with other sources (e.g. Varman 1984), the following patterns emerge:

1. Naming appears to be predominantly commemorative, e.g. *Bligh Street*, *Queen Elizabeth Avenue*.
2. *Queen Elizabeth Avenue* is the only avenue name on Norfolk. There are few roads named after women.
3. Several names describe the natural environment and local and/or introduced flora to Norfolk, e.g. *Two Chimneys Road* (the name *Two Chimneys* probably originates from the two old chimneys left in the area from the Second Settlement), *Rooty Hill Road* (named because of the large number of tree roots encountered when building this road). *Country Road*, *Bay Street*, *Mulberry Lane*, *Ferny Lane*, *Grassy Road*, *Little Green Lane*, *Cutters Corn* (possibly named because corn used to be grown in this area) and *Hibiscus Drive*.
4. Several names point towards their destination, e.g. *Beefsteak Road* leads to *Beefsteak*, *Bumboras Road* leads to *Bumboras* and *Store Road* leads to the old store in *Kingston*.
5. Some road names were considered taboo and were sanitised to avoid inappropriate connotations, e.g. *Dead Rat Lane* was changed to *Mitchells Lane* (this is similar to the topographical name *Murderers Mound* being changed to *Dar Cemetery*).
6. Although there are roughly an equal number of road names commemorating the Pitcairn descendents compared to First and Second Settlements, it is difficult to decipher the extent to which a name commemorates a Pitcairn descendant or not, based on the available data.

The community consultation process that took place in 2008 made 53 streets, roads and easements official. Many of these were well known and accepted by the Norfolk community but

needed official acknowledgement. Since approximately the 1960s, there has been a greater acknowledgement and appreciation of the Tahitian heritage of the Pitcairn descendents on Norfolk Island. Since this time, names such as *John Adams Road*, *Fletcher Christian Road*, *Edward Young Road* and *Pitcairn Place* were established officially as road names. The appearance of these names on Norfolk road signs strongly depicts Norfolk's connection to its Pitcairn past. It also heralded the beginning of the celebration and honouring of the Polynesian ancestry of the Norfolk Islanders. Until this time, there was a great deal of shame associated with the events that took place in Tahiti and on Pitcairn Island. There was also a large degree of Eurocentric and normative male superiority that had an effect on naming things on Pitcairn (Mühlhäusler 2003b). It appears that similar naming habits were initially employed by the Pitcairn Islanders on Norfolk. Such practices involved racist names, e.g. *Dar Nigger Head*, 'dangerous' names, e.g. *Parloo Park*, with few topographical names with Tahitian lexemes and a distinct lack of placenames commemorating women.

However, in 2008 this was modified with the naming of *Tevarua Lane*, in honour of Tevarua, a Tahitian woman who arrived on Pitcairn with the *Bounty* mutineers. She died ca. 1799 and was the consort of Matthew Quintal. Her name is entered as 'Te Walua' in the *Pitcairn Register* which also lists 'Sarah' and 'Big Sullee' as her other names (Ross and Moverley 1964: 52). The officialising of *Tevarua Lane* as an iconic road name symbolises an acceptance within the community of the Norfolk Islanders' Tahitian heritage which began in the 1960s. The recognition of this ancestry through a road name is only one example of a renaissance of Polynesian cultural symbolism on Norfolk Island. This reawakening is felt in realms of culture such as Tahitian dance, tattooing, music (Hayward 2006) and the use of personal names (Reynolds 2007; Wiseman 1977). *Tevarua Lane* epitomises this Tahitian (linguistic) renaissance on Norfolk in a condensed form. It represents a spatialisation of Pitcairn and Tahitian ancestry through a process of localisation of naming. *Tevarua Lane* emerges as reified entity. It symbolises both a process of linking of Norfolk's ancestral connection to Tahiti as well as to the depersonalisation of the name through making it a spatial fact. It is a symbolic re-enactment and re-evaluation which re-visits the previous lack of foregrounding of female and Tahitian elements of the ancestry of the Pitcairners. These two central elements compete in a counter-cultural fashion with the pre-existing and continual hegemonic

discourse of male whiteness on Norfolk (see Section 5.4.2 for a discussion Norfolk's racist past, reflected in racist toponyms that are still widely known and used).

5.7 Fishing ground name analysis

A quote from Forman (1967: 417) contextualises the analysis in this section:

The fishermen of the Coqueiral [Brazil] share a generalized knowledge of the area of the sea and the aspect of the land which comprise their fishing universe. The possibility of maximizing individual production rests on their ability to locate particular species of fish according to market values in different seasons. Towards this end they have elaborated a complex system of named fishing grounds and landmarks. The location of the fishing grounds by visual triangulation and the knowledge of the distribution of fish within them in given seasons are transmitted over generations.

Fishing ground names are an aspect of toponymy that has scarcely been documented in the literature. Apart from Capel's (1977) description of colloquial names for fishing grounds in coastal South Australia,²⁸ the most comprehensive descriptions of fishing ground names available are Hovda (1961) for the western coast of Norway and Forman (1967) for mangrove-based fishing in areas of coastal Brazil. Blair's (2006) account of the neighbourhood-based narrative of fishing *shots* in the Gippsland Lakes in Victoria and Gaffin's (1996) analysis of fishing grounds in the Faeroe Islands as part of his ethnography represent the key significance of including fishing ground names as a part of oral culture and memory that is rarely documented by ethnographers. Blair lists fishing shot names like 'Gilly's Snag', 'Silver Shot Slunk' and 'Coaler's Rack'; Gaffin's gives Faeroe Islands like 'Shag Bank' and 'Aksal's Spot'. Although Hovda and Forman's research focuses on locating fishing grounds and some measure of their cultural import and Blair and Gaffin emphasise the weight of these names as cultural descriptors, I have not come across an account in the literature which combines the linguistic and cultural significance of fishing ground names.

²⁸ Capel (1977), an amateur fisherman at the time, does not give any theoretical support for the names of these grounds and their linguistic basis. Rather, it is a volume written with a popular audience in mind. Thus it cannot be taken as forming anything of theoretical import, nor did it ever apparently pose to be. Its primary aim was to inform people about how to line up Capel's favourite fishing spots in South Australia.

Many of these fishing grounds are shallow reefs and crevices on Norfolk and have been found through experimentation and trial and error over time. It becomes clear when interviewing older people on Norfolk Island that people know that fishing ground names exist and were used in the past. Most people, however, do not know the names, the history of the names, e.g. who named them first and who continues to use them, why it was named and where fishing grounds are located. This could be due to several reasons, the most obvious being lack of usage and/or loss of memory and secrecy:

A fisherman rarely teaches the art of lining up a specific fishing spot, and a boy's apprenticeship consists largely of curiosity and persistence. While a fisherman is always delighted to have a young apprentice help to augment his catch, he avoids taking him to a preferred spot. (Forman 1967: 422)

Figure 5.17 illustrates the tenuous juncture where Norfolk fishing ground names exist within the toponymy of a people who are connected to sea and land for their livelihood. Handwritten journals and scratchy accounts are the extent of the documentation:

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 137 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 5.17 – Spatial depiction of *Shallow Water*, an offshore fishing ground on Norfolk Island (source: Bev McCoy, Norfolk Island, 2008)

Shallow Water came into being through trial and error from fishing experience and was passed down through generations. It exists as a non-exact even transient offshore location created through intimate knowledge of the sea and its location in terms of the terrestrial topography. The marks for lining up *Shallow Water* are depicted in Figure 5.17 and from interview research below:

Just at the start of *No Trouble* you find *Shallow Water*. When you line the *Alligators Eye* with *Mount Pitt* and follow that line out until you get a little narrow gap in the pine trees at Byron Burrell's place at *Duncombe Bay* near the *Captain Cook Memorial*. The reef is very shallow and comes up to about 35 metres depth. *Shallow Water* is the general name of a fishing area which covers about a mile square. (Bev McCoy, Norfolk Island, 2009)

Capel's (1997: 5) description of 'Fred's Ground', named after the shark which was once seen in the area, not after a man, offshore from Adelaide (Figure 5.17), Hardy's (1974: 226) rendering of marks near Bate Bay south of Sydney (Figure 5.18) and Hovda's (1961: 257) depiction of a fishing ground named 'Seta' off the shores of Karmøy near Stavanger on the west coast of Norway (Figure 5.19) illustrate how names of fishing grounds prior to GPS have been located and remembered.

NOTE:

This figure is included on page 138 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 139 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 5.19 – Image of fishing ground marks near Bate Bay, south of Sydney (Hardy 1974: 226)

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 139 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 5.20 – Image of location of the fishing ground 'Seta' off Karmøya, Norway (Hovda 1961: 257)

My field research on Norfolk Island with fishermen who still remember and use these fishing marks and the visual triangulation system has shown that knowledge of these fishing marks is exclusively the realm of the older members of the community. This knowledge is not gender specific as such but because very few women fish on Norfolk Island, women have less access to fishing ground knowledge. Any such knowledge, if known to women at all, typically consists of a few common names that are overheard when spoken by male relatives or associates.

Much of this knowledge has been passed down to the fishermen from family members. Modern tracking systems, sonar and GPS have rendered a lot of the spatial orientation and name information obsolete, and these more modern methods have made searching for fish much easier and has resulted in depleting many of the fishing areas close to Norfolk. Fishing off the coast of Norfolk Island has taken place for more than a century. There is no extant fishing ground knowledge used before 1856. While there possibly were fishing grounds that were located and used prior to 1856, my informants were not aware of any of these names or locations. However, it is likely any offshore fishing would have used similar grounds and similar triangulation techniques to those used by the Pitcairners after they arrived on Norfolk. Göthesson (2000) lists several Pitcairn fishing grounds, e.g. 'Side for Parkin's', 'Pulawana Bank', and communication with Pitcairn Islanders suggests there is a similar system of triangulation on Pitcairn:

We have many names offshore, e.g. 'Har road fer Cookies', 'Har Rooster', 'Out har Bear', 'Har Speckle Side', 'Headache', 'Matt en Dowley'.²⁹ The marks are taken from ridges or trees lined up with the coastline or Island. These have been passed down through the generations. (Meralda Warren, Pitcairn Island, p.c. (email), 24 March 2008)

Starting with oared boats, then single piston motors that enabled fishermen to travel further away from the island, and eventually boats that could travel up to 30 kilometres away from Norfolk for commercial fishing, fishermen still rely on distinct landmarks on Norfolk to gain offshore bearings. When trees are chopped down and other landmarks such as houses and electricity poles are removed, marks are lost. Figure 5.20 and 5.21 show how Norfolk's coastline appears from the sea and some of the terrestrial features fishermen use when lining up fishing grounds:

²⁹ 'Har' is the Pitkern equivalent of *ar* and *dar* in Norfolk.



Figure 5.21 – Offshore view looking south to Norfolk Island’s north coast (photo: the author 2009)



Figure 5.22 – Offshore view looking west along Norfolk Island’s north coast (photo: the author 2009)

A map documenting Norfolk fishing ground names is given in Figure 5.22:



Figure 5.23 – Norfolk Island fishing ground names map (source: the author 2011)

While this map presents fishing grounds as fixed locations, their positions are variable and commonly cover large tracts of open ocean. The geographical patterns in this map are as follows:

1. Most of the fishing grounds are located close to the two major launching piers on Norfolk Island, *Kingston* (south) and *Cascade* (north).
2. Getting to the majority of grounds does not require much travel. As a result, the grounds closer in to shore are older and grounds further from *Cascade* or *Kingston* are newer. This is because there was a need to search out newer grounds after older grounds were gradually fished out.
3. There are many fishing grounds in *The Passage*. Due to the volcanic nature of the Norfolk Ridge (Green 1973), there are many reefs located just beneath the surface of the ocean, especially near Nepean Island and Phillip Island.

There are a number of linguistic patterns in the fishing ground data:

1. Fishing ground names can be named after people and usually take the form of a proper noun + possessive, e.g. *Powders*, *Tilleys*, *Frankies*. Other syntactic variants occur in connection to the obligatory semantic component, e.g. *Powders* can occur as *Dar Side fer Powders* or *Dar fer Powders* (see tagmemic analysis in Section 5.9)
2. Uninflected proper nouns can be fishing grounds, e.g. *Acme* (a boat used for fishing), *Arcadia* (named after the passenger ship *Arcadia*, which passed by when this ground was first named).
3. ((English/Norf'k) definite article) + noun (+ noun) is productive, e.g. *The Crack*, *The Gardens*, *The Thumb*, *Ar Saddle*, *Dar Milky Tree*, *Dar Fig Valley*, *Dar Boomerang*, *Convict Store*, *Offie Bank* ('offie' is the Norf'k name for the fish, trevally). These are all descriptive names which describe either the water surrounding the ground, e.g. *The Gardens*, or terrestrial features used in lining up marks, e.g. *Dar Horg*. (Looking back to Norfolk on this mark, there is a topographical feature in the cliff which looks like a big black hog lying

down.) *Ar* and *dar* are in free variation in all these forms. Choice is determined by certain pragmatic constraints, i.e. when Norf'k is spoken, Norf'k articles are used.

4. Animal and plant names can be metaphorically applied to fishing grounds, e.g. *Whales Hump* (named such because it uses the topographical feature of the same name in its marks), *The Gardens* (named after the seaweed found in the area).
5. Fishing grounds can take spatial prepositions, e.g. *Up the Norwest*, *Out orn ar Milky Tree*, *Down to the East*, *Down ar Graveyard* (see spatial analysis in Section 5.10).
6. There are fishing grounds that have arisen through humour, e.g. *Oodles* (where you catch oodles of fish), *No Trouble Reef* (there are lots of fish in this area so you have no trouble catching fish here, cf. *No Reason* on Dudley Peninsula (Section 6.5)), and *Horse and Cart* (see quote at start of this chapter). There is confusion as to the history of *Ar Yes!* / *Ikes*; either it was named because when the fish start biting, someone once exclaimed 'Ar yes! They're down there', or because it was named after Ike Christian. *10 O'Clock Bank* has a similar story – this is the time fish in this area are caught.

Many fishing grounds have multiple names. For example, *Eddys* is also known as *Dar (Side) fer Yeamans*. This place was named after Eddy Yeaman. While the syntactic implications of these patterns are accounted for in Section 5.9, other examples of fishing ground name variants are:

1. *Alfreds / Dar Side fer Alfreds / Dar fer Alfreds*
2. *Ma Nobbys / Dar House fer Ma Nobbys / Dar fer Ma Nobbys / Dar fer Nobbys*
3. *Graveyard / Dar Graveyard/Down ar Graveyard*
4. *Milky Tree / Out orn ar Milky Tree*
5. *Whales Hump / Dar Whales Hump*
6. *Up the Norwest / Out the Norwest / Up ar Norwest / Out ar Norwest*
7. *Ar Yes! / Iyes / Ikes / Ikeys / Side fer Iyes*
8. *Dodos / Ar Side fer Dodos*

9. *Gun Pit / Ar Gun Pit / Out ar Gun Pit*

10. *Ar Saddle / Out ar Saddle*

Making a distinction between the linguistic status of fishing grounds is not clear. Because these names have developed over time and have developed unofficially, they illustrate a high level of grammatical variability and embedded cultural understanding. Anthroponymous fishing grounds, e.g. *Gootys*, *Alfreds*, were named by Norfolk Islanders after Norfolk Islanders. While their formal structure is similar to English forms, the semantic component of *Gootys* (see Sections 5.9 and 5.12.5) is an insider cultural meme linked to fishing places and the people who fished there. It could be claimed that because Gooty was a Norfolk Islander who spoke Norf'k, this name is a Norf'k name. In a similar fashion, the English topographical name *Gun Pit* can be prefixed with the Norf'k article *ar* to form the fishing ground name *Ar Gun Pit*. This would most likely occur when Norfolk Islander fishermen speak Norf'k. A more detailed account of the insider nature of fishing ground names and their relation linguistic and cultural relationship to Norfolk toponymy as a whole are detailed in Section 5.12. This is in contrast to Dudley Peninsula fishing grounds provided in Section 6.5.

5.8 Other aspects of Norf'k toponymic grammar

In this section I will analyse two elements of Norf'k toponymic grammar which differ markedly from English toponyms on Norfolk, i.e. article grammar and the *fer* construction.

5.8.1 A description of *ar* and *dar* in Norf'k toponyms

In a similar way to English toponyms, Norf'k toponyms can take determiners. Two major components of Norf'k determiner grammar is the distinction between demonstratives and articles.

There are two Norf'k article forms, *ar* and *dar*, which can loosely be termed indefinite and definite respectively. These same forms are similarly used as demonstratives equivalent to English 'this' and 'that', although Norf'k also has the alternate demonstrative forms 'diffy' (this) and 'daffy' (that). Intra-individual, inter-individual and inter-generational variation in the use of articles is significant and the present analysis will only put forward possible historical linguistic and cultural possibilities as to why such a complex, varied and variable article system has developed in Norf'k.

In a prepositional phrase (PP) it is much more likely native speakers will use *ar* rather than *dar* due to phonological assimilation. This can be expressed in the following two examples where §1 and §3 are the more likely forms:

1. *We gwen out ar Cabbage (we're going out to the Cabbage).*
2. * *We gwen out dar Cabbage (we're going out to the Cabbage).*³⁰
3. *We gwen out ar Cord (we're going out to the Cord).*
4. * *We gwen out dar Cord (we're going out to the Cord).*

The same pattern would exist in these PPs using *up/round/down*. These patterns demonstrate that stops do not follow voiced alveolar nasals, i.e. the PP 'down ar Cabbage' is more probable than **down dar Cabbage*. This is a co-occurrence restriction. Also stops do not follow voiceless alveolar stops, i.e. the toponym 'Out ar Station' will never be realised as **Out dar Station*. This can be summarised in the following phonological rule:

dar → *ar* / C ___

There appears to be no consistent pattern except this assertion that the article must take the *ar* form in PPs. Apart from a context following a consonant, all *ar* and *dar* forms are interchangeable,

³⁰ The use of the asterisk ('*') throughout this thesis either means that the form is not grammatically acceptable or has not been elicited.

e.g. *Dar/Ar Coop*, *Dar/Ar Cabbage*, *Dar/Ar Pine fer Robinsons* (Edgecombe 1991). As regards specificity, if there is more than one *Black Bank*, which there are on Norfolk, *dar* can be used emphatically to refer specifically to the place being discussed, i.e. *Dar Cord* instead of *Ar Cord* (see tagmemic analysis in Section 5.9).

The appearance of *dar* as a demonstrative could have come from St Kitts Creole indirectly through the influence of Edward Young. In Bruyn and Shrimpton's (1999) word list, it is clear that *dar/ar* is St Kitts Creole. It may also have come from any number of English dialects spoken by the *Bounty* mutineers on Pitcairn. Ross and Moverley (1964) detail these dialects and their structural properties. The high degree of individual, interfamilial and intergeneration variation in the appearance of Norf'k demonstratives complicates the analysis. This variation can possibly be attributed to the unfocused nature of the language and the fact that it has few linguistic stereotypes.

5.8.2 *Fer* in Norf'k toponyms and the influence of St Kitts Creole

There is a large number of Norf'k toponyms that use *fer* (English: of, for; Norf'k variants: *fa*, *fe*) as part of a type of *double possessive* benefactive construction. This form is used both in toponyms, e.g. *Ar House fer Ma Nobbys*, and when describing other nouns, e.g. *dar hat fer myse fathers* (English: my father's hat). There are also other examples where there is an implied *fer*, e.g. *Tilleys* can be produced as *Dar (Side) fer Tilleys* (see tagmemic analysis in Section 5.9). This form has its origin on Pitcairn, although its use appears to be more common on Norfolk. The Pitcairn toponyms 'Hole fer Matts' and 'Freds Hole' have both been elicited (Young 1964) as have 'Side for Parkins' and 'Ron's Fishing Place' (Göthesson 2002). This suggests the choice of either *fer...-s* or the English possessive form in isolation is unpredictable.

Some examples of the use of *fer* are:

1. *Stone fer George and Isaacs.*
2. *Dar Stone fer Lindsays.*
3. *Ar Side fer Iyes.*
4. *Dar Side fer Murrays.*
5. *Dar Pool fer Helens.*
6. *Dar fer Yeamans.*
7. *Ar Pine fer Robinsons.*

This form corresponds with other Norf'k benefactive forms like 'here's one table fer me' (here's my table). There seems to have been a syntactic expansion in Norf'k in attributing benefaction to people in possessive (genitive) constructions and toponyms through the use of *fer*. Although the *Dar...fer...-s* construction does not exist in English toponyms, it does occur in constructions like 'that chair of yours'. The appearance of this form and its persistence in Norf'k toponyms suggests that the influence of St Kitts Creole through midshipman Edward Young should be accredited more weight than some previous descriptions of the language (e.g. Reinecke et al. 1975). It is exciting for this study that the influence of a single linguistic socialiser on Pitcairn Island can be isolated to such a degree on Norfolk Island, and that his influence on a small and developing speech community can be analysed within the domain of a word class such as toponyms.

5.9 Tagmemic analysis of Norf'k toponyms

In order to test the acceptability of variations in the common Norf'k toponym form *Dar ... fer ...-s*, Norf'k speakers were queried about the acceptability of variable forms. The degree of approval from most favourable to least favourable form was conducted with 10 informants. This data

informed the tagmemic analysis. *Dar/Ar Pine fer Robinsons* adheres to a typical and prevalent Norf'k toponym form. This name will be used to illustrate the appearance of necessary and optional elements or tagmemes in Norf'k toponyms.

Tagmemics provides a powerful system for describing what has arisen as a continual and consistent pattern in Norf'k toponyms. There are at most five tagmemes in this form. The tagmeme as a grammatical unit is defined by Elson and Pickett (1968: 57) as:

The correlation of a grammatical function or slot with a class of mutually substitutable items occurring in that slot. This slot-class correlation has a distribution within the grammatical hierarchy of a language.

While tagmemics and a description of slots can be applied to indicate grammatical functions such as 'subject', 'object' and 'predicate', in this analysis tagmemics will only be used to consider whether tagmemes are obligatory or optional. I use the topographical name *Dar Pine fer Robinsons*. However, the patterns can be applied to any other toponym, e.g. fishing ground name, house name, of the form *Dar...fer...-s*. Of the six forms presented below, only the first three were acceptable by my informants.

1. *Dar Pine fer Robinsons*
2. *Ar Pine fer Robinsons*
3. *Pine fer Robinsons*
4. **Robinsons Pine*
5. **Ar/Dar Pine fer Robinson*
6. **Robinson Pine*

Dar Pine fer Robinsons differs significantly from the suggestion of the English 'Robinsons Pine', which has only been observed in one secondary source (Buffett n.d.). Although an equivalent

English translation of the Norf'k name rather than the literal 'The Pine of Robinsons', it was not considered an acceptable form because it did not conform to the common pattern. What is of more ethnographic interest is that this particular pine growing on the north-east coast of Norfolk would have been known mainly to onshore and offshore fishermen. This is because *Dar Pine fer Robinsons* and the associated offshore fishing ground name *Pine fer Robinsons* was used primarily for the purposes of fishing and navigation. This name has been used mainly by Norf'k speakers so using the English 'Robinsons Pine' would not only seem to appear as not conforming to the system, but constitutes a variant of this name that historically does not have a place in Norf'k toponymy.

The use of *ar* or *dar* has no structural, functional or semantic significance apart from possible pragmatic marking of specificity by the use of *dar*, e.g. 'which pine? *Dar Pine fer Robinsons*'. The form of §3 indicates that *ar* and *dar* are optional. Robinsons Pine is considered English by Norf'k speakers and §4 and §5 are not considered possible Norf'k names. The nucleus of the standard Norf'k toponym form consists of five tagmemes with a specific function for each:

Formula: Article + Generic Noun + Preposition + Proper Noun + Possessive

TAGMEME	1	2	3	4	5
	(a) <i>Dar</i> (b) <i>Ar</i>	<i>Pine</i>	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinson</i>	-s
	The	Pine	of	Robinson	POSS

1. (a) *Dar* (b) *Ar*. Form is optional. There are two phonological variants but the forms in free variation are subject to the pragmatic constraint marking specificity. Inclusion is optional except when the conditions in §2 occur.
2. *Pine*: Inclusion is optional based on a key cultural understanding that the place being referred to is known. If excluded, tagmeme 1a is obligatory.

3. *Fer*: It is obligatory in all cases except when only tagmeme four and five are present. Realisation does not change form.
4. *Robinson*: Inclusion is obligatory. This tagmeme is always a male or female proper noun, the combination of a name status term like *Ma* or *Pa* and a proper noun or nickname.
5. *-s*: Inclusion is obligatory. Realisation does not change form.

Possible syntactic variations are:

1.	<i>Dar</i>	<i>Pine</i>	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinsons</i>
2.	<i>Ar</i>	<i>Pine</i>	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinsons</i>
3.	-	<i>Pine</i>	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinsons</i>
4.	<i>Dar</i>	-	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinsons</i>
5.	-	-	-	<i>Robinsons</i>

Forms which are not possible are:

6.	* <i>Ar</i>	-	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinsons</i>
7.	* <i>Dar</i>	<i>Pine</i>	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinson</i>
8.	* <i>Dar</i>	-	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinson</i>
9.	* <i>Ar</i>	-	<i>fer</i>	<i>Robinson</i>

The tagmemic analysis accounts for all toponyms adhering to the five-tagmeme forms. This system can be applied to generics such as 'side' (place), e.g. *Dar Side fer Honeys*, house, e.g. *Dar House fer Ma Nobbys*, and pool, e.g. *Dar Pool fer Helens*. This analysis shows that tagmemes §1a/b, §2 and §3 comprise the core syntactic element of this toponym form. The combination of tagmeme §4 and §5 constitutes the semantic or cultural element of these toponyms. When the generic element

represented by the tagmemes §1a or §1b, §2 and §3 or §1a and §3 are present, the core semantic element appears sequentially second. This has implications for understanding the relationship between Norf'k syntax, semantics and social dynamics on Norfolk Island, i.e. what is semantically central does not necessarily appear sequentially first.

Patterns from the tagmemic analysis pose the semantic element (§4 and §5 combined) as central to the social and historical meaning of a toponym. Names such as (*Dar Side fer*) *Martys*, (*Dar fer*) *Johnnies* and (*Dar Pool fer*) *Helens* emphasise the personal (semantic) element of toponyms, and the part they play in understanding toponym location, spatial description and history within the social ecology of Norfolk. This tagmemic analysis reveals that a core syntactic element is related to a core semantic element. It emphasises the difference between the interrelatedness of obligatory and culturally central aspects and optional aspects that are culturally peripheral.

5.10 Spatial orientation Norfolk/Norf'k toponyms

Spatial descriptions on Norfolk Island provide a key insight into how language has developed and changed on Norfolk over time. What is of particular interest to Norfolk toponymy is an analysis of the use of spatial prepositions in Norfolk/Norf'k toponyms. This intermingling of the absolute and relative spatial description that has developed represents historical relationships and connectedness to Pitcairn Island. In addition, spatial orientation in Norf'k has adapted to more recent changes, e.g. the construction of the airport and the use of the preposition *round* in toponyms.

There has been a recent trend in anthropological linguistics to consider directional prepositions and locational prepositions in a spatial analysis (e.g. Senft 1997). As a transplanted and newly developed contact language, the study of Norf'k spatial reference is of particular importance for linguistic studies of space (e.g. Bennardo 2002) and for describing spatial relationships in non-standard varieties (e.g. Meakins 2011 for Gurindji Kriol). Such analyses consider the relationship

between absolute, relative and intrinsic frames of reference (Palmer 2010). This analysis will not consider the latter element because it is not essential to Norfolk spatial description. The distinction between absolute and relative, however, needs to be made clear: an absolute spatial orientation system involves fixed spatial descriptors or axes, e.g. north, east, south and west, landward–seaward that are commonly obligatory when describing spatial relationships, while relative spatial orientation employs an egocentric system, e.g. ‘in front of me’ or ‘beside me’ but *not* ‘to the north of me’. This analysis considers the interrelationship of absolute and relative spatial perspectives on Norfolk Island and the role spatial relationships play in linguistic and toponymic adaptation.

In this section I present data and describe the Norfolk absolute spatial system and its convergence with the relative system. The implications of this system for understanding various Norfolk toponymic forms will be used to show the extent to which toponyms represent ways of speaking suited to describing a specific physical environment. A description of spatial relationships is also integral to the pristine place-naming element of this research. This is because toponyms and their spatial aspect effectively express the need for speakers of language to possess adequate linguistic tools for environmental adaptation.

5.10.1 Norfolk and space

In the domains of Norfolk lexicon and grammar, the available choice and meanings is vast, with the possibility for disagreement among native speakers high (Harrison 1986). Despite this, Norfolk spatial grammar is one of the most consistent elements of the language that tends to be agreed upon by informants across interviews. The Norfolk spatial orientation system also demonstrates an example of how quickly a system of absolute spatial reference can develop. It is necessary to consider the effect the Pitkern language spoken on Pitcairn Island had on the spatial description which developed on Norfolk Island and in Norfolk.

Three languages, i.e. Tahitian, a number of English dialects and St. Kitts Creole, with different spatial grammars were transplanted to Pitcairn Island in 1790 after the mutiny on the *Bounty* occurred. The topography of Pitcairn was unfamiliar to all arrivals. One of the requirements the Pitkern language had to meet was that of enabling its users to orient themselves in the new social and topographical space. Although I will not be considering Pitkern spatial orientation in any great detail, it is important to remember that the Pitkern language and its spatial reference system were transplanted to Norfolk Island in 1856 when the entire population of the island was resettled. Norfolk was a larger uninhabited island than Pitcairn, which already had two previous settlement periods and a history of place-naming. While Pitcairn social structures remained largely unchanged on Norfolk, the new island space was significantly different and the grammar of spatial orientation had to be adapted to the new circumstances.

5.10.2 Spatial analysis

Norfolk Islanders talk about their island in terms of the rest of the world, using a variable system of prepositions. Norfolk Islanders themselves use *down* or *down Norfolk* to refer to being on or travelling to their island:

1. *Fech em jet daun ya. Mor kamftoble f'tuurus kamen daun anieh.* (English: Get jet planes (down) to Norfolk Island. It is more comfortable for the tourists that come to Norfolk Island.)
2. *Dem lewen daun Norf'k nau.* (They are now living (down) on Norfolk.)
3. *Wi haed wan big flad daun Norf'k. Yu daun Norf'k daa taim daa big flad kam.* (We had a big flood (down) on Norfolk. Were you (down) on Norfolk when the big flood came?) (Harrison n.d., ca. 1970s).

Travel from Norfolk Island to destinations overseas also employs *up* for travel to New Zealand and *kros* or *cross* for travel to Australia. *Down* can be used for travel to New Caledonia, *down yonder* 'to New Zealand' and *outside* or *out* is any place other than Pitcairn Island. Travel from the main

island to nearby islands or rocks and to fishing spots is usually signalled by means of the preposition *kros* or *cross*. This is also used for travel on Norfolk which involves crossing a valley or water course. Names of fishing spots, qua location, on both Pitcairn and Norfolk do not appear with a lexicalized preposition, with the exception of Pitkern *Out Bear* and *Out-the-smell-fafaia* and three Norfolk fishing ground names *Up the Northwest*, *Down to the East* and *Out orn ar Milky Tree*. These prepositions in fishing ground names conform to the absolute orientation system on Norfolk:

The use of the spatial prepositions on the vertical axis in these offshore fishing ground names, i.e. *up* and *down* from the main reference point of Kingston, agree with the suggestion of an absolute spatial orientation system. (Nash 2009: 128)

There is, however, some variation in this system, e.g. *Glen en dem gwen aut Felap Ailen* (Glen and his mates are going (out) to Phillip Island), *Ai tek yu tuu raun Felap Ailen* (I'll take you two round (to) Phillip Island), *Ai goe kors Felup Ailen* (I'm going to Phillip Island).

Different topography and different pre-existing settlement also precluded the carryover of the Pitkern absolute spatial orientation system. Norfolk Island had at least two major settlements from the first two convict periods, namely *Kingston* and *Cascade*, and the emergence of two other more recent settlements in *Middlegate* and *Burnt Pine* (see Edgecombe-Martin map in Figure 4.3) has meant that Norfolk has had to develop a much broader range of uses of spatial description. The primary distinction made in Norfolk spatial prepositions is the distinction between location and movement on (1) the vertical axis, i.e. *up* or *down*, and (2) the horizontal axis, both away or out from the fixed point of *down* or *Down a Town*, i.e. *Kingston*. This system of absolute spatial prepositions without axes is presented in Figure 5.24 and with axes in Figure 5.25:

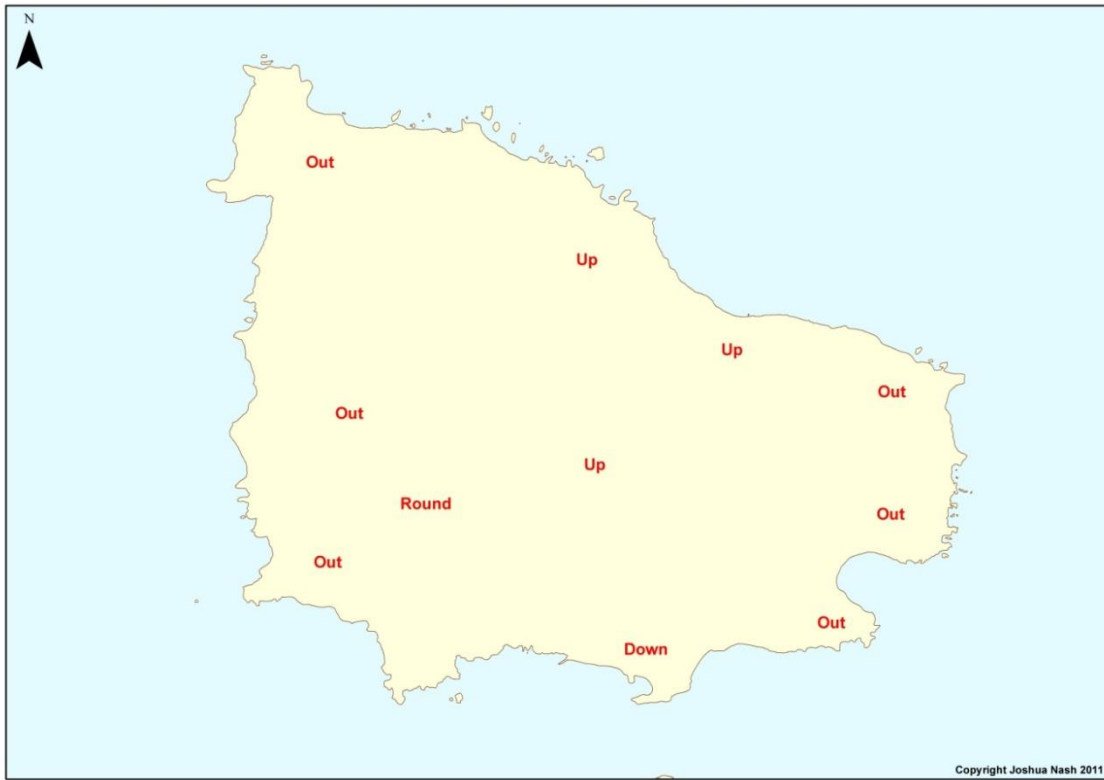


Figure 5.24 – Norf’k absolute spatial orientation system without axes (source: the author 2011)

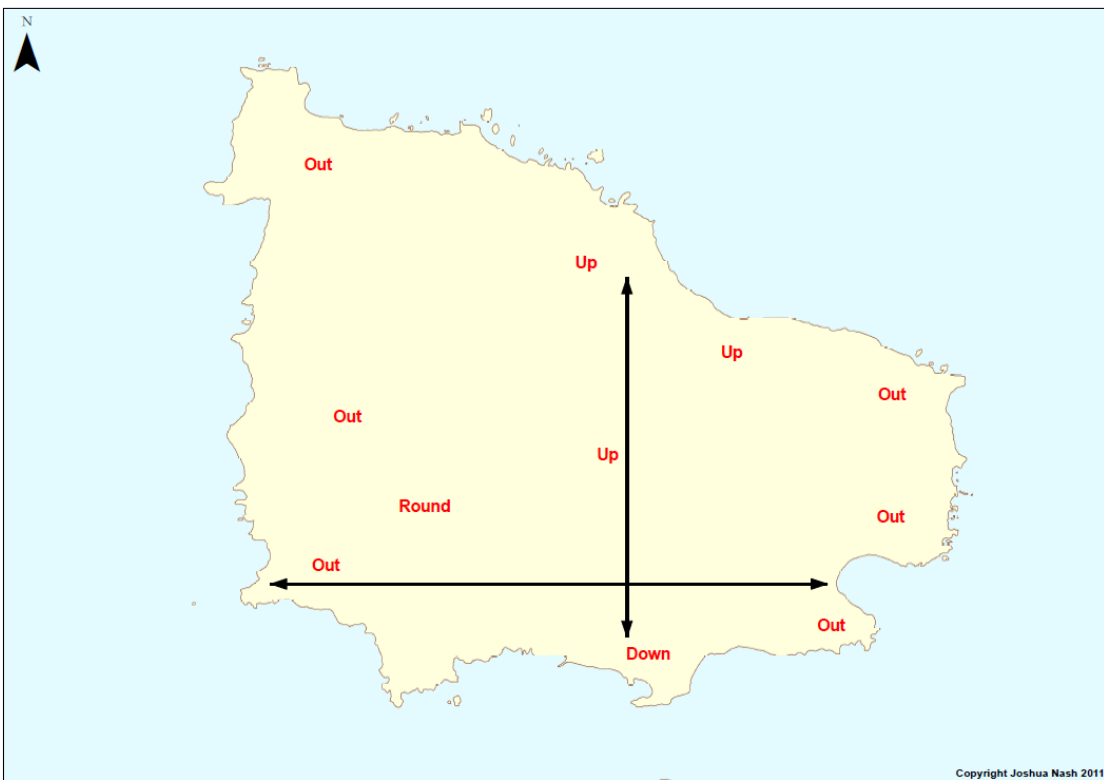


Figure 5.25 – Norf’k absolute spatial orientation system with axes (source: the author 2011)

Although there seems to be a great deal of agreement in the use of fixed prepositions, some variation does occur in preposition usage depending on age and which part of the island informants grew up in.

5.10.3 Lexicalised prepositions in Norf'k toponyms

The first group of spatial data are toponyms which contain spatial prepositions that have become lexicalised. Figure 5.26 presents toponyms which contain prepositions:

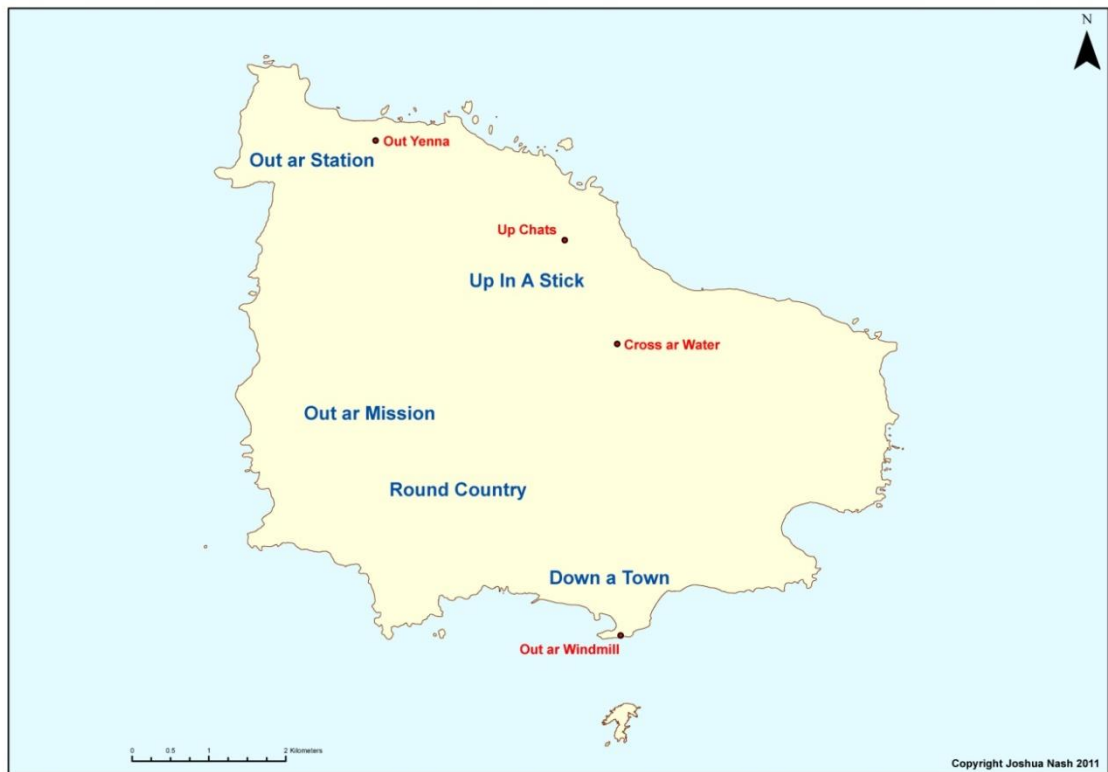


Figure 5.26 – Map of lexicalised prepositions in Norf'k toponyms adapted from Edgecombe (1999: 102).

The names plotted in blue indicate general areas while names plotted in red are precisely located names. Table 5.4 gives English translations of these toponyms:

Table 5.4 – Lexicalised prepositions in Norf’k toponyms adapted from Edgecombe (1999: 102)

NOTE:
This table is included on page 158 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

These secondary data show that Norf’k toponyms incorporating lexicalised spatial descriptors do so in accordance with the absolute spatial orientation system presented in Figures 5.23 and 5.24 above. Apart from *Out Yenna*, which can only occur in English as *Out Yonder*, all other spatial descriptions in English can use *in* or *at*. Norf’k does not have a single calque for *at* but must employ other prepositions whereas *in* can be used to describe space in Norf’k but not in these contexts. There are also no examples in the data of *in* being lexicalised into Norf’k toponyms.

The use of prepositions in these names shows very little variation across informants. There is also a large amount of crossover in the use of this spatial system into Standard Australian English, which is spoken on Norfolk Island. That is, when Norfolk residents speak English, they use absolute spatial descriptors, e.g. *we gwen out Steels Point*, *we bin out Anson Bay*. Location descriptors that have not been lexicalised into toponyms but still adhere to the Norf’k spatial orientation system presented in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5 – Preposition usage in Norf'k location constructions (source: the author 2011)

Norf'k	English
<i>Out Steels Point</i>	(Out) at Steels Point
<i>Out Bucks Point</i>	(Out) at Bucks Point
<i>Out Duncombe</i>	(Out) at Duncombe Bay
<i>Out Headstone</i>	(Out) at Headstone
<i>Out Anson Bay</i>	(Out) at Anson Bay
<i>Out Hundred Acres</i>	(Out) at the Old Hundred Acres reserve
<i>Out Dixies</i>	(Out) at Dixie Paddock
<i>Up Town</i>	(Up) at/in Burnt Pine
<i>Up Cooks</i>	(Up) at the Captain Cook Monument
<i>Round ar airport, round ar plane</i>	(Around) at the airport
<i>Down Cascade</i>	At Cascade

The general preference by Norf'k speakers when talking about movement, i.e. going to a specific place, is to use the same preposition when describing location. However, there is greater variation in this situation and the influence of an English relative system is more pronounced.

1. *Down te Norf'k* (to Norfolk Island)
2. *Out ar greiwyaad, up ar greiwyaad* (to the cemetery)
3. *Out Cook's, ap Cooks* (to the *Captain Cook Monument*).

Prepositions are also used to distinguish locations:

1. *Down Bumboras* (down at Bumboras) versus *Out Bumboras* (to Bumboras Reef)
2. *Up Flagstaff* (on Flagstaff Hill) versus *Daun Flagstaff* (rocky coast under Flagstaff Hill)

5.10.4 Rationale for the development of the Norfolk absolute spatial system

Norfolk's rugged coastline means that there are only three locations where a shoreline is readily accessible, namely *Kingston*, the administrative centre in the south, *Ball Bay* in the south-east and *Cascade* on the north coast (see image of Norfolk's northern coastline in Figure 5.21). During the first two settlement periods, 1788–1814 and 1825–1855, *Kingston* grew as the obvious choice for an administrative centre due to its low-lying geography and accessibility as a harbour. Ocean swells in this part of the island are also lower than in *Cascade* in the north, the only area where ships can safely moor offshore. *Kingston* thus developed particularly during the Second Settlement with numerous official buildings erected, which still today serve as the administration for the Australian Government on Norfolk. It was these buildings that housed the Pitcairners after their arrival in 1856. During this period *Kingston* became known in Norfolk as *Town* and its location as *down* later became lexicalised in the Norfolk description of the whole area as *Down-a-Town*. This is the major reference point, which has developed on Norfolk and serves as the centre of the two axes which follow:

1. Locations which are distant from Kingston or *Down-a-Town* on the vertical axis are located and described as *up*, e.g. *Up in a Stick* (in the forested areas in the northern part of the island) the location of the national park, *Up Cooks* (at the *Captain Cook Memorial* on the extreme north coast of the Norfolk), and
2. Locations which are distant on the horizontal axis from *Kingston* are located and described as *out*, e.g. *Out Anson* (at *Anson Bay*), *Out Steels Point* (at *Steels Point*).

In all instances of describing space on Norfolk in English, the use of *at* or *in* is sufficient. No location needs to be specified in Norfolk English, nor does any confusion result from not using Norfolk locatives like *out*, *up*, *round* or *down* in English when describing places on Norfolk Island. In addition to the use of prepositions for describing location, the use of prepositions for describing movement demonstrate well the interaction between the absolute (fixed) orientation system and the

relative orientation system developed on Norfolk Island.³¹ Similar to English, these descriptors express geographical and topographical changes according to movement and how speakers navigate space based on these grammatical tools. *Round* is used if one does not follow a straight route and needs to go around a particular area. The preposition *round* also became lexicalised in the toponym *Round Country* after the construction of the airport in the 1940s. *Down* is used if one travels towards a lower part of the island, *out* if one travels to a distant place and *cross* if the movement involves crossing a river, valley or the sea. Table 5.6 illustrates the normal use of prepositions, reflecting the way people usually travel:

Table 5.6 – Preposition usage in Norf’k directional constructions (source: the author 2011)

Norf’k	English
<i>Round ar plane</i>	Going to the airport
<i>Round a road</i>	Going to the shops in Burnt Pine, going for a drive anywhere on Norfolk, going for a spin or a cruise (in a car)
<i>Round a town</i>	Going to the shops in Burnt Pine
<i>Up Now-Now</i>	Up to Now Now Valley

Travel to the golf course usually implies coming from somewhere on higher ground. For those who are already *Down a Town*, i.e. in *Kingston*, it would be necessary to say *out Golf* to the golf course, which is situated a distance away from the centre of *Kingston*. Movement towards places with a lexicalised preposition requires an extra movement preposition:

Wen wi gwen skuul wi usa gu daun aa said daun Chaenis. Yeh, wi korl et daun Chaenis. (When we went to school we used to go down to Chennis’ place. Yes, we called it *Down Chaenis*.) (Harrison n.d., ca.1970s)

³¹ Use of prepositions is a practical measure in Norf’k. Several informants have claimed that using precise locational and directional prepositions is a method of giving clear directions, being economical and locating others accurately in space.

5.10.5 Implications of the Norf'k spatial orientation system

The development of an absolute spatial orientation system in Norf'k reflects the sociocultural history and ontology of the language. It also suggests reasons for the continuation and perpetuation of the language, despite the odds against the language throughout its history. The resilience of the Norfolk Islanders and their identification with the place that eventually came to be their 'hoem' has become frozen in their linguistic memory and, more specifically, lexicalised into complex and esoteric grammatical ephemera usually not privy to outsiders. As a result the Norfolk Islanders have tended to congregate in the area that became known to them as *Town*, i.e. *Kingston*, and rarely ventured outside of this southern part of the island. When they eventually ventured away from the comfort of their 'hoem' in Kingston, which they cognitively construed as being similar to their beloved Pitcairn, *up* to what is now known as *Burnt Pine* (Norf'k: *Bun Pine*), now the commercial centre of Norfolk, this movement *up* became both lexicalised in the lexicon as well as being a descriptor in the movement description in a vertical fashion, away from the fixed reference point of *Down-a-Town*. *Burnt Pine* or *Up town* or simply *Town* is always considered *up* when one is *down*. However, when one is in the northern part of the island describing someone or something in *Burnt Pine*, in Norf'k one would say, *he in Town* (he is in *Town*). When describing a movement toward *Burnt Pine*, one could say, *we shoot in Town* (let's go to *Burnt Pine*), as opposed to, *we shoot Down-a-Town* (let's go to *Kingston*). One can also simply say, *we gwen round-a-road*, which can mean 'we're going to *Burnt Pine*' as well as 'we're going to the shops' or simply 'we're going for a spin'. Movement from the northern part of the island to *Burnt Pine* would never elicit the response, **he bin down in Town*, nor would a locational description ever elicit, **he down in Town*, lest this construction become confused with *he Down-a-Town*, 'he's in *Kingston*'.

The Norfolk Islanders moved away from *Kingston* to till the land and maintain their livelihood at the time when the first Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent were sent to the Boer War in 1890 (Nobbs 2006). The movement away from Kingston and the acknowledgement that Norfolk was the Pitcairners' new home took place both conceptually and physically. This was 36 years after the entire population from Pitcairn had arrived on Norfolk in 1856. While it is extremely difficult to show with the diachronic data that has been collected in this research, it is commonly thought that from

1890 onwards was when Norf'k began being used in earnest in naming places on Norfolk Island.³² It is possible the majority of 'forgotten' fishing ground names, e.g. *Ar Side fer Dodos*, *Jimmy Bills*, *Martys*, developed during this time. This is because these people and names were possibly associated with a type of 'toponymic pioneering'; such names would have been easily forgotten. Such a claim is difficult to demonstrate. It does, however, concur with Ross' (1958) definition of pristine toponyms and their transparent quality. I take this idea further and suggest that the transparency of names and their ability to be remembered in the minds of the people and in the landscape where they are remembered is significantly affected by time. Transparency, pristineness, space and history are all represented in the names that Pitcairners have used, remembered and forgotten.

An event that interfered with the direction of established routes was the building of a military airport during World War II (1942), which involved the destruction of the famous Pine Avenue, and led to the development of the toponym *Round Country* and the expression *Round ar Plane* 'to the airport'. This is one of the major differences between the naming and identification with place and land that took place on Pitcairn as opposed to Norfolk: Pitcairn was a desert island that had never been inhabited by Europeans and was virgin naming territory for the *Bounty* mutineers and their consorts. On the other hand, by the time the Pitcairners arrived on Norfolk there had already been two European settlement periods that carried with them their own history and geographical nomenclature that Pitcairners either had to accept, adapt to their liking or totally change. By gaining knowledge of local geography through venturing away from *Kingston* in what was to the Pitcairners a very large island (more than five times the size of their previous home), their naming of places and specifically their sense of space, place and location on the island became established. The different families that moved and settled in the various enclaves of the island, which still bear resemblance to the first familial land grants, and travel to these remote areas on the island, away or *out* or *up* from the *Kingston* area, played an integral part in producing the fossilised spatial description of Norf'k prepositions still present in Norf'k.

³² Low (in preparation) gives some anthropological suggestions about the nature of the Pitcairners' attachment to Norfolk and how a distinct sense of separate Pitcairner cultural identity developed on Norfolk from 1856 onwards.

Specific descriptions of location and place in Norf'k were historically more important than using the cardinal system and these terms of reference, location and movement have become an important part of Norf'k grammar. It seems that this apparent over reliance on these few prepositions, and their importance in carving up the cognitive space on and of Norfolk, has resulted in an orientation system which does not use the cardinal axes of north, south, east and west, common in English, but instead established its own colloquial and quintessential system unique to this island setting. This ecologically embedded system in an island language contact situation suggests that similar systems may have developed in other language contact situations, e.g. Tristan da Cunha, Mauritius and Jamaica.

5.11 Comparative analysis of official and unofficial Norfolk toponyms

In this section, I summarise the significance of the grammatical analysis of Norfolk/Norf'k toponymy and contextualise this analysis within the hypothesis for this thesis. Data from the First and Second Settlements, the Melanesian Mission period and post 1856 toponymy demonstrate a sharp distinction between the status of official and unofficial names. Not only is there a distinction between the grammar but there is also a difference in characterising toponyms embedded from various periods.

As demonstrated in Section 5.4.1, precise rules can be formulated which account for the grammatical structures of English topographical names on Norfolk Island. These rules are consistent with other British colonial naming patterns. It is thus worth repeating Zettersten's (1969: 125) claim that:

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.

Zettersten's (1969) results suggest that it is useful to compare the incidental, colloquial and less rigid nature of pristine toponyms with colonial or introduced names. An analysis comparing these two distinct categories of names may help avoid the imprecise and almost artificial boundary of language use of English and Norf'k in Norfolk toponyms, i.e. instead of seeking to describe linguistic and cultural embeddedness, based on whether a toponym is English or Norf'k, it appears the use of the categorisation official–unofficial will be more effective in disambiguating and even avoiding these linguistic boundaries. These two categories create a strong demarcation between gazetted toponyms recognised by the Australian Government originating primarily during Norfolk's first two settlement periods and those names that arose during the later periods. Comparing structural features of official and unofficial names instead of English and Norf'k names is directly related to the research question, which aimed to test whether the higher degree of linguistic and cultural variability was associated with the insider nature of Norf'k as a language of use in Norfolk toponyms. The preceding sections in this chapter have shown that it is not merely the language used in the naming of Norfolk toponyms that is key to their formal linguistic structure and cultural import. The large amount of ambiguity in the Norfolk toponymic data indicates there are other processes involved in place-naming related directly to the cultural and ecological embeddedness and pristine nature of Norfolk toponyms. This provides an excellent base upon which the comparative linguistic and cultural analysis of Norfolk toponyms with Dudley toponyms will be carried out in Chapter Six.

Below I present an alphabetical list of 20 well-known English topographical names from the Norfolk Island data set:

1. *Anson Bay*
2. *Arthurs Vale*
3. *Bloody Bridge*
4. *Burnt Pine*
5. *Cemetery Bay*
6. *Collins Head*

7. *Crystal Pool*
8. *Duncombe Bay*
9. *Green Pool Stone*
10. *Jacobs Rock*
11. *Kingston*
12. *Longridge*
13. *Middlegate*
14. *Mount Pitt*
15. *Old Hundred Acres*
16. *Palm Glen*
17. *Point Hunter*
18. *Puppys Point*
19. *St Barnabas Chapel*
20. *Stockyard Creek*

These names can first be classified into three broad categories: [\pm EPONYMOUS] [\pm DESCRIPTIVE] [\pm INCIDENT]. Within the system of English place-naming on Norfolk, eponymous or commemorative names tend to be related to male colonial dignitaries who never set foot on the island. These are what I term unembedded topographical names/toponyms: [+ EPONYMOUS] [- DESCRIPTIVE] [- INCIDENT]. These names are exonymous to Norfolk and have been imposed on maps and the Norfolk landscape in a similar way to other methods of (British) colonial naming (Tent & Slatyer 2009). Their origins have little to do with the social landscape of Norfolk Island. Such eponymous names in this list are *Anson Bay*, after George Anson, the member for Litchfield; *Mount Pitt*, named after William Pitt, a Prime Minister of England; *Duncombe Bay*, named after the member for Yorkshire; *Arthurs Vale*, named in honour of Governor Arthur Phillip; and *St Barnabas Chapel*, the chapel of the Melanesian Mission. Despite these names being exonymous, over time they are integral as descriptive tools. The form of these names is fixed and they represent the most

grammatically rigid forms on Norfolk. The source of these names, however, is different from the two other less arbitrary categories in Norfolk English toponyms: [\pm DESCRIPTIVE] and [\pm INCIDENT].

The category of [- EPONYMOUS] [+ DESCRIPTIVE] [- INCIDENT] English names includes *Cemetery Bay*, *Crystal Pool*, *Green Pool Stone* and *Stockyard Creek*. These names are transparent because they describe the landscape they are associated with. Like the [+ EPONYMOUS] [- DESCRIPTIVE] [- INCIDENT] names, their form is fixed and they are again grammatically rigid forms. The semantics of [- EPONYMOUS] [+ DESCRIPTIVE] [- INCIDENT] and [- EPONYMOUS] [+ DESCRIPTIVE] [- INCIDENT] names are clear and generally well known on Norfolk. However, ambiguity in meaning, history and location begin to be expressed in the analysis of [+EPONYMOUS] [- DESCRIPTIVE] [+ INCIDENT] names like *Puppys Point* that have several possible histories:

Puppys Point. (1) it is claimed that it was named after 'Pappy' Quintal, Les Quintal's grandfather, who once owned the land and fished off the point regularly (this seems the most likely history) [+ EPONYMOUS]; (2) this story is unlikely but some say that one of the rocks on the cliff below *Puppys Point* looks like a puppy [+ DESCRIPTIVE]; (3) in earlier times the cargo ships swum the livestock and other animals ashore, a puppy was once lost in the process and was later found on one of the rocks below [+ INCIDENT]. (Rachel Borg, Norfolk Island, April 2009)

These three histories of *Puppys Point* cross semantic boundaries and create a great deal of ambiguity in the interpretation of what *Puppys Point* means historically. While there is no ambiguity in the formal structure of the name, there is a strong suggestion that there is an implied degree of semantic ambiguity when dealing with similar names on this level of cultural embeddedness. It is extremely difficult to analyse formally a name like *Puppys Point* in order to gauge its formal and semantic significance because its structural features do not lend themselves well to such analysis. Their formal structure is asyntactic; structures have become 'solidified' over time through usage and through becoming integral parts of the lexicon of Norfolk Island.

Building on this idea, the English form (article) (generic) noun (+ possessive) (+ noun) can incorporate Norf'k lexemes. Forms such as *Parloo Park*, *Gudda Bridge*, *Baccer Valley* and *Moo-oo Stone* question the role core formal linguistic structure plays in deciphering meaning or history. It is not clear whether these names are originally English or Norf'k and what the ethnic background of the people who coined the names was. In the case of *Parloo Park*, I was not able to document its exact location. 'Parloo' ('masturbation') is taboo in Norf'k and on Norfolk, so openly using a taboo term in a topographical name appears not only odd but socially looked down upon. This is also complicated by the fact that few people have heard of *Parloo Park* and even fewer know where it is. Those who have heard of *Parloo Park* claim that it is located somewhere in the *One Hundred Acres Reserve* (a very large area, so this is not a precise location). It is supposedly the place young boys and girls used to get up to 'a bit of mischief' ('parloo'), particularly on their first date. It is quite understandable that Norf'k speakers who know this name would be reluctant to express being privy to such esoteric and taboo knowledge.

The significance and ecological connectedness of toponyms is expressed through several other cultural memes that are difficult to disambiguate. Names such as *Dar Cabbage*, instead of *The Cabbage*, *Ar Crack* instead of *The Crack* and *Em Steps* instead of *The Convict Steps* favour key ethnic and linguistic priorities, depending on where people who know the names are placed within the social fabric of Norfolk. *Dar Tomato*, a topographical name on the western coast of Phillip Island, named such because wild tomatoes grow halfway up the steep slope, appears structurally similar to *The Tomato* or *Tomato*. They are synonyms referring to the same place. The only difference is in their article grammar. There are, however, key linguistic implications based in identity and placement within the social and political strata of Norfolk Island associated with, among many other examples, knowledge of the use of articles in Norf'k toponyms. Being aware of a variety of toponym forms and their applications in various contexts, e.g. *The Chinaman* when talking English and *Dar Chinaman* when talking Norf'k (a name for the old convict quarry near *Lone Pine* in *Emily Bay*), demonstrates an intricacy of knowledge that can both be praised in the Norfolk community and, in other ways, considered a threat.

Norfolk has a history of 'dangerous' names. To be 'snell' or to be hungry, even after eating a meal, is said to derive from a member of the Snell family who did not cook enough food for their guests one evening (Wiseman 1977). The Snells are not entirely fond of this expression today. *Bloody Bridge* was considered a dangerous place due to its name that was changed to *Dar Naughty Bridge* by the Pitcairners. *Murderers Glen* was changed to *Music Valley* when a gentleman moved the New Zealand army barracks from *Mount Pitt* to the area near *Bloody Bridge* after World War II and *Murderers Mound* is now known simply as *Dar Cemetery*. The area *Stormy Paddock*, just out of the main commercial district in *Burnt Pine*, was named such by locals after a quarrelsome family who used to live there. Knowledge of these names is linked to events most people would care to forget and therefore rarely documented. There are names like *Ghostpiss Corner*, *Ghost Corner* and *Ghossie Ghossie* which describe Norfolk's cultural and natural landscape indexically as a treacherous place. The history of these names goes back to the playing of practical jokes, purposeful scaring of people and jeering, which is still common in the Norfolk community today. Such names are rarely officialised.

The above examples have shown primarily semantic ambiguities associated with unofficial names. These examples suggest that the boundary between Norfolk and English names can become blurred in the unofficial environment, where deeply entrenched normative social behaviours and customs are obvious. Although I have not considered Norfolk pronunciation or orthography in analyses, how Norfolk words in toponyms are spelled is connected culturally to how they are pronounced and vice versa. Examples such as *Fus Sain* for *First Sand* (same place as *Bumboras*), *Second Sain* for *Second Sand*, *Yollo Lane* for *Yorlor Lane* (a *yollo* is a slab of pumice stone used traditionally on Pitcairn to grate vegetables for baking and was brought to Norfolk) and simply *Hoem* for *Home*. These spelling variations are not unmotivated; they are historically placed statements about the esoteric, unfocused and idiosyncratic nature of the Norfolk language and how it is spelled. These names occur not only on handwritten maps but in house and business signs. While there is legislation which governs how Norfolk words could be spelled and that it is legal to present Norfolk publicly, the rebellious nature of the history of the language and its association with negative attitudes towards colonial powers (especially Australia) has meant that Norfolk spelling has remained a consistent issue which divides the community. The uprooting of newly erected road signs and other local or Commonwealth influence on public signage is commonplace on Norfolk. It

is possible this is because of spelling concerns or simply because Norfolk Islanders and locals do not want a sign, spelled in whichever way and erected at the end of their road, where a sign has never been erected in the past.

In order to summarise this analysis of official and unofficial toponyms and their linguistic implications, I present and analyse several Norfolk forms which differ markedly from English.

1. *Side ar Whale Es*
2. *Side Suff Fly Pass*
3. *Side Eddie find ar Anchor*

Like the Tristan da Cunha, Pitcairn and Dudley toponyms listed in Chapter One, Section 1.3, and unlike English names like *Middlegate* and *Point Hunter* on Norfolk, the form of these names is not typical of toponyms. Prepositions are not common in English toponyms on Norfolk and verbs are never present in colonial names. For example, *Side ar Whale Es* ('Place the whale is'), *Side Suff Fly Pass* ('Place swell flies pass') and *Side Eddie find ar anchor* ('Place Eddie found the anchor') are reminiscent of Basso's documented Apache names such as 'Water Flows Inward Under A Cottonwood' Tree (1996: 86), 'White Rocks Lie Above In a Compact Cluster' (1996: 87) and even the simple but humorous 'Shades of Shit' (1996: 24), where a group of people who were reluctant to share their corn were cursed by relatives to live in 'shades of shit' for not sharing. I define these names as 'process oriented'; they link (verbal) processes to the places they describe.

While *Side er Whale Es* is essentially a descriptive name for what looks like a whale in the landscape in the *Cascade* area, the use of the existential verb places it into the category of a process-oriented name. It is a name known to very few people, which means it is also an esoteric name. *Side Eddie Find ar Anchor* and *Side Suff Fly Pass* also emphasise the connection between verbal process and place through names. These names are similar to Basso's (1996: 29) esoteric names like 'They Are Grateful For Water' and 'She Became Old Sitting'. This analysis of Norfolk

and Norfolk topographical names is different to Basso (1996) and Dominy (2001) in what I have chosen to highlight. Where Basso has focused primarily on process oriented, esoteric names and their concomitant knowledge and Dominy (2001) prioritises the apparently trivial names of paddock and farm names, which mainly serve a spatial and orientational function, my analysis has not overlooked the role of exonyms, e.g. *Anson Bay*, and descriptive names, e.g. *Rocky Point*, in Norfolk toponymy. Moreover, this analysis has considered how an exonym like *Anson Bay* has been embraced in an endonymic or embedded manner in the house name *The Mayor of Anson Bay* (Figure 5.27):



Figure 5.27 – Image of *The Mayor of Anson Bay* (source: the author 2009)

In summarising the formal linguistic analysis of Norfolk toponyms, I propose four distinct categories which describe all the data expressed in the toponym taxa:

1. Official names adhering to common colonial forms, e.g. *Point Blackbourne*, *Duncombe Bay*.

2. Official and unofficial descriptive names, e.g. *Cemetery Bay, Rocky Point, Seal Rock, Pulpit Rock*.
3. Unofficial names commemorating local people, e.g. *Tarries Paddock, Johnnies*.
4. Unofficial and esoteric names remembering local events and people, e.g. *Johnny Nigger Bun Et, Side Suff Fly Pass*.

While these categories appear distinct, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. These categories illustrate the differentiation of processes of toponyms becoming embedded and the localisation of toponymic knowledge. The flux created by exonyms becoming embedded and endonyms becoming forgotten illustrates the non-static nature of Norfolk toponymy. According to the claim made in Section 4.2.4 that much of the toponymic knowledge on Norfolk Island has been lost due to television, refrigerators, cars, motorcycles and fences, a possible explanation for the loss of toponymic knowledge among younger people on Norfolk Island is an aspect of their ecological disconnect with the histories and events associated with Norfolk toponyms. These implications of these categories will be further discussed in Chapter Seven.

5.12 Cultural analysis of Norfolk and Norf'k toponyms

This analysis of Norfolk toponyms has argued that, like Silverstein (1977), grammatical analysis can only be done if cultural domains are understood and incorporated into the analysis. It is at this stage that the theory of ecolinguistics warrants a parameter rich and albeit potentially conclusion poor perspective. By taking this perspective, I open up the analysis to a more stringent, yet broader cultural and social framework. In order to arrive at what I consider to be a much more accurate, yet complex conclusion about linguistic, cultural and ecological relationships involved in Norfolk toponymy, five Norfolk toponyms are analysed using the tools outlined in Section 4.3.5. This analysis helps to summarise and draw this chapter to a close and enables a similar, yet smaller analysis of island toponymy to be superimposed onto the Dudley Peninsula data.

The list of Norf'k and English toponyms for further cultural analysis are:

1. *Gods Country*
2. *Monty*
3. *Lizzies*
4. *Fata Fata*
5. *Gootys*

5.12.1 *Gods Country*

There are several unofficial toponyms, which refer to Norfolk as a whole and describe general areas not linked to specific locations. There is the colloquial *The Rock* (Norf'k: *Ar Rock*), which refers to Norfolk, e.g. 'When you comen to Ar Rock?', and *Gods Country*, a general term that has significant cultural import to conceptions of place on Norfolk.

It is not known when *Gods Country* became a part of the toponym lexicon on Norfolk. I speculate it happened shortly after the arrival of the Pitcairners in 1856. This population is commonly presented as simple, well-mannered, God-fearing folk. On arriving to Norfolk, different families were allocated lots of land on different parts of the island. For example, the Buffetts went to *Steels Point*, the Nobbs families to *Rocky Point* and *Bumboras* and the McCoys to the *Collins Head* area. Many descendants of the original families still live in these initial allotments in these very same locations. As a result, family history is intimately connected to these historical landscapes and family specific toponyms have developed, e.g. the array of coastal toponyms in the *Steels Point* area on the upper east coast of Norfolk are generally the linguistic property of the Buffetts. The names of the southern side of *Ball Bay*, e.g. *Side Suff Fly Pass* (literally 'Place Surf Flies Past'), are insider names of the McCoy families. Most of these names form a part of the spatial and orientational speech of the people who know and use them, whether or not people speak Norf'k. To some extent, these names

have become integrated into the sociolect of Norfolk Island, particularly those names involving fishing. Based on this very personal and emotional connection to the places they know and grew up in on Norfolk, each family claims that the area they inhabit and know like the back of their hand is *Gods Country*.

Gods Country is a general term often used in good-natured ribbing. If one Norfolk Islander talks to another about which part of the Island they live in, you will often hear them talk about *Gods Country*. It's a long-running joke, a subtle jibe and an allusion to the fact that they live in the best part of the Island. But here is the irony: *Gods Country* is no particular place at all. If you grew up at *Steels Point*, then that's *Gods Country*. If you then moved to *Shortridge*, then funnily enough, that's *Gods Country* too. At the end of the day, all Islanders agree that Norfolk is *Gods Country* (Rachel Borg, p.c. Norfolk Island, April 2009).

At a community meeting dealing with Norfolk toponyms on 4 April 2009 at *Christians Cave*, one gentleman humorously proclaimed:

Come out mine I show you foot dem callet God's Country, hengen up een myse kitchen (Come out to my place and I'll show you why they call it *Gods Country*. It's hanging up in my kitchen. (Merv Buffett, p.c. Norfolk Island, April 2009)

He was referring to what appears like a halo of light around *Steels Point* on an old Australian Government satellite map of Norfolk. Naturally, the gentleman lives *out Steels Point*. This map is given in Figure 5.28:

NOTE:
This figure is included on page 175 of the print copy of
the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 5.28 – Image of *Gods Country* (source: Albert Buffett 2011)

Looking at *Gods Country* semantically, the toponym specific ‘God’ indicates there is something special about the generic place or ‘Country’ being referred to. The Norfolk Islanders have tilled the soil, built houses and brought up families in the particular places they have lived. They have created strong local support networks based on and around recreation, socialising, work, fishing and education that are bounded and remembered in the areas where these activities occurred. Longstanding family ties create bonds, emotional attachment and memories such as house names, e.g. *Cup a’ Teas* near *Cascade* and *Annie Dongs* on *House Road*. For people to think their own area is *Gods Country* is appropriate. This designation implies a kind of existential and spiritual relationship to Norfolk, a method people employ to attribute mythical significance to the places that they know and love. *Gods Country* is a depersonalised and abstract and reified realm which nevertheless incorporates local specificity and relationship to people. These deeper perspectives on toponymy, unofficial processes of place-naming and the significance of insider names for understanding express what deeper truths underlie conceptions of how Norfolk Islanders see their island through toponyms (cf. Gaffin 1993; Kearney & Bradley 2009). *Gods Country* cannot be mapped; however, mapping Norfolk is nothing but mapping *Gods Country*.

5.12.2 *Fata Fata*

When considering a name that appears as a pure Tahitian toponym in Norfolk, it is worth remembering Ross' (1958: 337) statement about the influence of Tahitian on pristine Pitcairn toponyms:

Very few of the names are Polynesian; so we must imagine that the English were the chief name-givers, as perhaps one might expect.

Because Tahitian speakers never made it to Norfolk, the possible influence of Tahitian on the linguistic and toponymic landscape of Norfolk from 1856 onwards would have been much less than Pitcairn post 1790. There are, however, several toponyms on Norfolk, which express a strong Tahitian influence. Three of the most obvious examples are *Fata Fata*, *Parloo Park* (English: *Masturbation Park*) and *Gudda Bridge* (English: *Fuck Bridge*). I will analyse the first example in this section.

According to Buffett (1999: 33), the Norfolk noun 'fata fata' describes "an islet in a natural running stream or water course, whatever the size." It is also the common term used to refer to an area of swampland on Norfolk. Buffett claims it has its origins in the Tahitian 'open, not filled up or closed'. I have also heard the meaning 'to flatten out'. The proper noun *Fata Fata* (variant spelling: *Futtu Futtu* in Edgecombe 1999: 102) refers to a specific area, a creek located on pleasantly undulating land near the *Steels Point* and *Cascade* area in the eastern part of Norfolk, just near the end of *Cutters Corn*. There is a large 'fata fata' in *Fata Fata*.

It is not clear who named this area *Fata Fata*, but it is likely to be one of the original people who arrived from Pitcairn. Some Tahitian toponyms are most likely old names but this does not necessarily imply that all contemporary Tahitian names are of the same vintage (see discussion of *Tevarua Lane* in Section 5.6). A lot of people remember *Fata Fata*. This name strongly links Norfolk toponymy and people who know this name to their Tahitian past. It represents claiming through

naming (cf. Crocombe 1991) and ways in which communities settle through historical connection to the past (cf. Carter 1988). In a way, *Fata Fata* is a 'colonial' name, an imposition of Tahitian landscape ideologies as a way of describing a new setting. *Fata Fata* 'speaks' of the past (Basso 1988), a past linked to Tahiti and Pitcairn. Even though this name is one of very few names attributable to Norfolk's connection to Tahiti through Pitcairn, it holds much cultural and historical credence. It places Norfolk toponyms and grounds the people who are privy to this name, its location and past to a very important aspect of Tahitian cultural heritage, i.e. access to watercourses for livelihood. It is a strong reminder of the social and ecological networks that evolve in subsistence societies, and the methods people use to ground themselves in these social and natural ecologies (Gaffin 1993, 1996).

Within the name *Fata Fata*, there is a deep relation of self to Tahiti and to the representation of Tahitian ways in what was a new landscape on Norfolk for the people who named this watercourse. This element of the Tahitian aspect of self (cf. Myers 1986) for the Norfolk Islanders is entrenched in this toponym. The strength with which *Fata Fata* appears in physical and mental maps today is testimony to its contemporary remembrance. The Norfolk Islanders like this name, enjoy spending time in this place and continually asked me whether I had documented the story of *Fata Fata*. This is one toponym heavily laden with Tahitian elements that depicts the historical and metaphorical transference of concepts from one environment to another through toponymy. Norfolk Island, as a pristine toponymic template, is testament to this transmission of cultural and linguistic knowledge and history.

5.12.3 *Lizzies*

I first heard the name *Lizzies* when I was interviewing some Norfolk Islanders. The name was new to my ears so I queried it. "Oh," my informant said, "I mean *Queen Elizabeth Lookout*." This toponym is a lookout, which lies on a very sharp bend on *Rooty Hill Road*, just down from where

Bev McCoy used to live. It looks down to the houses on *Quality Row* in *Kingston* and out to Nepean and Phillip (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2).

Lizzies is a short name. Over time, longer names tend to become shortened (e.g. see modern linguistic applications of Zipf's Law in Ferrer i Cancho et al. 2005) but still maintain their meaning. *Queen Elizabeth Lookout* commemorates the Queen's visit to the island in 1974 and it is acknowledged on both official (Australian Surveying & Land Information Group 1992) and unofficial maps, e.g. Edgecombe-Martin map (Edgecombe 1999). The longer name is official and in common usage – signs appear in the area where you can park your car to take in the view. Queen Elizabeth is also remembered in the road name, *Queen Elizabeth Avenue* in Middlegate, just as Prince Phillip is remembered in the Cascade area with *Prince Phillip Drive*. None of these official names utilise the possessive –s to signify possession of name and place. *Lizzies* does. However, it is not the case that this is **Dar Side fer Queen Elizabeths* rather than the diminutive 'Lizzie' and the possessive –s represent something historically important for certain people on Norfolk.

Many people were alive when the Queen came and this event is remembered. However, what it means toponymically for the people who know the name is related not only to its physical location, but to a time in history, which has relevance for Norfolk. Unlike *Monty* (Section 5.12.4), this is Queen Elizabeth's or Lizzie's place. It is unlikely a Norfolk Islander would personally address the Queen using a nickname but this is how she and the time she visited are remembered emotionally in the Norfolk landscape (cf. Kearney & Bradley 2009). The unofficial, sentimental and emotional nature of *Lizzies* makes this informal form grammatically and culturally acceptable. *Lizzies* is more than a name – it links a place to a person and has created a larger-than-life place-based personality. It is worth repeating that no toponyms on Norfolk Island are named after Australian dignitaries. This could be read as an explicit statement of the Norfolk Islanders' stronger allegiance to England and the British monarchy than to Australian parliamentarism. This ideological allegiance to the British monarchy and British ways while at the same time identifying with the Tahitian 'underdog' expresses one aspect of the anomalous nature of Norfolk Island, its inhabitants and its linguistic history.

The fact that *Lizzies* was elicited from a Norfolk Islander means it can be considered a Norfolk name. Classifying such names as Norfolk, although they take a common English toponym form, i.e. proper noun + possessive, has implications for how Norfolk toponyms are classified. I share Silverstein's (1977) claim that grammatical analysis presupposes a necessary amount of ethnographic analysis. In *Lizzies*, there is a system of toponymic classification based on ethnic, racial and historical relevance and identity politics that cannot be appreciated by looking only at grammatical form.

5.12.4 *Monty*

The name *Monty* appears on the Edgecombe-Martin map (Edgecombe 1999: 102). It is located on the south coast of Norfolk (see Figure 2.2). According to the use of *down*, which my informants would use when describing where *Monty* is, it appears to be a coastal location. This is also confirmed by the appearance of *Monty Drown* on an unpublished map (Buffett n.d.). There is a degree of mystery associated with this name for two reasons: (1) none of the people I interviewed knew who *Monty* was or could recall the history of the name, and (2) the number of possible variants of the name. When I questioned those present at a community meeting on 4 April 2009 at *Christians Cave* about the origin of *Monty*, one elderly gentleman narrated:

Years ago *yu naewa thinka aas why dem call et*, you never think to ask other people why they call it that. (Kik Kik Quintal, p.c. April 2009)

This statement is one of the reasons why much of the history of Norfolk toponymy has been lost. *Monty* is most likely named after a gentleman named *Monty* who drowned there. Whatever the case and whoever *Monty* was, it provides a linguistic and cultural insight into understanding principles and patterns of Norfolk toponymy, history and social memory.

A list of all variants for the toponym *Monty* is given below:

1. *Monty*
2. *Down Monty*
3. **Montys*
4. **Down Montys*
5. *Monty Drown*
6. *Down Monty Drown*
7. *Side Monty Drown*
8. *Down Side Monty Drown*
9. **Down ar Side Monty Drown*
10. **Side fer Montys*
11. **Dar (Side) fer Montys*

While §3, §4, §9, §10 and §11 have never been elicited, they are possibly based on the rules for creating Norfolk/Norf'k toponyms outlined in Sections 5.9 and 5.11. Although the specific element *Monty* is present in all these forms, these names present different aspects of Norf'k toponymic form. They also have differing degrees of implied cultural meaning. The toponymic evidence suggests Monty drowned in this area. This 'side' (place) could then be attributed to Monty using the possessive (§3 above) or the common Norf'k syntactic form *Dar Side fer Montys*. However, because the other toponymic evidence implies that someone called Monty drowned there, people who remember this regrettable event and possibly named it **Montys* did not want to recollect this through the use of a possessive (cf. any number of Norf'k examples using the possessive –s in this chapter). Furthermore, unlike the common Norf'k form *Dar Side fer ... -s*, there is no appearance of this form in the data. *Monty* then is not **Dar Side fer Montys*; it is simply *Monty* or *Monty Drown*. These forms, and several other forms presented in the above list, do not look like Norf'k toponyms

at all; they are rather aberrations to the Norfolk data set heavily laden with culturally pertinent information.

It is probable that over time, longer Norfolk toponyms with verbal processes, which are uncommon in English toponyms, especially in English colonial forms, indicate an earlier stage of naming. In these earlier forms, all information relating to the activity and the origin of the name are recorded, e.g. *Down Side Monty Drown* and even *Down ar Side Monty Drown*. What tends to happen over time is that the transparency of names is affected, due to close personal networks, and the reduced necessity to specify subject/predicate and agent/action relations. In such situations, e.g. the resultant form *Monty*, the verb, possessive and spatial elements are absent because they are not needed to specify the toponym; the shortened form *Monty* adequately tells the story behind the name and the longer forms are not necessary. That is, they are not really sure what happened there because no one remembers Monty. It is also not really 'Montys Place' because people prefer not to remember this meaning due to the unfortunate event associated with the name, thus the other 'syntactic story' need not be retold. This shows a direct relationship between Norfolk toponym syntax and the semantics of remembering toponyms. Over time there is reduced linguistic input and this reduced form represents an entire unit that was previously much longer.

Monty poses some serious historical consequences for the evolution of new forms, the loss of cultural heritage and the importance of comprehensive language documentation. Through analogy and name shortening, much insider knowledge specific to a place tends to be encoded into the specific or semantic element of the name, e.g. *Monty* or **Montys*, rather than the generic or syntactic component. If this encoded knowledge is not remembered and only the specific is, as was the case with *Monty*, then large amounts of covert or non-form specific cultural and geographical knowledge can be lost. That is, while no Norfolk informants recalled the reason for the naming of *Monty* beyond the recognition this was his 'side', cross-referencing with a handwritten map from around 1980 (Buffett n.d.) shows the name *Down Side Monty Drown*, i.e. the full toponym form describes what was considered central when the name was coined. This historical information and the processes which brought about the name have been lost in the reduced form. *Monty* represents

the relationships between cultural salience and redundancy, the reduced explication of the meaning in a toponym and the associated loss of cultural capital and history.

5.12.5 Gootys

Gootys is a fishing ground named after Gustav Quintal whose nickname was 'Gooty'. The history of the name is given below:

Gootys is close to *Cascade*, just off *Bird Rock*. It's three or four miles out. You line up the *Moo-oo Stone* in the valley down at the *Captain Cook Memorial* with some pine trees at Byron Burrell's property. Named after Gustav 'Gooty' Quintal. He lived on the corner of *Pine Avenue* and *Country Road*. (Bev McCoy, Norfolk Island, 2008)

This is a fishing ground still known to many Norfolk Island fishermen today. Before explicating the cultural import of *Gootys*, it is important to consider some historical background to this name. None of my informants knew who named this place. It can be assumed, however, that it was one of the most frequented fishing grounds as several informants knew it. As it was named after Gustav Quintal, it is likely he used to fish there. Furthermore, because it is a positive name and an anthroponym, the Norfolk fishermen probably respected him and wanted to remember him to the extent that they named a place after him. The name is also a serious appellation and not one used in jest or as a slant at Gustav Quintal. Hence it appears that this gentleman was an important element in the fishing community on the island.

Using Milroy and Milroy's (1985) perspective on social network theory, *Gootys* is connected to a much larger cultural and toponymic network. The fact that it is unknown outside of fishing history and fishing name usage means that this name 'belongs' to a particular network of people, names and relationships. A past exists in this name, linked to a particular person, and the activities and remembrance of him in this specific place. This is most likely because it was Gooty who first lined

up the marks or because he often used to fish there. Here Ingold's (2000) idea of 'interanimation' in fact animates Gooty as a person, an actor, somebody represented and recalled in and through landscape. Ultimately *Gootys* is a cultural description of space – it also poses a name as a lineage of knowledge and information that is used pragmatically during daily fishing life and livelihood.

Basso's (1996) place theory presents names as living things within Apache metalinguistics. A living name then can be considered 'healthy' and 'vital' linguistic, social and cultural property. This is because *Gootys* remains a positive cultural and linguistic artefact for the memory of Gustav Quintal in the minds of the Norfolk fishermen. *Gootys* portrays an element of a fishing 'songline' (cf. Carter 1988) that has been 'sung', passed down and constructed as memory of a select few fishermen – it is a memory that does not appear to be taboo but perhaps one fishermen would be very reluctant to disclose to the uninformed or those who do not have any need to know this history, i.e. why would non-fishers and people who do not use these areas want or need to know or be interested in knowing this name? Myers' (1986) perspective on language, self and the solidification of identity in and on landscape can be applied to this fishing ground. It is assumed *Gootys* was not named by Gooty himself but rather others endowed the place with his name. They have linked and solidified Gooty's self and identity to this place through naming – linking through naming renders fishing ground toponym into the historical and linguistic landscape of Norfolk. Gooty, the person, is made real through linguistic means – the name *Gootys* – and through cultural means – the name is remembered and the place personalised, localised and created.

Taking Ingold's (2000) dwelling perspective, *Gootys* as a place and a person comes into being as an agent in a particularised social and ecological setting. The name *Gootys* has become embedded and immersed in a living 'lifeworld' and is signified by the fact that it exists and is used. People privy to this name can locate, interact with and move through these worlds created by and within the world created by *Gootys*. This perspective sees toponyms, and here *Gootys*, metaphorically as names and processes existing within the world (in a place) – in the minds of a select group (language and thought) and in an actual place, although this place, or acculturated space, cannot be set apart or seen aside from the people who use it. The name, the memory, the person, the place, the location and the spatial orientation of the place and the fishing activities

associated with the place 'dwells' and lives in the minds and even the hearts of the people who use the name. I claim that the linguistic manifestation of *Gootys* – the formal structure and semantics – is only one element in understanding and realising the importance of the pragmatic usage of the name, what the name represents and the realisation of where the name exists and 'dwells'.

A historical cartographic perspective that can be employed to understand the placement of *Gootys* within the historical creation of Norfolk toponymic history is offered by Carter (1988). The creation and use of the name *Gootys* is a method to claim toponymic space (Crocombe 1991). It is also a method of culturally loaded and embedded linguistic colonisation. A degree of power is presented to those who know the existence and place of *Gootys* and more so those who actually knew Gooty and what he did there. Carter's approach which argues that colonising occurs through mapping and creating places from spaces is made clear by and through naming – the personification of names and the processes of naming are methods of 'micro-colonisation' that has become remembered. Those who remember the name re-enact the colonisation of the name and the place-space the name represents. There is a degree of ownership associated with the knowing of names, their location in time–space and the mental and physical maps of these places which come to be used.

In summary, a toponym is a linguistic and cultural 'lifeworld' that lives and exists both within the minds of those who know and use it and in the physical and cognitive maps where the name is used (cf. Appadurai 1986). *Gootys* represents a place, a spatial descriptor and a story with a strongly grounded and placed meaning and importance. The syntactic component of the toponym is ultimately not necessary for the sense and historical placement of this name to achieve its semantic and cultural status. The analysis of *Gootys* represents a way of understanding how the Norfolk Islanders perceive their people, culture and language in terms of the place they inhabit. That people are remembered means that either they are liked, were important, did good, bad or memorable actions and are somehow democratically embedded in a micro-collective memory and melding of language, culture and place on the island.

5.13 Chapter summary

This section summarises the major findings of this chapter. The island in the Norfolk Archipelago with the most names is Norfolk followed by Phillip and Nepean. This is not surprising due to the relative size of each island and the fact that Phillip and Nepean are not inhabited. The toponymic statistics presented in Section 5.3 showed that the majority of toponyms are land-based. There was a large number of house names followed by fewer road names and even fewer fishing ground names. Norfolk is a small island with many names. The absolute number of names in each toponym taxon does not show in any significant detail processes of toponymy on Norfolk.

The analysis of First and Second Settlement toponymy showed that these names do not differ significantly from common English colonial names. These toponyms emphasise the stringency present in the grammatical form of English colonial placenames on Norfolk Island. Toponyms associated with the Melanesian Mission also exhibit common English forms but included some Mota names. House names connected to the people, place and materials of the Melanesian Mission adhere to common English house name forms. Mota toponyms are not known at all among contemporary islanders. They are historical artefacts and are restricted to archival records. The loss of knowledge of this aspect of Melanesian Mission toponymy reflects the past processes of silencing non-European linguistic material, names and cultural heritage in light of the massively Eurocentric outlook predominant to Norfolk's past. This 'toponymic silencing' forms an important historical backdrop for understanding current processes involved in reclaiming the non-European heritages of Norfolk Island, especially the Pitcairn and neo-Tahitian influence. The total absence of knowledge of Melanesian Mission toponyms – despite the Mission having its headquarters on a large area of Norfolk Island (1867–1920) for a longer period than the First Settlement (1788–1814) and almost as long as the First and Second Settlement periods combined (1788–1855) – is indicative of Norfolk's racist past. The continual and prolonged suppression of non-European heritage is elucidated sharply in the lack of Melanesian Mission toponymic knowledge.

Some general points about Norfolk and Norfolk toponyms are that there are few Norfolk and English toponyms named after plants and animals. Some examples are *Bird Rock*, *Side ar Whale Es*,

Orange Grove and *Dar Cabbage*. There appear to be fewer life-form-based toponyms on Norfolk than Pitcairn Island, which suggests there has either been a reduced need to name things on Norfolk after life forms or there were fewer species on Norfolk. It is not clear whether a name with Norf'k and English words is a Norf'k or English name. There are very few 'pure' Norf'k toponyms that occur without any English influence and there is a lot of orthographic variation in toponym forms with little substantial or significant semantic variation between these forms. Extending this result, deciding whether a name is merely a variant spelling derived from different sources or whether it is a different topographical feature and/or location was difficult. While this analysis did not look at the relationship between gender and toponymy in great detail, there is a significant lack of female commemorative names on Norfolk. There were several instances where the same feature has more than one name. Clear examples are where there is a large phonological and morphosyntactic difference between Norf'k and English forms. Because topographical names and house names often share the same name, there can be a difficulty in delineating feature types.

The house name map and information about location provided a rich description of linguistic, cultural and orientational data about where Norfolk people lived. The house name analysis showed that names can be either English or Norf'k or a combination of both. The unofficial nature of house names demonstrated that the overwhelming majority remember people. The fact that some house name histories are forgotten, while these very names are still used, whereas other histories are more recent creations illustrates how names are re-invented, re-interpreted and re-imagined on Norfolk. It is often very difficult to ascertain whether houses have had name changes or not. It is also not clear what older house names have now become. Conflicting histories in house names demonstrates how they are subjected to creative reanalysis based on their conjectural histories. Norfolk house names refer to different phenomena but do not differ structurally. They illustrate the blurring of boundaries between language structure and semantic import. The microtoponymic analysis of *Cascade Road* roof names showed the creative and contextually grounded and aware nature of unofficial house naming. It also showed how naming templates are, even in one instance, adhered to, commented upon and even jokingly subverted. This micro study demonstrated the effectiveness of observing toponymic patterns on a small geographical scale over a short period of time.

All of Norfolk's historical periods are present in Norfolk's road names. The predominance of commemorative and descriptive names from the First and Second Settlement are English colonial road names. There are few roads named after women and few Norfolk words in road names. There are no names associated with people of Melanesian ancestry from the Melanesian Mission. A process of naming roads after people from Pitcairn started in the 1960s. This is an example of how a past, previously shameful to Norfolk Islanders, was not a source of pride or held in high esteem. The naming of a street after a Tahitian woman, who arrived on Pitcairn with the *Bounty* mutineers, is a pertinent example of the renaissance of language and culture which is taking place on Norfolk. Through a recent process of community consultation, this road name officialisation process has demonstrated the effectiveness of names in projecting key cultural memes into the community. Road name 'sanitisation' and road name changes have also been used to convert previously taboo or unofficial names into official names.

The only extant knowledge of the history of naming and locating Norfolk fishing grounds is after 1856. The knowledge of fishing grounds is primarily attributed to the Norfolk Islanders, although some locals use the names. Like other coastal and island locations such as Pitcairn, Norfolk fishermen use a triangulation system to mark fishing grounds which they subsequently name. 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 many fishing grounds with several names for the one ground. This reflects the extremely esoteric and unofficial nature of this aspect of toponymy and how the linguistic and cultural variability of these names is an aspect of the fluid nature of these names. It is thus difficult to distinguish between English and Norfolk fishing ground names.

Further grammatical analyses of Norfolk toponyms have demonstrated that it is difficult to arrive at a consistent use of Norfolk demonstratives, except in certain phonological environments. Individual, interfamilial and intergeneration variation in the appearance of Norfolk demonstratives complicates an analysis of their appearance.

The fact that the *fer* construction from St Kitts Creole in Norf'k toponyms continues to appear indicates the grammatical resilience of this preposition. Although this section did not compare systematically or exhaustively the Norfolk *fer* data with Pitcairn *fer* data, there appears to be a general increase in use of *fer* in Norf'k toponyms. A situation accentuating the potential influence of a single linguistic socialiser on Pitcairn Island during the formative stages of the development of the Pitkern language and its subsequent influence on the toponymic grammar in Norf'k on Norfolk is an outcome of the linguistic analysis of *fer* in Norf'k toponyms.

The tagmemic analysis of the common Norf'k toponym form provided an effective syntactic description of the slot-like nature of a large set of Norf'k toponyms. The relationship between obligatory and optional elements in Norf'k names was outlined, which claimed that the syntactic or generic element of a toponym, as a whole, is optional while the semantic or specific element of a toponym is obligatory.

The development of an absolute spatial orientation system on Norfolk showed that Norf'k toponyms can take the form of prepositional phrases usually encoding absolute spatial prepositions. This fact suggests an absolute system of the use of prepositions in Norf'k mimics a similar use on Pitcairn Island and in the Pitkern language. Therefore, the system employed on Norfolk Island constitutes a metaphorical and cognitive transplanting of the spatial world of one small, known island onto the physical space of a new and foreign environment.

The analysis of official and unofficial Norfolk toponyms indicated that they are not clearly distinct phenomena. Although finding accounts for most of the data, it cannot be assumed there is symmetry between any toponym and its 'officialness'. Toponyms from the first two stages of settlement on Norfolk are generally official but at the same time this does not imply that older names by default are official. At the same time, toponyms that are commonly perceived as unofficial are easily made official by their inclusion into official maps. English or 'non-Norf'k' names may be reanalysed as Norf'k based on linguistic context. Four categories which account for all

official and unofficial toponyms was presented which will then be used to highlight similarities and differences in the Norfolk island data with the Dudley Peninsula data.

In the cultural analysis of Norfolk toponyms I chose several salient toponyms as a vehicle to express the relationship between linguistic and cultural considerations of Norfolk toponyms. I did not analyse any First and Second Settlement names because I aimed to assess the extent of the influence of events after 1856 on Norfolk Island toponymy. Longer toponyms are indicative of an earlier stage of naming and overall the cultural processes tend towards the development of shorter and less transparent names where meanings that are not realised in form are simultaneously lost. There is reduced linguistic input over time and this reduced form represents the entire unit that was previously much longer. This shows a direct relationship between Norfolk toponym syntax and the related semantics of the names. This section expressed the need for a more detailed study of the relationship between linguistic and cultural variables in appreciating the complexity of the history of toponymy on Norfolk Island.

In the following chapter I analyse the Dudley Peninsula data in a less historically descriptive way. In this comparative analysis, two unofficial toponym taxa are outlined and the linguistic and cultural aspects of this analysis are compared to patterns of unofficial toponymy on Norfolk Island. Specifically, this chapter will employ two of the four categories outlined at the end of Section 5.11 to emphasise similarities and differences in unofficial Norfolk Island toponymy and unofficial Dudley Peninsula toponymy. The thesis as a whole is subsequently concluded in Chapter Seven.

6 DUDLEY PENINSULA RESULTS

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)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results for the Dudley Peninsula component of the research project. It follows a similar structure to Chapter Five. Maps are presented for unofficial Dudley toponyms and fishing ground names. Where the presentation of Norfolk names was largely inductive and accounted for a large amount of historical data, the analyses in this chapter will be focused primarily on illustrating structural and cultural similarities and differences between Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula topographical names and fishing ground names. The chapter is summarised in Section 6.7, which leads to the discussion and conclusion presented in Chapter Seven.

6.2 Chapter division

This chapter is divided into the following sections:

1. Data presentation and general grammatical analysis.
2. Analysis of the unofficial and embedded nature of Dudley toponyms.
3. Cultural analysis.

The main focus in the formal analysis of (unofficial) Dudley topographical and fishing ground names is to measure the degree of structural and semantic aberrancy and ambiguity in relation to unofficial English names on Norfolk Island. The analysis in Chapter Five found that there was a great deal of ambiguity in unofficial English names on Norfolk, i.e. the linguistic and cultural variability and ambiguity of the names is associated with their degree of cultural and ecological embeddedness and not attributable to the idiosyncratic nature of the Norfolk language. This chapter will determine whether the research hypothesis is confirmed or refuted, based on the names in the Dudley Peninsula data set.

6.3 Toponym statistics

A list of 254 toponyms (Appendix B) was created consisting of two categories:

1. Topographical names.
2. Fishing ground names.

Of the 254 toponyms, there were 198 (78%) topographical names and 56 (22%) fishing ground names. This data is presented in Table 6.1:

Table 6.1 – Dudley Peninsula toponymic data (source: the author 2011)

Feature type	n	Percentage
Topographical names	198	78
Fishing ground names	56	22
TOTAL	254	100

Of the 198 topographical names collected during fieldwork on Dudley Peninsula, 181 (91%) names were not previously documented.³³ In Figure 6.1, the green points show names not previously recorded in the *South Australian State Gazetteer* (South Australian Environment & Geographic Information 1999) and red points as already recorded names:

³³ It was not possible to create an equivalent map for Norfolk Island toponyms because there is not a comprehensive Commonwealth gazetteer to compare the documented Norfolk data to.

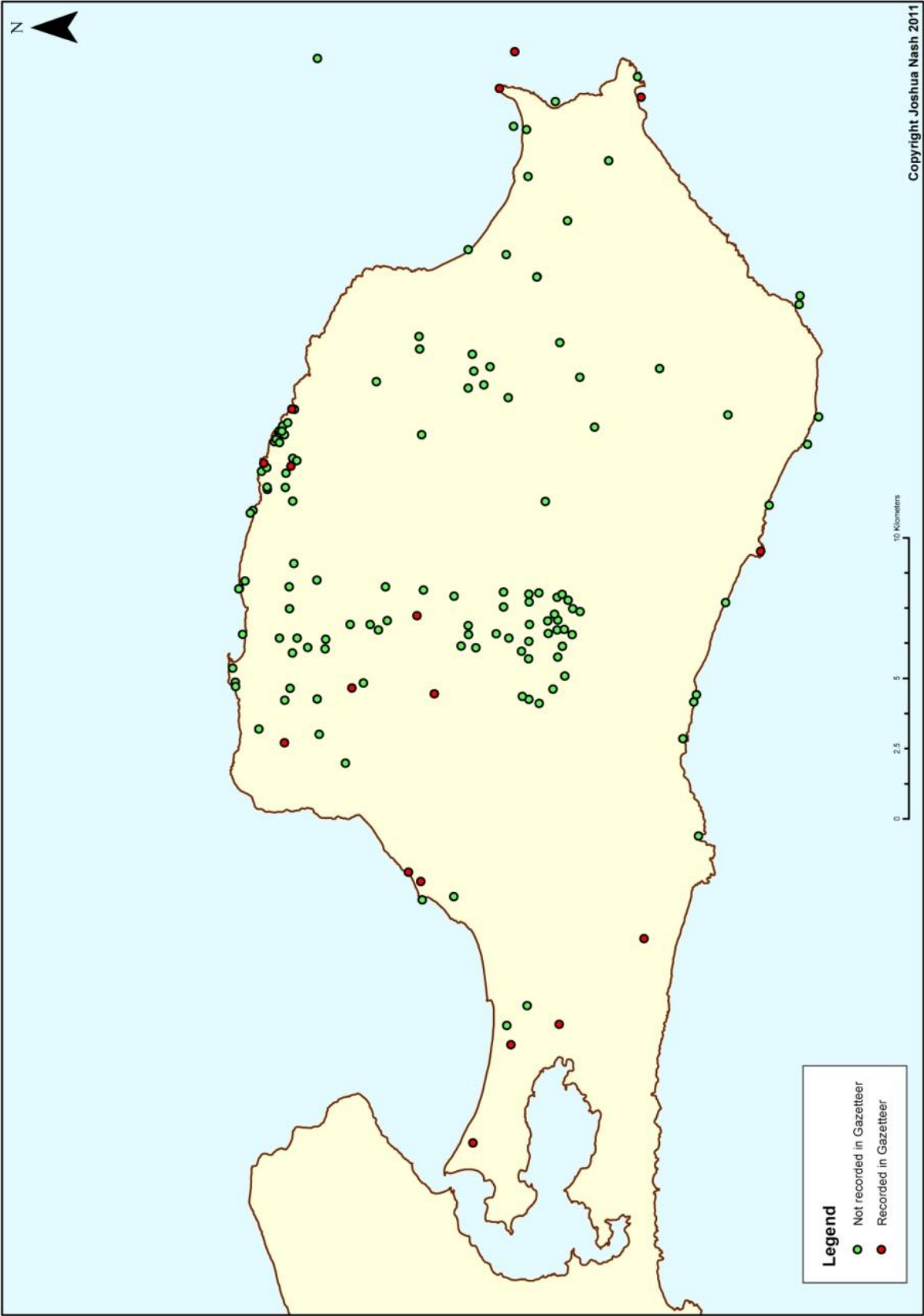


Figure 6.1 – Map of recorded and unrecorded topographical names on Dudley Peninsula (source: the author 2011)

6.4 Topographical name analysis

The relevance of the history of Dudley Peninsula topographical names for this study was outlined in Chapter Three. The Norfolk Island analysis showed that official (colonial) toponyms, which are generally less embedded than unofficial toponyms, while they are pristine, are transparent in meaning and rigid in form. While Dudley Peninsula toponyms are English, they do not necessarily share this grammatical stringency or straightforward cultural transparency. In order to explore this, I utilise the four categories which describe the Norfolk Island data presented in Section 5.11:

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 *Baudin Beach*, *Moncrieff Bay*, *Cape St Albans* and *Cape Willoughby*, i.e. common English colonial names commemorating British (male) dignitaries (*Baudin Beach* is attributed to the French explorer). This same distinction between English colonial names and unofficial names is also reflected in the Norfolk data set: *Point Ross*, *Duncombe Bay* and *Prince Phillip Drive* as opposed to *Duffys Whale*, *Stephens Stone* and *Tarries Paddock*.

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

1. A single English (proper) noun is productive as a topographical name, e.g. *Vernon*, *Abyssinnia*, *Coranda*.
2. A single English noun is productive, e.g. *Crocodile*, *Possum*, *Sanctuary*.
3. Numerals can form topographical names, e.g. *77*.
4. Noun + (generic) noun is productive, e.g. *Ironstone* (monolexemes), *Pig Town*, *Pine Gap*, *Pot Park*, *Castle Hill*, *Punishment Paddock* (bilexemes).
5. Adjective + noun is productive, e.g. *New Ground*, *Streaky Grass*.
6. Definite article + noun is productive, e.g. *The Thicket*, *The Triangle*, *The Pinch*, *The Tits*, *The Aboriginal*.
7. Definite article + adjective + noun is productive, e.g. *The Dry Islands*.
8. Numeral + noun is productive in a topographical name, e.g. *Four Square*.
9. Generic noun + proper noun is productive, e.g. *Lake Ayliffe*.
10. Proper noun + possessive is productive, e.g. *Zellings*, *Daveys*, *Binnies*,
11. Proper noun + possessive + generic noun is productive, e.g. *Myalls Beach*, *Clitchers Corner*.

While these 11 patterns have accounted for most of the data (10 patterns were listed in the Norfolk Island analysis of First and Second Settlement names which accounted for all 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* can be inserted into grammatical rules. However, what is clear from a rule such as adjective + adjective = topographical name for *Little Prickly* is that like many Norfolk and Norf'k topographical names, 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 intricately embedded in 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 size and the harsh summer, it was a great little wonder because 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 scrub used to be prior to clearing in the early 1900s, and a *Dead Horse Hill* or *Deadwood Hill*. While these names are predictable grammatically, their semantics and histories associated with the changing lie of the land and people of Dudley Peninsula are not necessarily so. 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. '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 on Dudley, several informants questioned why I would be interested in documenting names they considered common and even boring. What this analysis of these paddock names and other Dudley topographical names shows is that although several forms are consistent with official English names on Norfolk, their history and meaning is linked to the place where they exist. 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 due to 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 in the following: ‘wisdom sits in places unconsciously’. This contrasts with Basso’s application of ‘wisdom’ to ‘wise’ people. Basso insinuates that through knowing a place intimately, which naturally will happen over time and through interaction with an ecology, a degree of wisdom 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 ‘lie 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*, and which can effectively be accessed through ecolinguistic fieldwork, there is a humble, unconscious yet ‘wise’ self accessed. Topographical names are but one membrane, 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 is in accord with Basso’s position. Where this analysis differs is that while Basso’s Apache informants are humble in light of their awareness of their (existential and 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 obscurity and sophistication of the wisdom they possess. 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. This is where 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. This idea is expanded in Section 6.4.1 and will be summarised with reference to Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula combined in Chapter Seven.

6.4.1 Microtoponymic case study 2: *Vernon*

In a similar manner to the Norfolk microtoponymic example presented in Section 5.5.1, I will now undertake a microtoponymic analysis of the toponyms of a specific farm property on the northern coast of Dudley Peninsula. The justification for selecting this property as a toponymic case study is given in Section 4.4.4.1. In an analysis of station and farm names and the classificatory system of New Zealand high country farmers and the ethnography of their localised and culturally embedded toponyms, Dominy (2001: 137) describes insights into how pastoral farmers learn to know themselves by occupying a certain place. Dominy (2001: 137) claims that:

A lexicon of place names creates conceptual spaces and invites a connotative reading of the grammar of a landscape. Such a lexicon preserves an often unstated and uniquely local history and a sense of community with the past in the landscape as names are “passed down from generation to generation ... bearing testimony to a very human landscape”. (quoting Behar 1986: 22)

Dominy’s analysis is different to Basso’s in that she foregrounds the unconscious aspect of embedded toponyms: Basso invokes mystique with the knowing and narrating of land through language and names, whereas Dominy focuses on the ‘ordinary’ and commonplace in placenames and their associated knowledge. Where one might question the significance of the use of a generic ‘station’ or ‘farm’ to describe a property, Dominy (2001: 139) reports that in New Zealand’s high country “young families couldn’t give a stuff about whether a property is called a station or not.”

Vernon or *Vernon Station* is a farm name that appears as a house name on various maps (e.g. Department of Environment and Natural Resources 2008). The *Vernon* property is used primarily for producing grain and grazing sheep. From its highest point, there are magnificent views towards mainland South Australia (Figure 6.3):



Figure 6.2 – Image looking eastward towards mainland South Australia from *Vernon* (source: the author 2009)

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.

The method employed in the *Vernon* analysis is both similar and dissimilar to results presented in the Norfolk microtoponymic study of *Cascade Road roof* names in Section 5.5.1: both micro examples illustrate the expansion of a specific social and ecological environment; they create islands within islands through the naming of places. What a comparison of *Vernon* with *Cascade Road roof* names allows is a check for the universality of toponymic processes across markedly different ecologies. A map of *Vernon* is given in Figure 6.3:

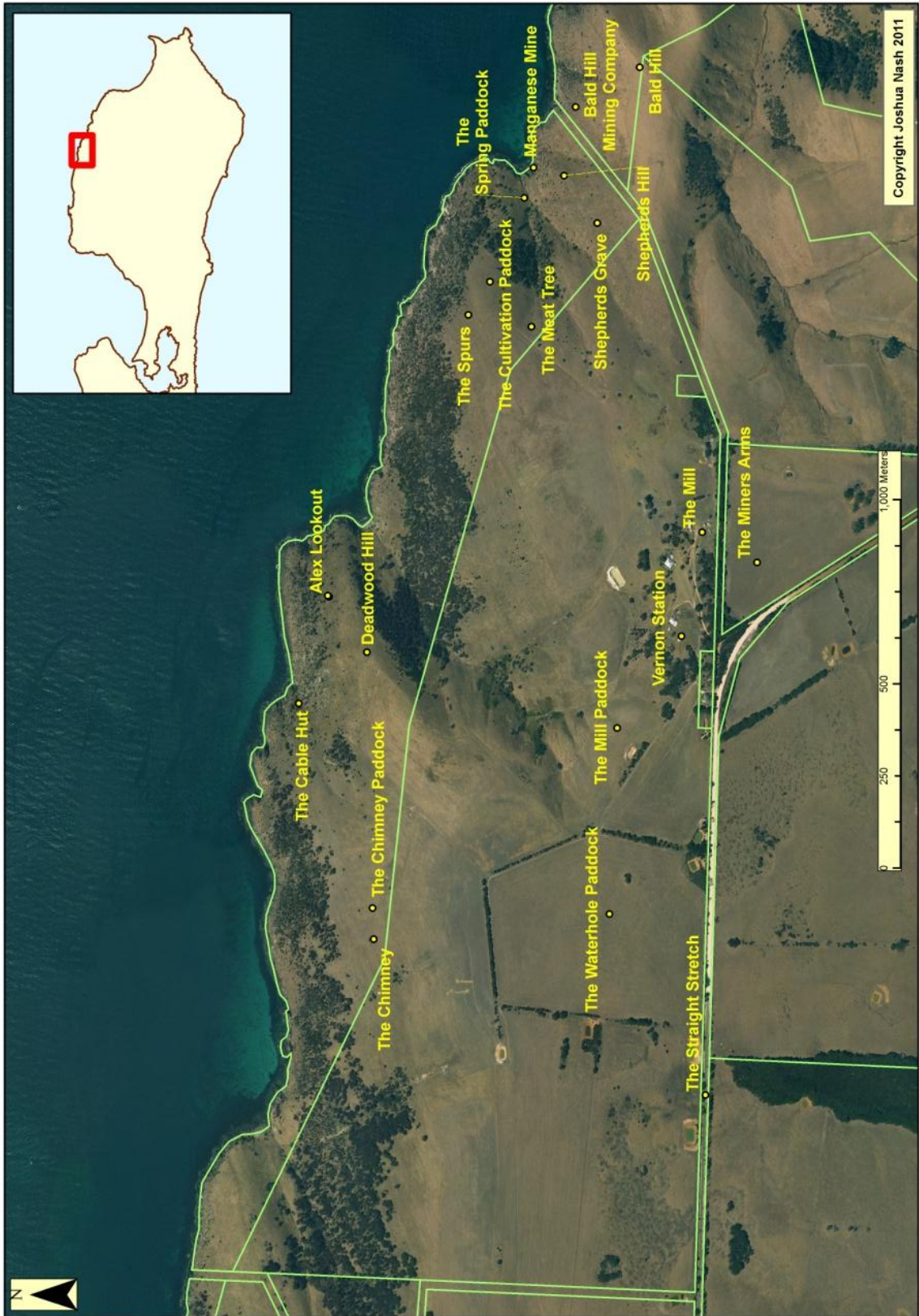


Figure 6.3 – Map of *Vernon* property (source: the author 2011)

A linguistic account of the formal structure of *Vernon* names has been provided in Section 6.4. There are no notable grammatical anomalies in the names on the *Vernon* property that are not illustrated in other English Dudley forms. What is of interest to this analysis is the theoretical significance of analysing pristine toponymic processes in a confined geographic space. The names that evolve in such situations tend to be historically relevant to a select few, and these names tend 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. This primarily cultural analysis of toponyms on *Vernon* differs from the detailed Dudley Peninsula cultural analysis in Section 6.6 because the former deals with a micro-inventory of names not selected but examined purely because of their location in a specific and limited geographical location. The method of analysis is similar to the Norfolk microtoponymic analysis of *Cascade Road roof* names outlined in Section 5.5.1.

Looking initially at the locational effect of the names on the map, there is a reasonable 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 mental maps in specific families. These names then 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 that are located centrally on the *Vernon* property, e.g. *Mill Paddock*, *Waterhole Paddock*, would be known to anyone outside the family who has lived on this property and/or those who have worked the land. There would be no need for other people to know these names. That is, land boundaries are not only physical – they represent physical obstacles to accessing intricate knowledge and history of land use in this place but they 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 parallel 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 esoteric and insider nature of these names is not in any way undermined.

Furthermore, the fact that only very few people know paddock names on *Vernon Station* does not in any way undermine the fact that these names can be located, mapped and used, and that they provide a complex linguistic basis upon which generations have moved through and interrelated with the landscape in these places.

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); *The Cable Hut* was located where the first telegraph cable ran ashore from the mainland some time 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*. I stood with one gentleman and looked down towards the old rickety hut, which still stands today. The *Vernon* property's microtoponymy reads like a holon reflects the macro-perspective of the whole; it exists as a representative snapshot of more general processes that occur elsewhere on Dudley Peninsula. These historical toponymic developments and the stories they tell are a part of the living memory of *Vernon* that tells a well-defined, yet amazingly large linguistic story. Some may deem it important to know who *Vernon* was. Others may not. The lie of the land and the stories within will still, to the outsider or uninitiated, appear the same.

6.5 Fishing ground name analysis

The 56 fishing ground names collected on Dudley Peninsula for this study were previously unrecorded.³⁴ Like Norfolk fishing ground names, these names have arisen in relation to particular elements of Dudley topography and represent an intimate relationship between language, landscape and culture where toponymy is viewed as a useful access point. It is worth remembering Mühlhäusler's (2006: 110) statement that:

Memories are not factual records of events but socially negotiated. Etymologising for any language is a mixture of factual information and socially acceptable accounts.

Like on Norfolk, 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. Two quotes from Kurlansky's (1999) depiction of pioneering fishermen in North America in his book *Cod: A biography of the fish that changed the world* illustrate the need to document the cultural significance of fishing ground names against the inevitability of loss over time:

These are the fishermen who stand sentry over the cod stocks off the headlands of North America, the fishermen who went to sea but forgot their pencil. (Kurlansky 1999: 1)

Only today, having forgot a pencil, they head over to the other boat where the three-man crew is already hauling cod with handlines. After a few jokes about the size of this sorry young catch, someone tosses over a pencil. They are ready to fish. (Kurlansky 1999: 3)

An image of the terrestrial topography used in lining up fishing grounds near *Penneshaw* is provided in Figure 6.4:

³⁴ Because all the fishermen I interviewed fished on the northern coast of Dudley Peninsula, I did not elicit any fishing grounds along the south coast. There are much rougher seas on the south coast, which would make them less favourable, both to commercial and amateur fishermen. The south coast is known mainly for its crayfish locations, which are also most likely named although not documented in this research.



Figure 6.4 – Offshore view of *Penneshaw* from *Hog Bay* (photo: the author 2009)

I begin an account of the linguistic and cultural import of Dudley Peninsula fishing grounds, in contrast to Norfolk fishing ground names, with a map in Figure 6.5:

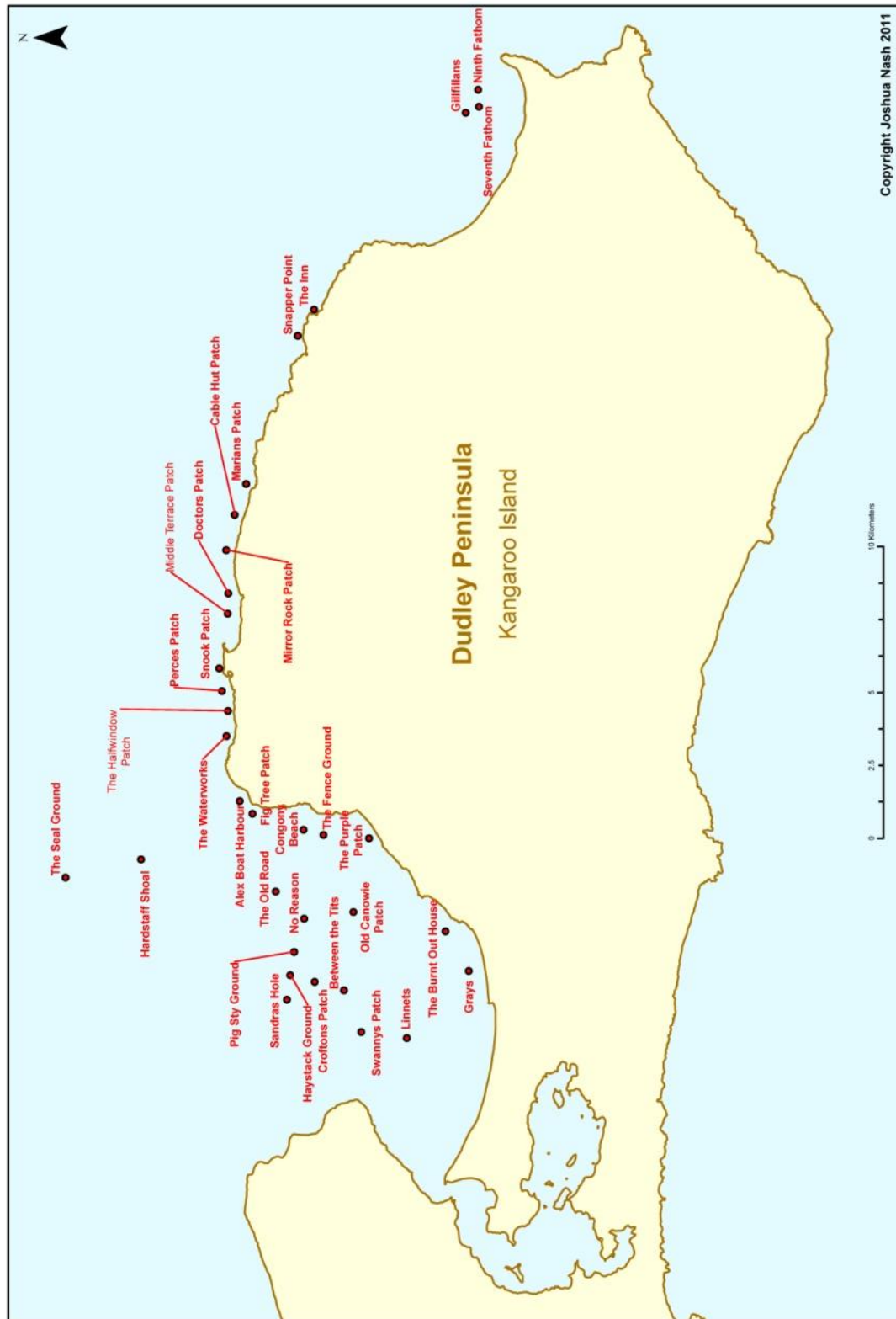


Figure 6.5 – Dudley Peninsula fishing grounds (source: the author 2011)

A full list of Dudley fishing grounds is provided in Appendix B. I first outline a grammatical analysis similar to the Norfolk fishing ground analysis in Section 5.7 and then use a semantic analysis to classify the names. The following grammatical patterns emerge in the Dudley Peninsula fishing ground names:

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

These patterns account for most fishing grounds with structure similar to English. There are, however, several anomalous forms which are similar to Norfolk fishing grounds. The form and semantics [+HUMOUR] of *No Reason* is comparable to Norfolk's *No Trouble*; while structurally different, *Ninth Fathom* describes the depth of the water like *Shallow Water* does on Norfolk. *The Purple Patch*, a name describing both the colour of the seaweed and a humorous allusion to the expression 'you've hit a purple patch', *The Old Faithful*, named because there were always fish there, and *Between the Tits* (see Section 6.6.1.2) 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.

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*.

The corpus of fishing grounds uses the generics 'patch', 'hole' and 'ground' which behave in a similar way to the Norfolk 'side' or the implied generic when absent. This is one of the clearest similarities in these corpora of names: generics can be dropped. *Croftons Patch* and *Croftons* are synonyms; *Dar House fer Ma Nobbys* and *Ma Nobbys* are also synonyms.

6.6 Cultural analysis of Dudley Peninsula toponyms

This section analyses relationships between various linguistic and cultural levels of several Dudley toponyms. The tools used in this analysis were presented in Section 4.3.5 and applied to the Norfolk data in Section 5.12. The presentation and analysis are divided into three sections:

1. Dudley Peninsula corner names.
2. Analysis of the fishing ground name *Between the Tits*.
3. Toponyms associated with local Dudley legend, Tiger Simpson.

6.6.1.1 Dudley Peninsula corner names

Dudley Peninsula corners were chosen because of their interest to the unofficial toponymy of Dudley. (See several chapters in Pitkänen and Saarikivi 2007 and Rayburn 1968 for a discussion of corner names and microtoponymy.) There are also many 'corners' that have been named in such a small geographical area over a relatively short period of time. This analysis speculates about certain possibilities that may have contributed to the amplified use of this generic to describe elements of the natural, cultural and toponymic landscape on Dudley Peninsula.

What an analysis of Dudley Peninsula corners does is accentuate patterns of unofficial names becoming 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). Two examples are presented in Figure 6.6 and 6.7:



Figure 6.6 – Image of *Felt Hat Corner* (source: the author 2009)



Figure 6.7 – Image of *Pigs Head Corner* (source: the author 2009)

There are several directions such an analysis could take:

1. Grammatical description.
2. Semantic considerations and the meaning of corner names as a part of social history.
3. The utility of corner names as orientational tools.

I take the latter direction in this section. A map of Dudley Peninsula corners is presented in Figure 6.8:

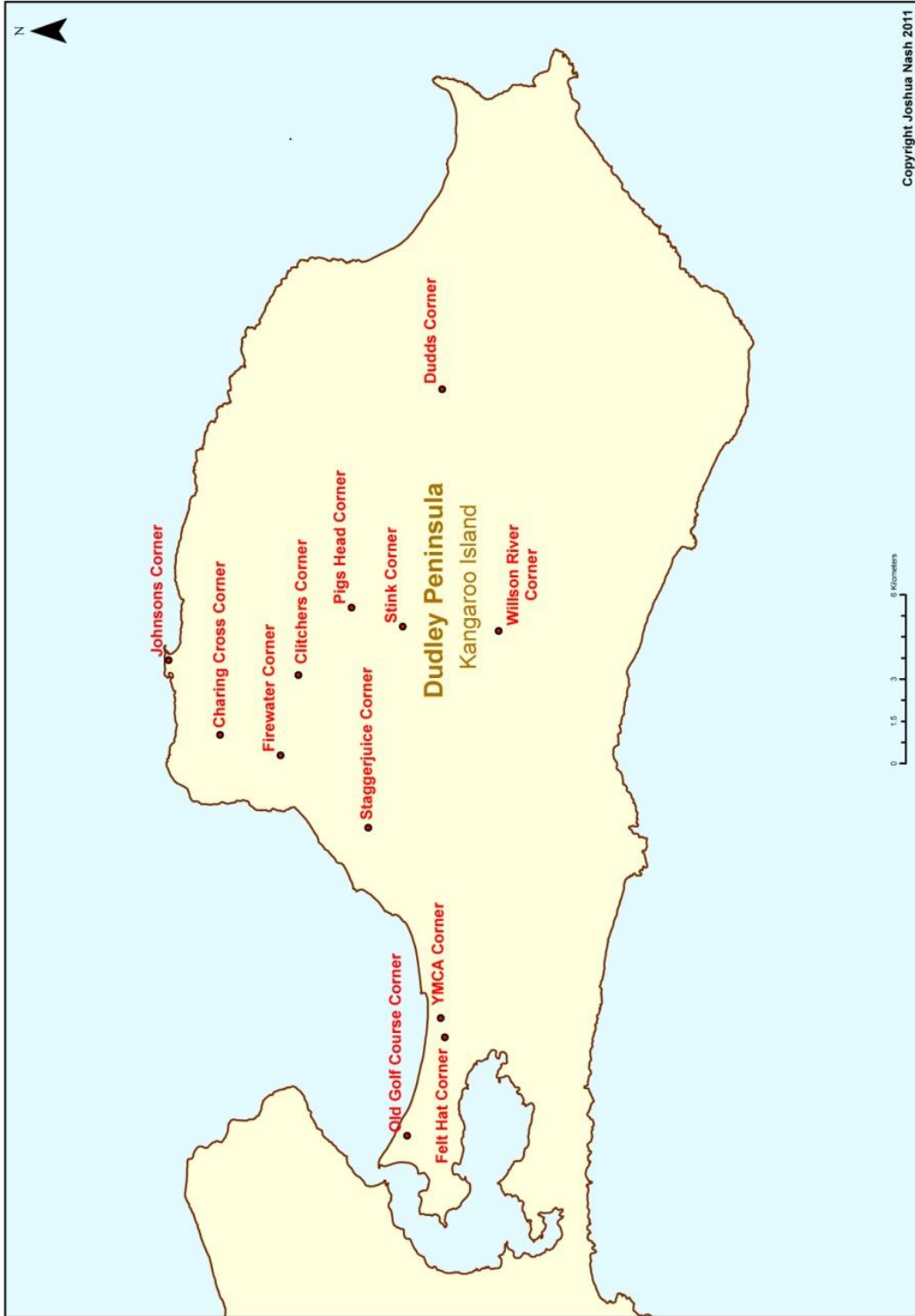


Figure 6.8 – Map of Dudley Peninsula corner names (source: the author 2011)

These toponyms strongly depict two facets of naming:

1. Commemorative anthroponyms, e.g. *Clichers 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 (see Section 6.6.1.3). 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 6.6). This is a case of a humorous legend becoming widely known, 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. *Clichers Corner* (Figure 6.9) 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.



Figure 6.9 – Image of *Clichers Corner* (source: the author 2009)

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 6.8) 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:

1. There are a lot of corner names. The absolute number can warrant another subcategory of Dudley unofficial toponymy.
2. They are consistently and frequently used.
3. 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 rapidity with which some names have come about and their resilience to change, despite some of them becoming officialised.

6.6.1.2 Analysis of fishing ground name *Between the Tits*

This fishing ground was selected for its hyper-insider and unofficial aspect, its two variant forms and its analogical humour (see Figure 6.5 for the location of *Between the Tits*). The historical information from this fishing ground is as follows:

Between the Tits is a fishing ground off Kangaroo Head. It uses the space between *The Tits*, a toponym, in lining up the ground. It is an old name and has been in use for a long time. (Kevin 'Shorty' Northcott, Penneshaw, Kangaroo Island, 2009)

The Tits is a descriptive name that describes the undulating landscape on the left side of *Hog Bay Road* near *Pelican Lagoon*. It is a humorous placename analogy to the shape of a woman's breasts. It is an unofficial name known to few people. The fishing ground *Between the Tits* and its location is probably known to even fewer people.

Because of its esoteric, insider and unofficial nature, it is likely *Between the Tits* can be referred to as *The Tits* when at sea. This name variation is associated with the shared knowledge fishermen have of this place, and the humour and historical association with the name. Ingold's (2000) dwelling perspective and Blair's (2006) application of these perspectives to fishing ground locations and names suggests a similar matrix of names. *Between the Tits* exists within this matrix and comprises an important part of it. The humoristic nature of *Between the Tits* creates not only a connection to a land-based feature of Dudley Peninsula but also connects fishermen and knowers of this name to the social and ecological (sea based) landscape where the name exists. The fact that it is an old fishing ground, which is still remembered, also means that this linguistic impression has existed and been impressed on the landscape of the ocean surrounding Dudley Peninsula for

many years. The location and grammaticality of *Between the Tits* is not as important as the ethnographic and cultural weight the name holds in the inventory of fishing grounds in this research. Through the naming of (sea)space, place is created (cf. Kostanski 2009). Just as topographic and sea-based features change, so do the memories and cultural import of places remembered. Often locations and meanings are hard to locate; *Between the Tits* emphasises how a vibrant and transient 'no-place' can become place through linguistic interaction. These 'no-places' and their linguistic and ethnographic weight provide a much broader cultural association between toponyms and place relationships than does looking at toponymic structure alone.

6.6.1.3 Toponyms associated with Tiger Simpson

Stamford Wallace Simpson, or 'Tiger Simpson', was the son of a well-known local, Nat Thomas.³⁵ His mother was of Tasmanian Aboriginal descent, so Tiger had quite dark skin. (Taylor (2008) describes the fate of Aboriginal women on Dudley Peninsula in the early stages of settlement and details elements of Tiger's heritage.) Later in life this resulted in his being refused alcohol at the *Penneshaw Hotel* because a magistrate had passed a mandate that made it illegal for hoteliers to serve Tiger alcohol, based on his ethnic heritage. He was also known to get rowdy when he was on the drink and he was known to start brawls. It is said, however, that his bark was worse than his bite. 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.

³⁵ I am grateful to Mr Bruce Bates of Penneshaw for providing me with much historical information about Tiger Simpson.

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 which 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* (Figure 6.10), 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* (see Figure 6.6), 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. An explication of the cultural import of this name nexus is required.



Figure 6.10 – Image of *Stomach Ache Corner* named by Tiger Simpson (source: the author 2010)

From the perspective of spatial history (Carter 1988), prior to their coming into being, these places do not exist. 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. Not only 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*.

6.7 Chapter summary

This chapter contrasted two unofficial toponym taxa on Dudley Peninsula with the more detailed Norfolk data. The chapter was thus reflective throughout. The toponym statistics showed that a large number of toponyms were collected in a small geographical environment. The majority of these names were not recorded in the South Australian Gazetteer. In part related to its 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. In comparison to Norfolk Island toponyms where Norfolk Islanders would perceive and express their toponymic knowledge as a culturally salient phenomenon, there does not appear to be such an explicit or conscious reflection or cultural elaboration on the significance of unofficial and insider toponyms. It is possible that this discrepancy in identity formation links through

toponyms and processes of toponymy on Norfolk Island is the result of the experience of being outside the realm of centralised Australian political power which is not as keenly felt on Dudley Peninsula. This could have to do with extreme geographical isolation on Norfolk Island where issues of identity, Norfolk's racist past and the friction of the contemporary pro-Tahitian movement and the need for Norfolk Islanders to attempt to solve some of these apparent inconsistencies and ambiguities in linguistic, cultural and political issues through toponymy. The fact that most of my informants on Dudley Peninsula did not perceive their toponymic knowledge as anything unique or culturally specific emphasises the need for the Norfolk Islanders to create a self imposed cultural minoritisation through toponymy. These comparative issues will be taken up in further detail in Chapter Seven.

The microtoponymic case study of *Vernon* illustrated 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 the *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.

Like Norfolk fishing ground names, there are structural elements that are optional in Dudley Peninsula fishing grounds names. However, Dudley Peninsula fishing ground names were perceived to be less culturally distinctive than on Norfolk Island. There are differences in terms of the extent of cultural elaboration of the significance of the fishing ground names in both locations and differences in the degree to which people will disclose knowledge their knowledge about these names. The Dudley Peninsula research also demonstrated that a triangulation system exists comparable to the system used on Norfolk Island for location fishing grounds.

The cultural analysis of Dudley Peninsula toponyms accentuated the possibility that toponyms can become 'official-like' through extensive local knowledge and 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 emphasised the need to consider the relationship between a little known fishing ground and its vibrancy in creating social place through an incorporation of geographical space. 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. In a similar manner to the cultural analysis of Norfolk toponyms (see Section 5.12), people, place, past and present are intimately tied and drawn together in a conglomerate of toponyms.

The final chapter of this thesis draws together the main findings of this study and evaluates their significance with reference to the research questions and the methodological and theoretical problems dealt with in the analysis.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Like the places they represent, names often emanate moods and feelings. They all contribute to the dominant aesthetic of place. Particular visual, auditory, olfactory, and tactile experiences affix to locations. In some places the sea air fills your nostrils, or the spray wets your face. (Gaffin 1996: 106)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the research project. It compares the findings of both island locations and relates these to the research questions, aims and objectives. The contributions of the thesis to theory are presented. The thesis is concluded by outlining limitations of the methodology and research as a whole and by putting forward future directions for research.

7.2 Discussion

In order to address the research questions, this section will summarise the implications of the two case studies and the research as a whole. I will deal with research questions §2, §3, §4 and §5 initially which culminate in answering the principal research question. The implications stemming from the research findings will also be examined.

It was demonstrated that becoming a part of and being privy to already established social networks in both field locations was vital to obtaining primary toponymic data. On Norfolk Island, these social networks also facilitated access to rare secondary archival sources, which were used to expand the Norfolk data set and served as a reliability check for primary data. It was argued that by using a parameter-rich method of linguistic analysis that considers both synchronic and diachronic data,

and by considering relationships between culturally specific phenomena in different locations, the application of ecolinguistics as a method was able to integrate and consider not only phenomena between, within and across toponym contexts but what these toponym contexts actually mean linguistically, culturally and ecologically in the place where they are known and used. In order to be privy to and become a part of situations where symbiotic research-informant relations result in affable research dealings and data collection, it is necessary to deal closely with the people who intimately know and use the toponymic knowledge being documented. An ecolinguistic fieldwork methodology does not discount the usefulness of establishing ties to community by participating in everyday activities of communities which facilitate social interaction and language use. This was particularly the case on Norfolk Island. It was shown that the conceptual foundation of this methodological approach, incorporating an ethnographic method for data collection, was an effective synthesis for conducting fieldwork in the two island environments. The conceptual focus of ecolinguistics allowed the coupling of technical linguistic analysis with the inductive approach of relating closely and personally with the social and natural ecologies where language and toponyms are used.

While both case studies are island environments with insular communities, the social networks on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula were different, yet the methodological principles used to gain trust, confidence and establish effective research dealings were similar. The ecolinguistic method employed in this research showed that it was in such situations that excellent primary data can be obtained and that this synthesis was effective in establishing the long-term social networks required to gather toponymic data. In answer to research question §2, although there may be any number of possible field methods which could be employed to elicit large amounts of primary toponymic data in insular environments, ecolinguistics was shown to be an effective framework. Consequently, the ecolinguistic fieldwork methodology utilised in this thesis has resulted in documenting an integral element of the linguistic and social history in each of the two island environments. It has also demonstrated that documenting toponyms and processes of toponymy lend themselves well to and are effective methodologically for ecolinguistics. The methodological and theoretical possibility put forward by Mühlhäusler (n.d. c) of the relevance of toponymy to ecolinguistics was substantiated in this thesis.

The grammatical and cultural analysis of toponymy in the two island environments revealed the socio-historical influence and significance of individuals, groups of individuals, e.g. fishermen, and other ecological phenomena, e.g. events, sentimentality, on *insular toponymies*. Because there are generally more confined spatial and ecological parameters to consider when conducting fieldwork in and research on small island environments, both Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula were shown to be illustrative case studies revealing the intricacies of insider social meanings and their relationships to toponyms in the world. The example of the association of the Norfolk grammatical form *fer* with one individual on Pitcairn Island and its subsequent expansion in use in Norfolk toponyms illustrated the value of Norfolk Island toponymy for pinpointing language change. Although a lexical process, the toponyms associated with Tiger Simpson on Dudley Peninsula are similar to the *fer* example on Norfolk: a single individual can be clearly signposted as having a marked effect on the history of toponymy in a specific ecology. The esoteric nature of fishing ground names in both locations represented the role pristine toponyms play in establishing ecological links to place and people through language. Many fishing ground names are semantically transparent and are readily remembered by informants. However, if the history of a name is forgotten, it can still be affixed to the offshore landscape of either island. Just because a toponym is transparent, does not necessarily mean it is pristine; just because a name is pristine and 'non-colonial', does not necessarily imply it is transparent. This study has furthered Ross' (1958) and Zettersten's (1967, 1969, 1989a, 1989b) research in the usefulness of pristine toponyms to toponymy and linguistics and illustrates the need to conduct primary field research to access the histories and meanings of pristine toponyms. The method employed in this study has also solidified the value of conducting toponymic fieldwork in island environments with recent human histories (Mühlhäusler 2002a) where informants who have large amounts of toponymic knowledge can be accessed.

Toponyms in both locations demonstrated that individuals are remembered as toponyms which are living 'lifeworlds' and memories within the landscape (Appadurai 1986; Ingold 2000). While persons were commemorated in a similar way across the two locations, there was a greater tension in the application of Norfolk Island toponyms as linguistic ephemera associated with identity and place politics than that on Dudley Peninsula. One of the major elements accentuated in the Norfolk Island analysis was its association with individuals and historical events through its racist past. While the

recent embracing of the connection to Pitcairn Island and Tahiti is depicted strongly in the toponymic and linguistic landscape of Norfolk through names, this action actually highlights Norfolk's racist past: a symbolic road name commemorating a Tahitian woman serves as much to emphasise the fact that no previous road names commemorated the female and Tahitian elements of Norfolk culture as it emphasises a cultural shift embracing all things Tahitian including toponyms in the recent renaissance of Norfolk culture on Norfolk Island. Where *Tevarua Lane* and other Norfolk toponyms with Tahitian words foreground this symbolic (re-)creation and establishment of Tahitian cultural memes in the landscape, the fact that few Melanesian Mission toponyms are remembered, besides those associated with Mission clergymen, is conspicuous.

This interplay between conscious or unconscious highlighting and hiding of toponym histories and meanings and their connection to perceived colonial ties to Australia and England is different on Norfolk Island than on Dudley Peninsula. While the Dudley Peninsula population considers themselves South Australian, comparatively close to Australia geographically, politically and socially and define themselves clearly in terms of their connection to land through their insider toponyms, Norfolk Island toponymy provides a much more complex case of language, environment and cultural interaction. It is possible that this greater degree of cultural weight associated with Norfolk Island toponymy in comparison to Dudley Peninsula toponymy is the result of the lack of a clearly demarcated cultural role of Norfolk and even the Norfolk language within the cultural and political landscape of Australia. The fact that Norfolk Island is more remote than Dudley Peninsula and because there is a strong tension between the Australian Government's role in Norfolk Island's political and social affairs suggest that there is more at stake in Norfolk Island toponymy than Dudley Peninsula toponymy. This appears to be the case regardless of whether Norfolk toponyms are official or unofficial: because a name is official and recognised by the Australian Commonwealth does not necessarily imply that it is 'pro-Australian' or that it is used in a 'pro-Australian' way. All of these factors are relevant to research question §3.

Research question §4 considered whether toponymic knowledge is primarily structural or primarily cultural. The analysis of the two case studies has demonstrated that it is necessary in an ecolinguistic approach to toponymy to consider both linguistic structure and cultural content. This

study has taken the structural concerns of toponymic analysis within linguistics (e.g. Hunn 1996; Walsh 2002) and those addressed in Australian toponymy (Hercus, Hodges & Simpson 2002; Koch & Hercus 2009) and coupled these with broader ethnographic and cultural considerations in toponymy (Basso 1988, 1996; Dominy 2001; Gaffin 1993, 1994, 1996). The research approach has also speculated about the nature of identity and self in relation to toponyms (Myers 1986) and the 'dwelling' of toponyms in the cultural landscape of a people (Ingold 2000). This approach has built on Kostanski's (2009) systematisation of toponyms by considering relationships between grammatical structure, which Kostanski did not account for, and incorporated these with a consideration of the social construction of elements in a toponymic analysis, which Kostanski did account for.

The data taxonomy employed was a novel contribution of this study. A new taxonomy for dividing toponyms in the Norfolk Island data was shown to be effective when applied to the data taxa elicited on Dudley Peninsula. This taxonomy differs from the toponym taxonomy put forward by Tent and Blair (2011). The four data taxa provided a clear categorisation of the data and proved to be an appropriate method to facilitate the use of the structural and cultural analytical tools. While Walsh's (2002) propositions about what linguistic levels a toponymic analysis should involve were not employed, the analyses demonstrated that the use of grammatical analyses which addressed cultural elements of toponyms and cultural analytical tools which could incorporate linguistic considerations is essential to an empirical study of primary and secondary toponymic data. Although only two toponym taxa were considered for the Dudley Peninsula data, the comparison was shown to be effective methodologically in terms of the data taxonomy. This comparison also illustrated the effectiveness of the data taxonomy, illustrated similarities and differences in principles and processes of conducting fieldwork in insular environments and demonstrated the similarities and differences between official and unofficial toponyms in the case studies. As a result of the methods and theoretical framework employed in this research, this study is both replicable and falsifiable.

The tagmemic analysis of Norfolk toponyms, the analysis of the Norfolk spatial orientation system and the two microtoponymic case studies were considered in the analysis as a means to relate structural features of toponyms to features in the natural and cultural worlds where these toponyms

exist and are embedded. The tagmemic analysis demonstrated that grammatical relationships are related intricately to toponymic knowledge and even ethnic considerations, e.g. the use of Norfolk forms implies the person using or being referred to by the toponym is a Norfolk Islander, i.e. a Pitcairn descendant. Although this analysis did not consider in any great detail pragmatic elements of Norfolk toponyms, there appeared to be a relationship between the use and appearance of shorter toponym forms related to concomitant cultural and ethnic centrality.

Analysis of the Norfolk spatial orientation system put forward several suggestions as to how language, toponyms, space and culture form a nexus that can become ecologically embedded over time. The development of an absolute spatial orientation system on Norfolk Island and the appearance of spatial prepositions in Norfolk toponyms adhering to this system indicate that the use of effective spatial descriptors is important in Norfolk and accentuate a different process of spatial orientation than the use of spatial descriptors used in the English spoken on Norfolk Island. The fact that the Norfolk absolute spatial orientation system is reminiscent of an earlier system found on Pitcairn Island suggests that the development of absolute spatial orientation on Norfolk Island was an adaptive linguistic ecological management tool that allowed the new arrivals to describe an unknown environment in part in terms of their previous island. These results emphasised the necessity to consider not only structural and cultural features in a spatial analysis but also ecological links to location and topography and historical bonds to previous locations, and even sentimentality. This metaphorical and cognitive transplanting of the spatial relationships and spatial world of one small, known island onto the physical space of a new and foreign environment indicated that island contact language situations may be effective locations to observe the establishment of what appears as an ecologically embedded system of spatial description.

While the two microtoponymic case studies both looked at unofficial processes of toponymy within confined geographical areas, the results are markedly different. The *Cascade Road roof* names analysis illustrated the role and influence that local geography, identity and belongingness over a short period of time have on name creation, sign erection and 'toponymic humour'. These processes indicate an 'open gate' process where people are subtly invited to participate as long as they adhere to the established yet unspoken symbolic, linguistic and cultural meme of 'roofness'.

This contrasts with the 'closed gate' of the *Vernon* microtoponymic case study. Where *Cascade Road* is a thoroughfare symbolically open to all, the *Vernon* property and *Vernon* toponymy represent years of well-established toponymic behaviour that is not liable or open to change. Moreover, *Vernon* toponyms are difficult to access; they exist in the minds of the people who know the topography of *Vernon* and these names are a part of their daily speech. Where *Cascade Road* roof names are linguistically and culturally embedded, humorous and relevant, *Vernon* toponyms are almost matter of fact. The rate with which *Cascade Road* roof names were established does not necessarily make them any less embedded nor do the longer histories of *Vernon* toponyms and their deeper embeddedness in the landscape where they are known and used make them any less pristine. The fact that some of the histories of *Vernon* toponyms have been forgotten is a clear example of how opaque toponyms can still be pristine toponyms. In summarising the implications of research question §4, toponymic knowledge is a composite of both structural and cultural features.

Although I have emphasised differences between Norfolk Island toponymy and Dudley Peninsula toponymy throughout this section, it is necessary to summarise these in order to consider research question §5. This summary will lead into a reflection of the principal research question. I begin by considering the rationale for the island toponymic comparison which was outlined in the introduction to this work. There has never been a comparative island toponymic study carried out in Australia nor has there been a great deal of research in island toponymy elsewhere in the world. Although there is a difference in the size, history and geography of the two island case studies, these differences served to highlight how similar and different processes of toponymy are manifested in different toponymic inventories across different social and natural ecologies. A comparison of the island case studies has shown the usefulness of comparing two pristine place-naming situations with recent and well-documented human histories. This comparison has demonstrated the value in considering islands for (pristine) toponymic and linguistic analysis, and the relevance of toponyms to the study of islands.

The relevant research questions, conceptual framework, data taxonomy and methodology which were developed from the Norfolk Island dataset were applied to the Dudley Peninsula dataset. A

major difference between Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymy is that Norfolk Island's distinct historical periods and varying stages of land use across time have resulted in a more detailed yet more linguistically and historically contentious toponymic and cartographic landscape. Where Dudley Peninsula toponyms were generally transparent, the history and locations of Norfolk toponyms could be considered unclear, unknown, forgotten and even dangerous. The process of acquiring fishing ground names on Norfolk Island took considerably more time than on Dudley Peninsula; this reflected the greater degree of apprehension on Norfolk than on Dudley Peninsula about giving insider information to outsiders. As a result, Norfolk Island toponymy is deemed to be more *insular* and less accessible to outsiders than Dudley Peninsula toponymy. This could be due to Norfolk's remoteness, its much more marked ethnic and cultural boundaries and the result of English and Norfolk toponyms creating a more complex linguistic ecology than that of Dudley Peninsula.

While the influence of Norfolk as an integral aspect of both the official and unofficial toponymy of Norfolk Island toponymy cannot be ignored, the fact that the analysed Dudley Peninsula toponyms did not occur in a language contact situation does not undermine the *insularity*, esoteric nature and general inaccessibility to outsiders of these toponyms. Norfolk Island is more *insular* because it is geographically more remote and sociologically more closed than Dudley Peninsula society. Assuming these facts, this research has demonstrated that the more complex nexus of linguistic, cultural and historical factors has affected Norfolk Island toponymy in comparison to Dudley Peninsula toponymy. The ecolinguistic fieldwork methodology employed provided an appropriate tool for accessing both of these *insular toponymies*. The analytical tools offered means by which the degree of *insularity* could be measured empirically and conclusions drawn about the significance of the differences in the *insularity* of the case studies.

Before I summarise the implications of research question §5 addressing differences between Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymy, and direct the argument to the principal research question, it is worth repeating a quotation from Zettersten (1969: 125), which succinctly summarises the relationship between (official) colonial toponyms and those (unofficial) toponyms which are more culturally embedded in the landscape:

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.

The four toponym categories that arose out of this research are:

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.

These categories indicate that official toponyms are more predictable linguistically and are culturally more transparent and less ecologically embedded or related to the cultural and natural environment than unofficial toponyms. Although official placenames on Norfolk Island can also be pristine placenames according to Ross' (1958) definition, they are not necessarily embedded linguistically or culturally to the places where they are known. These pristine placenames are exonymic which have over time often become endonymic. They can often become locally embraced so that their official significance becomes intertwined within a complex of unofficial cultural understanding, e.g. *The Mayor of Anson Bay*. This finding indicates that there are no clear boundaries on Norfolk Island for defining a toponym as official and unofficial.

Similarly, there are unclear boundaries between the official and unofficial nature of descriptive toponyms on Norfolk Island. The example of *Puppys Point* indicated the tension between possible interpretations of toponyms as descriptive, eponymous or event based. Formal linguistic structure does not provide a method to distinguish between the significance of these possible name histories nor can structural analysis in and of itself assess the relative degree of cultural embeddedness of each name history. The third category (unofficial names commemorating people) is where Norfolk

Island and Dudley Peninsula toponyms can be compared. The optionality of the syntactic element in *Dar Side fer Honeys* means it is acceptable as *Honeys* and the optionality of the generic in *Tigers Cairn* and *Tigers Tooth* resulting simply in *Tigers*, provided there is no ambiguity in expression in either case, implies that the semantic or personal element in unofficial, anthroponymous toponyms in both island environments is culturally more salient than the syntactic element. This toponym category expresses direct and embedded linguistic and social relationships between people, place and names and processes through which people who have lived, worked and interacted with specific places are remembered and are almost inscribed into toponymic and cultural landscapes and seascapes. This category forms an important element in what I have claimed has been, in part, a writing of the *toponymic ethnography* of the two island environments.

The fourth toponym category expresses the most embedded category of toponyms involving unofficial and esoteric names remembering local events and people. On Norfolk Island these names included toponyms with verbs, e.g. *Johnny Nigger Bun Et*, *Side ar Whale Es*, and very esoteric names known to few people, e.g. *Parloo Park*, *Gudda Bridge*. These toponyms are reminiscent of the local wisdom expressed in Basso's (1996) lists of Apache toponyms and to a lesser extent Dominy's (2001) toponyms on New Zealand's highland stations. However, what this study has accentuated is that where Basso claims that the wisdom of Apache toponymic knowledge is conscious, knowledge of Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymy is generally unconscious. I put forward that these insider or *insular toponymies* are rarely privy to outsiders. This study has demonstrated that through fieldwork and through direct contact with the people who know these toponyms, it appears that the 'unconscious wisdom' associated with embedded toponymies has been accessed and made 'conscious wisdom' (cf. Basso 1996). In contrast to Dominy's findings which considered the role of toponyms and identity creation in terms of constructing a socioculturally contained and insular world within an expansive and large space, the analysis of the two island environments demonstrated the role of toponyms and identity creation in terms of creating a large world in a small (island) place. Inadvertently, the consideration of micro aspects of toponyms was similar to Gaffin's (1996) and Wylie and Margolin's (1981) research on microtoponymy on islands and the culturally constructed enlargement of the Faeroese world through toponymic and linguistic connection to place and culture. A more detailed comparison of the findings of this study with Basso's research is presented in Section 7.4.

Although these four categories are presented as mutually exclusive categories, they are not necessarily so. Official (Norfolk) toponyms are not necessarily transparent nor are process-based toponyms in the fourth category non-descriptive or grammatically variable. What this typology of toponym categories does provide, however, is a tool to observe degrees of linguistic, cultural and ecological embeddedness of toponyms and toponymic processes. The principal research question was:

Is the difference between official and unofficial toponyms a consequence of the degree of linguistic, cultural and ecological embeddedness of these toponyms and processes of toponymy?

The answer to this question is positive: the degree of linguistic, cultural and ecological embeddedness in toponyms and toponymic processes in the two island environments was a consequence of their official and unofficial status. However, there were shown to be a myriad of other factors that also contributed to their significance and status as official and unofficial toponyms within the linguistic, cultural and ecological complex of the two island environments. It is these factors which this thesis has emphasised are integral to producing an empirical toponymic analysis that considers both linguistic structure and cultural significance and how these levels of analysis combined contribute to the writing of the *toponymic ethnography* of the two island locations.

7.3 Significance of the study

The title of this thesis has a double meaning. First, it suggests that *insular toponymies* or the study of toponymy on islands is a worthy scientific endeavour for linguistics. Second, the title *insular toponymies* asserts that due to the insular nature of islands, islander people and island knowledge, this toponymic knowledge is normally not accessible to outsiders. This study has emphasised the insular, insider and esoteric nature of the toponymies of the two island environments within the political confines of Australia, and has argued that engaging in fieldwork with the island communities is essential to ‘unlocking the gate’ to this insular toponymic knowledge. By illustrating

the dynamics of the toponymic histories in both locations, this research has highlighted common processes of how humans name places and how these processes become differentiated and embedded within specific socio-historical and ecological settings. That is, toponymic processes across time and space are realised differently in different ecologies. Toponyms, as linguistic artefacts, have been utilised as a medium or 'membrane' to gain a greater linguistic and cultural insight into the people who know and use these toponyms.

While toponyms and the study of toponymy has historically not been of major concern to linguistics, this research argued that toponyms and the processes by which toponyms evolve and change over time are an appropriate means to observe these linguistic and cultural parameters. As was previously stated, it was argued that due to the isolation and reduction in external influences on islands, they are appropriate case studies for analysing and comparing processes of toponymy as an integral element of language development, change and adaptation. The two case studies – Norfolk Island, South Pacific and Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island, South Australia – allowed two separate empirical approaches which documented the toponymic history of each island. These two studies were argued to be comparable to the extent that was necessary for this study. Documenting Norfolk Island toponyms involved collecting primary and secondary sources while only primary Dudley Peninsula toponyms were collected. The initial review of relevant literature revealed that there is a gap in linguistics of an explicit method and theory in toponymy, which outlines how to conduct an empirical analysis of toponym structure using an appropriate taxonomy. This study put forward a possible method and theory that can be built on.

In addition, while there have been several studies (e.g. Hunn 1996; Kostanski 2009), which have considered the cultural implications of toponyms and toponymic processes, such work has not analysed the cultural and ecological implications of toponyms regarding their connection to the nexus of place and culture where they develop and exist. The synthesis of formal linguistic analysis of toponyms on the one hand and cultural and ecological implications of toponyms and toponymy on the other has been a novel contribution of this research. This method emphasised the power of structural analysis to understand the role toponyms play as linguistic artefacts but also accentuated the multitude of cultural and ecological parameters that are necessary to consider when conducting

a broader analysis of toponyms. Ecolinguistics was the conceptual framework used to couple structural and cultural features of analysis. The ethnographic method (Saville-Troike 2003) was used as a method to establish relationships within intricate social networks.

The concept of pristine toponymy or pristine place-naming was central to this study. This idea, first put forward by Ross (1958) and subsequently built on by Zettersten (1967, 1969, 1989a, 1989b), was extended in this study by considering not only transparent placename histories in 'pristine' island toponymic locations and what they illustrate, but also by considering the role of opaque linguistic and cultural knowledge associated with toponyms. This study extended the claim that islands and particularly islands with short human histories with multiple occupations are an "ideal test case" for students of toponymy (Mühlhäusler 2002a: 89). While the usefulness of Ross' (1958) and Ross and Moverley's (1964) research on Pitcairn Island and Zettersten's research on Tristan da Cunha to pristine place-naming has been demonstrated, this is the first comprehensive study that has applied the concept of pristine place-naming to a large corpus of combined primary and secondary toponymic data.

Although this study has not made any explicit claims about the exact classification of the Norfolk language, much of the Norfolk Island data are relevant to contact language linguistics. This is because there are a large number of Norfolk toponyms in the Norfolk Island data. The consideration of Norfolk within the parameters of contact language linguistics and creolistics is the result of the work of several scholars (e.g. Hancock 1987; Reinecke et al. 1975) who have maintained that Norfolk is a creole. To reiterate, those scholars who have worked with the Norfolk Island community using primary data (e.g. Harrison 1985; Laycock 1989; Mühlhäusler 1998) have indicated the problems associated with the premature classification of Norfolk as a creole. The possibility of analysing creole placenames was first suggested by Berleant-Schiller (1991). While the use of 'creole' or any other term to classify Norfolk has not been of concern in this thesis, the relevance of Norfolk toponyms to its typology, especially in light of the influence of St Kitts Creole, make it worthy of consideration within creolistics. This could be the topic of further research.

7.4 Insular toponymies, toponymic ethnographies

This thesis has illustrated the methodological and theoretical friction associated with Saussure's (1983) edict of the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign. Saussure considers some elements external to the linguistic system but primarily focuses on structural and lexical properties. Saussure's perspective was critiqued in this study for not being broad enough to incorporate important cultural and historical factors in a traditional grammatical analysis of toponyms. This research has argued for a much broader analysis of the sense and reference relations of toponyms to their socio-historical and natural environment. Although the structural tools espoused by linguists after Saussure may be limited for the purposes of this study, these same tools were used to emphasise the importance of linguistic structure in an ecolinguistic analysis of toponyms. The structural analyses presented in this thesis emphasise the tension between toponyms as arbitrary signifiers and their operation in the world as integral elements of a culture's lexical inventory.

In departing from Saussure's perspective, I considered several anthropological and ethnographic approaches in order to establish a theoretical gap which could be investigated. This was attempted by taking a novel methodological and theoretical position concerning relationships between the linguistic structure of toponyms and their related cultural and ecological relationships. The principal authors I consulted were Basso (1988, 1996), Dominy (2001) and Gaffin (1993, 1994, 1996). In this section I will only consider the relevance of Basso's work, and primarily the relevance of Basso's (1996) book *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache*, for its application and relevance to the results of this research. While all of these works are relevant to the results of this study, I chose to look at Basso's work in detail because some of the subtle theoretical underpinnings of his work raise important conceptual problems of interest .

In his analysis of the cultural import of Apache toponyms and cultural maps, Basso describes Apache ways of knowing and how the Apache have attached meaning to place through toponymy. Through Basso's poetic and eloquent presentation of Apache toponymic perceptions, he appears to prioritise linguistically and culturally convoluted names such as 'Juniper Tree Stands Alone People' (Basso 1996: 21) over apparently trivial and topographically descriptive names. Examples

of these trivial names which I documented are *Sheep Dip* and *Little Green Lane* on Norfolk Island and *The Mill* and *Deadwood Hill* on the *Vernon* property on Dudley Peninsula. Some of the methods Basso uses are similar to those employed in this study: with wise tribal elders and storytellers as his guides, Basso was admitted into an inner realm of Apache toponymic folklore. It is this 'conscious wisdom', which is expressed in Basso's depictions of the toponymic knowledge and insight of his guides, which he claims is the authentic description of the landscape and maps of the areas his guides know.

Although the majority of the toponyms I have considered in this thesis are either English or to varying extents from English, I believe that for insiders who know these toponyms, their aesthetic import and linguistic and cultural weight is arguably as significant as those presented in Basso's analysis of the elaborate toponymic expressions of the Apache. The significance and relevance of Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponyms as cultural economy appears to be measured in terms of the utility and cultural connectedness to the ecologies where the respective toponyms are known, used, exist and have relevance. I suggest that where it seems Basso sought to find 'wisdom heavy' Apache toponyms that often come across as being deliberately idiosyncratic and sophisticated, by contrast I have selected certain features that enabled my analysis to deal with the majority of the toponyms I documented, i.e. both the less esoteric as well as esoteric toponyms.

Where Basso implies that 'wisdom sits in places (consciously)' through deep connection with the land and the knowledge of toponyms in places such as 'They Are Grateful For Water', 'She Became Old Sitting' and 'Trail To Life Goes Up' (1996: 29), one becomes attentive to the inner workings of nature and place and their connection to the knower's own awareness. Basso makes central the idea that these knowledgeable yet humble persons are vessels carrying not only a large amount of toponymic knowledge but also a large number of eccentric names opaque to the outsider. It appears that Basso claims knowledge of these idiosyncratic names is a precursor, a conscious indexical marker, to gaining wisdom from and about the land. In an analogous manner to the methods used in this study, Basso's analysis enters into this esoteric realm of toponymy by opening the 'locked gate' of the Apaches' toponymic knowledge in a comparable way to how I

claim I was allowed access to Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymic knowledge by accessing intricate social networks.

However, one of the distinct differences between my informants in the two island environments and what Basso expresses is intrinsic to the existential and spiritual makeup of his 'informants', or perhaps more appropriately 'masters', was that my informants generally would not perceive themselves as wise men or wise women with large amounts of amazingly interesting or deep seated toponymic and hence cultural knowledge and wisdom. While Bev McCoy on Norfolk Island and Nils Swanson on Dudley Peninsula, the two most knowledgeable informants I met during my fieldwork, did possess great wisdom and insight into the cultural and ecological movements of toponyms and their connection to land, I argue that their insight was chiefly unconscious. Thus, in contrast to my interpretation of Basso's mapping which I claim depicts 'wisdom sits in places (consciously)', because of the lack of a conscious awareness of the cultural import of Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymy by my informants, I perceive their knowledge of toponymy and place knowledge as 'wisdom sits in places (unconsciously)'. This is a key difference of interpretation between Basso's (1996) study and the results of this thesis.

This essential difference has several methodological and theoretical ramifications for the interpretation of toponymic knowledge. What Basso does not consider nor was it one of his priorities are the 'boring' names either known to so many or those known to so few that the knowers of these names themselves cannot see past the trivial nature of these names. These supposedly insignificant and inconsequential toponyms, which most informants would never consider telling others simply because they are so embedded in the place where they have existed and thus make no sense outside of their social and topographical contexts, appear to be of little interest to Basso. Like Basso's wisdom-rich Apache toponyms, these names were accessed throughout the course of my field research using an ecolinguistic fieldwork method which 'unlocked the gate' either literally or figuratively to obtain entry to an inner realm of unofficial Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymic history and apparently wisdom-poor yet embedded placenames. I claim that the apparently trivial or matter of fact nature of these insider toponyms does not undermine in any way that 'wisdom (also) sits in ('unwise' or 'unconscious') places (and people)' or

in the knowledge and experience of those holders of toponymic knowledge. In this sense, Bev McCoy and Nils Swanson, as quite humble men on the surface, did not come across to me as 'self aware wise masters' with vast amounts of toponymic and cultural knowledge that I could access if they would give it to me. I perceive these men as men of great (unconscious) wisdom connected intrinsically to each respective island location. I claim that these men are just as wise, although perhaps unconsciously, as Basso's wise informants.

Although I do not believe that Basso necessarily or unnecessarily constructed his informants as 'wise men' in *Wisdom Sits in Places* when they were not, and where it appears he has taken a fair degree of artistic license in his depiction of Apache toponymic wisdom³⁶, in my own fieldwork dealings on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula I witnessed a great degree of humility and unconscious knowing among the custodians of large amounts of toponymic knowledge such as Bev McCoy and Nils Swanson. My experience dealing with island folk on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula has led me to perceive those I dealt with as ordinary, simple folk with the experience of a life spent on the sea or hard work and toil on the land where they can smell the salt from the ocean. While this degree of 'unconscious toponymic wisdom' and 'toponymic experience' possessed by islanders (cf. Gaffin 1996) is common to both Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula, there appears to be a discrepancy in the accessibility of this toponymic knowledge based on more profound cultural priorities and social structures in the two field locations. The methodological significance of this observation was described in Chapter Four. I will now summarise these considerations and compare and contrast these results to the cultural analysis of this thesis.

The 'locked gate' to Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula toponymic realms and farming properties where these names exist can be both literal and metaphorical: if you are not allowed in, you will not get inside. I have argued throughout this thesis that creating appropriate fieldwork dealings when doing *toponymic ethnography* by means of, amongst other methods, an ecolinguistic fieldwork methodology, means that the fieldworker 'pushes the gate open' or simply enters with the permission of those men and women who are the stakeholders of the toponymic knowledge. It is only through such a method that this symbiotic relationship between researcher, place and

³⁶ It should also be remembered that Basso's book is strictly a work of 'creative nonfiction' rather than ethnography. It received the 'Western States Book Award Winner for Creative Nonfiction' in 1996.

language documentation can take place. This is where the basis of a *toponymic ethnography* which incorporates linguistic, social, political and ecological parameters must lie. There are marked differences in how parameters, which are also coupled with differing degrees of geographical remoteness, are manifested in the diverse *toponymic ethnographies* of Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula and their concomitant degrees of conscious or unconscious 'toponymic wisdom' seen in the custodians of this wisdom.

One of the key differences between Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula is that Norfolk Island is more of an insider society. It is more closed and as an outsider, it is more difficult to open the 'locked gate' to toponymic knowledge during fieldwork. Due to the insular social circumstances on Norfolk Island, residents are forced to be locked into the intricate workings of Norfolk society. This normally means that it is very difficult for local people to gain access to aspects of Norfolk toponyms that they would not otherwise be privy to. In such closed societies where knowledge is commonly governed by gender (males generally hold the esoteric toponymic knowledge), social status (experienced people, normally men, who worked the land know most of the toponymic knowledge) and age (elder members of the Norfolk community are commonly deemed to be the caretakers of the toponymic knowledge), it is essential for the fieldworker to be liked and approved in order to do fieldwork in such settings. It is highly likely that the crossing of stringent cultural, ethnic and class boundaries in this research was mediated and enabled through shared gender standards between my informants and myself. In addition, it seems I was not perceived as a threat to social stability on Norfolk Island. This situation would possibly have been different if I were an 'insider' in Norfolk society where my capacity to have an influence on the social workings of the community could be much more powerful. Where outsiders may be perceived as threats virtually by default, insiders are potentially even more dangerous because of their ability to manipulate the social networks of which they are a part.

Norfolk Island toponymy, especially unofficial Norfolk toponymy, e.g. fishing ground names, is indeed an *insular toponymy*: it is an extremely guarded element of Norfolk's linguistic and social past. Large amounts of this history have been lost because such knowledge was never documented. It is likely that taking large amounts of toponymic knowledge to the grave, in the past

and possibly still in the present, is in accordance with well-established cultural memes which solidify stark insider-outsider dichotomies of Norfolk's insider society. Moreover, such dichotomies emphasise the strong societal allegiances on Norfolk through restricting access to the transmission of toponymic knowledge to outsiders, whether they be from outside Norfolk or outside the respective circle which is granted access to this knowledge. It is possible that Norfolk's acceptance of its stronger historical and cultural ties to Britain, Pitcairn Island and Tahiti rather than to Australia and to a lesser extent New Zealand has exacerbated some of the apparent suspicion outsiders from the inner core of Norfolk society feel when attempting to access linguistic information in the form of toponyms. A quote by Latham (2005: 41), which was presented in Chapter Two, clearly summarises the insularity of Norfolk Island society:

[I] did want to try and understand what made the place tick. It made me wonder if Norfolk Island really wanted to be understood. No one ever said jump in my truck or boat and I'll show you what's important to me. No one offered to show me their island, their world, the one they so desperately wanted to protect and honour. I was never invited to anything by an elected representative of an island which claims to be misunderstood, misrepresented and maligned by mainland media and politicians. I got the feeling it enjoyed its ambiguity, it helped cloud everything over. 'It takes time to understand this island,' locals kept saying, which is not surprising because so few were willing to explain it.

Anyone who has dealt with island or insular people as an outsider would most probably agree with Latham's experiences on Norfolk Island.

While the insular situation on Dudley Peninsula is somewhat similar to Norfolk Island, the construction of insider-outsider distinction is different to that on Norfolk Island. There is not the same acute sense of geographical, political and toponymic remoteness as seen in the reluctance of the custodians of Norfolk Island toponymic knowledge to allow outsiders access to this knowledge. Where the Norfolk Islander community, and particularly the Pitcairn descendants, perceive themselves as staunch monarchists coming from 'rebel ancestry' due to their genealogical link to the *Bounty* mutineers and to the sordid events that took place on Pitcairn Island and in Tahiti, Dudley Peninsula people do not see themselves as being as different to the rest of Australia as the

Norfolk Islanders do. They do not view themselves as colonised by or in opposition to mainland political power. Dudley Peninsula toponymic processes suggest that there is not as stark a divide between insider and outsider as those which exist on Norfolk Island. The continuum of belonging and cultural identity creation on Dudley Peninsula through toponymy and connection with the Australian mainland is not as marked as in processes of toponymy on Norfolk Island.

Although it is still essential to become established in social networks through being sympathetic to local social norms and patterns of behaviour in order to acquire (primary) toponymic data, which in part contributes to the *toponymic ethnography* of Dudley Peninsula, as I claimed in Chapter Four my fieldwork experiences on Dudley Peninsula took less absolute time and involved different activities to those I engaged in on Norfolk Island. To reiterate my fieldwork experiences I outlined in Section 4.2.3:

On Norfolk Island, it was essential for me initially to engage in hard physical work in parallel with conducting linguistic research. This was because being accepted and liked by key Norfolk Island community members, custodians of the Norfolk Islander ethos and those involved with the Norfolk language was integral to gaining access to toponymic data. On Dudley Peninsula, I did not undertake any notable physical work but still managed to gain access to a group of local residents with extensive toponymic knowledge. While Dudley Peninsula informants were sometimes puzzled as to why I wanted to document their unofficial toponyms, they freely gave this information which they even saw as trivial.

This means that the 'unconsciousness toponymic wisdom', i.e. the deeper *toponymic ethnography* of those who possess toponymic knowledge on Norfolk Island, is less available to outsider and even insider view, i.e. those without access to the inner circle of Norfolk toponymic knowledge, due to the more insular nature of Norfolk Island's *insular toponymy* in comparison to Dudley Peninsula toponymy. This is the key difference in the *insular toponymies* of Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula.

7.5 Suggestions for future research

Because this research has prioritised certain methodological and theoretical features over others, it has been limited in its scope. The possibility of future research arose through an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the research questions and speculation about future research directions in toponymy and ecolinguistics.

The effectiveness of classifying toponyms in island environments in terms of their official and unofficial status and the significance of their status for toponymic theory could be re-examined. Such studies might possibly re-interpret previously analysed toponymic documentation from various island environments using the primary focus of ecolinguistics. This could emphasise the strength of previous social and ecological structures at various points in time and how these changes over time are illustrated in toponymy. Similar studies may be conducted to measure lexical retention in toponyms in other minority (island) language situations in order to assess the degree of intergenerational transmission by working with children. This kind of research may emphasise the role of the official-unofficial continuum in how toponyms form a part of the linguistic and social memory of (island) people and how the social, political and official status of toponyms change over time.

An ecolinguistic fieldwork methodology was shown to be effective for obtaining primary toponymic data in island environments. This study has emphasised that toponym etymologies per se are not enough to make a broad statement about the toponymy of a particular place. Because etymologising is not in and of itself an end result rather a partial description of the overall processes within language and ecology relations, the same methodology could be applied to other island situations where minority languages and cultures are more or less operative. These studies may well employ a similar comparative approach using comparable principles and parameters. Primary data from any two typologically similar (island) languages and any two typologically dissimilar (island) languages may be analysed to illustrate the requirement of considering parameters of analysis beyond etymologising.

The consideration of the influence of individuals and other ecological and historical factors on toponymy in this study could have been broadened by taking into account gender, age and family connections and their small and large scale effects on toponymy. This is also of interest to further studies in pristine toponymy which could consider the role individuals play in creating microtoponymies and even the role of humour and social identity creation through participation in (official and unofficial) processes of identity creation, place creation and ecological linking to language through toponymy.

While this study has shown that toponymic knowledge is both structural and cultural, more detailed analyses of the linguistic, cultural and ecological relationships between toponymic form and content would help solidify these results. An expansion of the term and concept *toponymic ethnography* by considering the role toponyms play in documenting linguistic and cultural histories of specific peoples, e.g. any number of indigenous cultures in Australia and the Pacific, could be achieved by a further refinement of relevant structural and cultural analytical tools applicable to the specific (island) languages and ecologies being analysed.

Some of the differences in the *insular toponymies* in this study have been accounted for by presenting a four category toponym typology. This classification is primarily concerned with how official and unofficial toponyms are expressed differently in the linguistic and social worlds of the people who know them. The effectiveness of this system could be tested in continental rather than island situations and could also be used to address the role of parameters other than the official-unofficial continuum and the effect these parameters have on toponymy.

Finally, there are several practical tasks specific to documenting the linguistic history of Norfolk Island and the toponymic history of Dudley Peninsula which could be carried out in future. Due to time constraints, the Norfolk Island toponym database was not complete by the end of the research. Expanding this database could be a future research project that will contribute to documenting Norfolk Island history and could be beneficial to the Norfolk Island community and the academy. There is also much more research and documentation to be carried out on Dudley

Peninsula and the rest of Kangaroo Island regarding its land use history vis-à-vis toponymy. The ageing of knowledgeable informants on Dudley Peninsula emphasises the urgency for this research.

7.6 Final remarks

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated that the concept of *insular toponymies* was appropriate to describe the nature of *toponymic ethnographies* in isolated, island societies. It has done so by analysing toponyms and processes of toponymy as a linguistic, socio-historical, cultural and ecological interface which offers analytical insight into diachronic language change and continuity. The parameter-rich approach of ecolinguistics enabled a detailed understanding of the complex nature of these phenomena. It is hoped that this thesis has contributed to a more extensive appreciation of the role toponyms play in interpreting wider socio-historical and cultural processes within linguistic theory and ecolinguistics.

In addition to making a contribution to linguistics, I trust that people like Bev McCoy and Nils Swanson and other interested people on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula are happy with my research and the way in which it has been presented. It is this human interaction that has given this thesis its life and has pushed me to get this knowledge out into the world. In so many ways, this work encapsulates a record of how people and history become remembered in places. Toponyms and the places they represent somehow become sacred through the stories and respect that come when we know them intimately. The maps Bev McCoy and Nils Swanson helped me create will serve as a memory of their years on the sea and their connection to their islands. It is these toponyms and these *insular toponymies* which express something of the people and the place.

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APPENDIX A NORFOLK ISLAND DATA

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1. 10 O'Clock Bank	Fishing ground	Phillip	Fishers would go here to get enough fish for food, not for selling. Wouldn't get a large catch here. Mainly trumpeter (Norf'k: sweet lip) and cod (Norf'k: bucket, flower pot) - David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	West end of Philip, half a mile out from the west end, close in, you can see people on the island from that mark, that's how close it is. It was called 10 O'Clock Bank because they reckoned you used to wait there until 10 o'clock until the fish started biting.	Primary
2. Aa Big Pool	Placename	Norfolk	Former name for 'Crystal Pool'	Rachel Borg April 2009	'Aa Big Pool' was the original Island name for what is now known today as 'Crystal Pool'. I believe that during neap tides the Islanders went down to the big pool to collect sea salt. It is a favoured rock fishing spot and swimming hole. We are all taught to always watch the ocean here. (Rachael Borg April 2009)	Primary
3. Acme	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Mainly get trumpeter, sometimes red snapper, sometimes gropper and the odd kingfisher - David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	There is a pine tree in Ralph Weslake's paddock and you line it up with Jacky Jacky on Phillip Island, and the other mark is Bird Rock lined up with the quarry down at Cascade. There is good fishing there. It was named such because one of the old boats that used to fish out there was called Acme and they were the first ones to find that mark.	Primary
4. Ahstyk	House	Norfolk	Selwyn Pine Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
5. Alalang Paen	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk	Where the married couples lived.	Penny 1887, p. 33	Means 'Under the pines', from the fact of a clump of Norfolk Island pines overshadowing their quarters.	Secondary
6. Alec's Paddock	Placename	Norfolk	Same area as Boo-boo's Paddock, Doodsie's Paddock	Rachel Borg April 2009	Large flat paddock leading up to Taylors Road owned by Ben (Booboo) and Naomi (Doodsie) Christian, belonged to Alec Nobbs, his house was the one Ray Spraeg lived in. We knew it as Boo-boo's Paddock or Doodsie's Paddock, older Islanders knew it as Alec's Paddock. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
7. Alex Nobbs'	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This home is reputed by the family to have been built ca 1896. Alexander Nobbs inherited the land and the house in 1900, though he probably lived in it since it was built. [...] Owner: Mr Spraggs. (Varman 1984: 121-122)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
8. Alfred Nobbs Road	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	Title vests in the Administration. The original Freehold grant was to Alfred Augustine Nobbs. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
9. Alfred Nobbs'	House	Norfolk	Same build as 'Aunt Liz's'	Varman 1984	[...] The house was built by or for Alfred Nobbs (1846-1906). [...] Owner: Mr Joe Nobbs (Varman 1984: 251)	Secondary
10. Alfred's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	A close-in mark. Not for quantity, just for a feed. 1) Moo-oo Stone and Red Stone in line and 2) Nepean clearing Bucks Point, just in line with each other. Alfred Snell was one of the older blokes, whether it was named after him Bev doesn't know. Old name.	Primary
11. Alice's	House	Norfolk	Grassy Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
12. Allendale	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was completed in 1883, according to a family bible belonging to Mrs Ruth Mc Coy. The house was occupied by Charles Allen Christian and his wife Nora Leonora nee Nobbs. It was later passed onto their son Frank Bell Christian and later to his daughter Ruth Mc Coy who occupies the house with her husband Baker [Foxy] Mc Coy and their family. [...] Owner: Mr and Mrs B and R Mc Coy. (Varman 1984: 144) Foxy told Nash that this house burned down in 1994 (?), burning with it one of the original tablets from the Bounty. A new house has subsequently been built. It is situated on 'Allendale Drive'.	Secondary
13. Ama Ula Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 70	A recently gazetted road. 'Ama'ula' means 'clumsy' in Norfolk. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
14. Anam Cara	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
15. Andrew Evans Road	Road	Norfolk	A 'paper road' that exists on paper and nowhere else. Left off Cascade Road past Mill Road.	Alan McNeil 8/2/08	Alan McNeil came up with this name in order to deal with a title claim on Andrew Evans' property.	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
16. Annie Dong's	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	A well-loved Norfolk house name attributed to former resident, Annie 'Brighty' Adams. She was Brightman Adams' wife. The property was named after Annie Jackson, also known as 'Nan' Adams. She was a large American negro lady who came to Norfolk with the American Whalers. Her home burnt down to the ground. The current house is positioned today in exactly the exactly same spot that Annie had her home. The property is also known as 'Annie Dongs Corner' or 'Apple Vale'. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
17. Anson Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
18. Anson Bay Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
19. Anson Bay Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 105		Secondary
20. Anson Point	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 4		Secondary
21. Antonio's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This area was identified from the 1842 Arrowsmith map, (survey 1840). (Varman 1984: 251)	Secondary
22. Anty's	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
23. APNWS Hut	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The ANPWS Hut erected in 1982. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
24. Ar Bamboo	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Freddick's Age'	Varman 1984	[...] a large clump of giant bamboo [...] regarded by the older generation of Islanders to pre-date the arrival of the Pitcairners. The Islanders used the clump of bamboo as a navigation point when fishing. (Varman 1984: 31)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
25. Ar Benk fe Pile Hani's	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Shirley Harrison	Puss Anderson had heard of this mark, but was not sure exactly where it was. Suspects it is to the northwest of the Island.	Secondary
26. Ar Coop	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	A fishing area at Steels Point possibly named such as the area is shaped like a chicken coop.	Secondary
27. Ar Deep Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Literally a very deep narrow valley near Prince Phillip Lookout which broadens into Cockpit. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
28. Ar House fer Ma Nobby's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	(same as Ma Nobby's)	Puss Anderson Nov 2009	(same as Ma Nobby's)	Primary
29. Ar Pine fer Robinson's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter	David Graham, Tardy Evans	1) Quarry in line with Cascade Road on top of the Whaling Station, and 2) there's a pine tree on the cliff edge there and it just comes clear of the High Point, just over the High Point, at Steels Point. Same as the placename 'Ar Pine fer Robinson's'.	Primary
30. Ar Pine fer Robinsons	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Literally 'the pine off/for Robinson's' or simply 'Robinson's Pine'. Robinson came to Norfolk as a teacher for the public school. The well-known pine was located on his property in the Steels Point area though Robinson lived at Rocky Point. The tree in Robinson's paddock was felled years ago. Like many of the trees and landmarks on Norfolk, this pine was used in lining up several offshore fishing grounds but when they were cut down, many good offshore fishing locations were lost. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
31. Ar Saddle	Fishing ground	Phillip	Same mark as 'Tilley's'	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Use the south rock of the west side of Phillip and as you are coming out into the Passage make a gap then line up three pines at Garnet Point so that they sit right in the middle of The Saddle on Nepean.	Primary
32. Ar Side fer Doddes	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Bev McCoy Feb 2008	No idea who Doddos was. But No Trouble is in the area known as 'Ar Side fer Doddos'. It covers a lot of area. You can just about take Jacky Jacky anywhere across the Island and you will hit No Trouble.	Primary
33. Ar Side fer Honeys	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
34. Ar Yes	Fishing ground	Phillip	Trumpeter, red snapper. (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009) This is the same feature as Ike's, Iye's	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	West point of Phillip. The reason they call it that is because when your line hits the bottom and the fish start biting, you say 'Ar yes! They're down there!' You line up the pine trees on Collins Head across the High Point on Nepean, and you travel west until a little rock on Phillip Island comes out in the cliff like a head. It's about three or four miles from 10 O'Clock Bank. You mainly get trumpeter and sweet lip [red emperor] there. If it is called 'Ike's' it is referring to Isaac 'Ike' Christian.	Primary
35. Araluen	House	Norfolk	Mission Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
36. Arcadia	Fishing ground	Nepean	Trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Tardy/Bear: Thus named as there was no name for the mark and the Arcadia passenger ship was passing at the time when Bellie McCoy was fishing there once.	Primary
37. Arch, The	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
38. Arches, The	House	Norfolk	Remains. See 'Dem Arches'	Varman 1984	This structure was built after 1846 because it is noted indicated on the Moutney map. [...]Owner: Government owned. (Varman 1984: 229-230)	Secondary
39. Arlie Howe	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map	Ancient Tahitian word 'arevau' meaning 'upper valley dwellers'. In Pitcairn it was the name of a small white winter flowering plant which grew in the valleys and on the cliffs (Rosalind Amelia Young). In Norfolk 'Arlehau' is the name of the small stone 'farmers' cottage in the upper valley on the dam-side under Flagstaff Hill, Kingston (it is still there today) (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
40. Arthur's Vale	Placename	Norfolk		Settlers Lots on Norfolk Island 1791- 1804		Secondary
41. Ashworth's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
42. Aunt Amy's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	<p>The house was built by or for Frederick Howard Christian during the 1880s. A shop was built onto the northern elevation before 1909 and continued as such until the 1930s. Many of the older generation on the Island can remember details of how the shop was arranged. The shop was known as the "Clothing Club" and in its later years as "Aunt Amy's Clothing Club". Some of the ledgers dating back to 1909 survive. Shopping at the Clothing Club was considered a great social event in the past. [...] Owner: Girlie Christian Estate. (Varman 1984: 142-143)</p> <p>Dinah Amabella 'Amy' Quintal b. 22 Jan 1859 in Norfolk, d. 11 May 1953 in Norfolk. Dinah was adopted soon after birth. (5'2" tall, dark skin, gray-brown eyes, frizzly coarse black hair, thick lips, bulkiest of Norfolk women). She founded and operated 'Aunt Amy's Clothing Club', the Norfolk General Store, for many years. She married Matthew Frederick Howard Christian, on Norfolk on 12 Dec 1878. (Rachel Borg April 2009)</p>	Secondary
43. Aunt Bett's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
44. Aunt Doll's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
45. Aunt E'wies'	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
46. Aunt Els'	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Oliander'	Varman 1984	"Oliander" appears to have been the home of one of the Adams' family. (...) The house was converted to a guest house and many extensions were made to it during that period. The basic core of the house may date to the 1890s. Some of the doors and windows may have been adopted from earlier structures. (...) Owner: Mr F. Gillen (Varman 1984: 133)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
47. Aunt Em's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was built on a "U" shaped plan for Nash Christian. The land was inherited through Nash Christian's mother Nora Leonora nee Nobbs in 1911. According to the family the house was begun in 1912 but was not completed until some years later. [...] The house was named after Nash Christian's wife, Emily nee Quintal, who ran the house as a guest house on a modest scale. Aunt Em's was taken over by Emily Christian's daughter Nora Jane Mitchell, (Jean), and is now the only guest house left on Norfolk Island run along traditional lines. In former years this was the only form of accommodation on the Island where guest could experience both the Island's traditional cooking and hospitality. (Varman 1984: 122)	Secondary
48. Aunt Jemima and Cobby Robinson's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was built during the early years of this century. The house has been abandoned since the death of Aunt Jemima and is in a rather sad state of repair. Owner: Mr S. Nobbs. (Varman 1984: 252)	Secondary
49. Aunt Jemima Avenue	Road	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Named after a row of Norfolk pines in KAVHA number 100 [which] was planted in honour of Aunt Jemima Robinson's 100th birthday (wife of Isaac 'Cobby' Robinson) (Rachel Borg April	Primary
50. Aunt Lill's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
51. Aunt Liz's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Alfred Nobbs'	Varman 1984	[...] The house was built by or for Alfred Nobbs (1846-1906). [...] Owner: Mr Joe Nobbs (Varman 1984: 251)	Secondary
52. Aunt Mags	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
53. Aunt Martie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
54. Aunty Gordie's	House	Norfolk	Ferny Lane	Nash photos 2007		Primary
55. Aut Mishan	House	Norfolk	Headstone Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
56. Auwas Hoem	House	Norfolk	New Cascade Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
57. Auwas Paradise Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
58. Avalon	House	Norfolk	Duncombe Bay	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
59. Awas Emmque	House	Norfolk	Near airport	Nash photos 2007		Primary
60. Baeccer Walley	Placename	Phillip	'To' of 'Tobacco' had been crossed out in Bev McCoy's hand.	Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
61. Ball Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
62. Ball Bay Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
63. Ball Court	Placename	Norfolk		KAVHA Conservation Management Plan, First Draft, 2001		Secondary
64. Barnaby	House	Norfolk	Anson Bay Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
65. Barney Duffy's Gulley	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This gully is mentioned by Ensign Best in 1838/1839, so we know that it was known by that name by the late 1830s at least. This confirms that there must have been an element of truth in the story of Barney Duffy, passed to the Pitcairn Islanders in 1856 by the few convicts remaining behind to show the Islanders the way. The name for the gully became disused after 1856 but became more localised in the naming of the pine in which Barney Duffy was supposed to have lived. The pine was burned down by some New Zealand soldiers during the mid 1940s. The area where the gully meets the sea is still referred to by Island fishermen as 'Barney Duffy's'. [...] (Varman 1984: 266)	Secondary
66. Barney Duffy's Pine	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	A large hollow pine tree in Barney Duffy's Gully said to be the hide-out of escaped convict Barney Duffy who lived there for seven years. Burnt down and destroyed in a lightning strike. There are old postcards which depict this pine. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
67. Barney Duffys	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
68. Barry's Place	House	Norfolk	Hibiscus Drive	Nash photos 2009		Primary
69. Baxendale's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This area of the Island is considered very remote. Baxendale had a lease in this area and built a house during the 1920s or 1930s. Bananas were grown in this area during the banana boom. Owner: Mrs J. Dukeson. (Varman 1984: 255)	Secondary
70. Bay Street	Road	Norfolk		c. 1968 Norfolk Island Map	An area on the north where wild mustard used to grow. This plant, similar to silverbeet, still grows	Secondary
71. Bedrock	House	Norfolk	Duncombe Bay	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
72. Beefsteak	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Origins of this name are unknown among the Norfolk Island community. This was likely cattle rearing country at some stage. (Nash 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
73. Beefsteak Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 72	This road needs to be formally named. It has been used and known as such for many years. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
74. Beeras	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
75. Bellevue	House	Norfolk	Beefsteak Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
76. Bellie's	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Joshua Nash	Bev McCoy's nickname is 'Bellie' (Joshua Nash)	Primary
77. Ben Fisher's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
78. Bennett's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
79. Bennett's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	[...] Stephen Christian was granted Lot 6 in 1867. Stephen Christian sold eight acres to Frank Burton who in turn gave it to Agnes C.F. Burton in 1911. In 1913 the property was sold to Albert Randall, a settler from Canada. According to the Randall family the house was built by the Burtons. It appears that the house was built in 1911 or soon after. Albert Randall sold the house and property to G.A. Laird in 1926 and took his family to New Zealand. Bennett must have owned the property after Laird. After Bennett, Ernest Christian became owner and thoroughly renovated the house during the late 1960s or early 1970s. The property was inherited by Mr Howard Christian and is at present leased to Paul and Carol Osborne. [...] Varman 1984: 41-45	Secondary
80. Bennett's Flat	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This is one of the few Second Settlement area names to have survived well into the Third Settlement. Many of the older generation still refer to the area as Bennett's Flat. [...] (Varman 1984: 231)	Secondary
81. Berry's Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 100	Known by this name for a considerable period after Mrs Berry Chapman who resided here for many years. It is recommended that the road be named in her honour.	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
82. Bert Wells	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The house is reputed to have been built by William Taylor for one of his daughters. The house appears to have been built during the 1880s. According to the older members of the community, the house was once used as a shop and another account suggests that it may have been used as a rest home. A surveyor, Mr Gould, locally known as "Papa Gould" lived in the house during the late 1930s and early 1940s. The Wells family lived in the house after Mr Gould. The house passed from Bert Wells to his daughter Nancy. Owner: Mrs Nancy Smith (Varman 1984: 152-153)	Secondary
83. Bertie Jules Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was the home of Benjamin Claudies Christian, (1832-1897). Benjamin left the house to his son Julius Christopher Christian, (1862-1919). [...] Owner: Mr. B. Hutton, occupier. Mrs F. Mc Rae, owner. (Varman 1984: 139)	Secondary
84. Betsy Kilbourne's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Patteson Quintal's'	Varman 1984	This was the original home of Robert Patteson Quintal and was built around the time when he received the grant, (1880). Upon the death of Patteson Quintal in 1926, the house appears to have been shared equally between his daughters Elizabeth Quintal and Agnes. (Varman 1984: 95-96)	Secondary
85. Betsy Young Cottage	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
86. Big Fance	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5	The old island term for the cemetery, so called due to the fact that the entire cemetery is fenced to exclude livestock. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
87. Big Flat	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary
88. Big House	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk	House	Fox 1958, p. 218		Secondary
89. Big Kid	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 6		Secondary
90. Bill's	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Tardy Nov 2009	Named after Billy Pumper	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
91. Bird Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Australian Government map	Named after the proliferation of sea birds whose droppings mark the rock white. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
92. Bird Rock Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992	Suspected to be named after a cockpit used for sawing as Norfolk pines used to be cut and milled in	Secondary
93. Birdsey's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
94. Bishop Patteson Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 99	As this was part of the Melanesian Mission lands it is recommended that the road be named after the First Bishop of Melanesia and to honour his martyrdom.	Secondary
95. Bishop's Court	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This building is reputed to have been the residence of the Bishop of Melanesia. However, the Bishop's residence and the first St Barnabas' chapel, (a combined structure), was located to the north-west of the present Chapel. [...] it might emerge that the structure was moved to its present site around 1920. During the 1920s and 1930s it was used as the Island's hospital and now is functioning as a restaurant and venue for various occasions. [...] Owner: M/s [sic] Marie Bailey. (Varman 1984: 183-184)	Secondary
96. Black Bank	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
97. Black Coral Drop Off	Placename	Phillip		Photo of a sign presented by Brooke Walsh (? Watson)		Primary
98. Black Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
99. Blackstone behind Phillip	Placename	Phillip	Southernmost rock (not shown on map)	Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
100. Bligh Street	Road	Norfolk		c. 1968 Norfolk Island Map		Secondary
101. Blimp Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was the home of the eldest surviving son of George Francis Mason Evans, George Rowland Sinclair [sic] Evans, (1861 - late 1940s, he was known as Roland Evans). The family traditions and land transactions suggest a late 1880s date for the house. The original grantee, Jonathan Adams, sold the 51 acre allotment to Charles Christian in 1863. Charles Christian's daughter, "Caroline Evans", (Catherine, or Kitty, wife of George F. M. Evans), received the twelve acres upon which the house was built in 1887. Her son built the house for himself and family, (or had the house built). The family consisted of his wife, Evangeline Buffett (and later Jane Adams) and at least eleven children. The house was inherited by Rowland's son Ernest Evans who then left it to his nephew "Blimp" Christian. [...] Owner: Mr. "Blimp" Christian. (Varman 1984: 114-116)	Secondary
102. Bloody Bridge	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin	A large convict built stone bridge, the purported site of the massacre of an overseer by convicts, who walled the overseer's body into the bridge, being discovered when the blood of the slain man seeped through the stonework, hence the name 'bloody bridge.' (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
103. Bloody Bridge Road	Road	Norfolk	See 'Driver Christian Road'	Highlands Airtel		Secondary
104. Blow Hole	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
105. Blue Nanwi Stone	Placename	Phillip	Also called 'Pier'.	Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Large rock on the shoreline where the fish Blue Nanwi (<i>Girella cyamea</i>) are caught. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
106. Boars	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
107. Boat Passage	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
108. Bob Edwards	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
109. Boo-boo's Paddock	Placename	Norfolk	Same area as Alec's Paddock, Doodsie's Paddock	Rachel Borg April 2009	Large flat paddock leading up to Taylors Road owned by Ben (Booboo) and Naomi (Doodsie) Christian, belonged to Alec Nobbs, his house was the one Ray Spræg lived in. We knew it as Boo-boo's Paddock or Doodsie's Paddock, older Islanders knew it as Alec's Paddock. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
110. Boomerang	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Mixture of everything - sharks, cod, red snapper, trevally (Norf'k: offie) - David Graham, Tardy Evans November 2009	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Just below where Sandy Horrocks lives at Cascade, right where you turn from Cascade Rd. to Harpers Rd. the road is curved like a boomerang and just as you get down to the High Point (Down ar High Point) you look back to Cascade and there was a white pine stump in the valley down at High Point. Approx. two miles out. Don't know who named it.	Primary
111. Bounty Lodge	House	Norfolk		'A Detailed Map of Norfolk Island' c. 1970		Secondary
112. Bounty Street	Road	Norfolk		KAVHA Conservation Management Plan, First Draft, 2001		Secondary
113. Box Canyon	Placename	Phillip				
114. Brabyn's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Archaeological Zoning Plan 1997-1998		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
115. Branka House	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was reportedly built or rebuilt around 1880 by the stonemason to the Melanesian Mission, William Taylor. The house was either built from materials taken from a convict built structure and whole parts reassembled on the site or it was built out of a late Second Settlement structure built after 1846. [...] Owners: Mr and Mrs P. and M. Guile. (Varman 1984: 223-225) I think it was the home of Benjamin Brancker Nobbs (the first) and Harriet Sybil King (relative of Phillip Gidley King) (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
116. Brassie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
117. Bridge Track	Road	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
118. Bridle Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992	A circuitous route over the mountain from Red Road to Captain Cook monument, originally a narrow track negotiable only by horse (i.e. bridle) not by horse and cart. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
119. Broak Road	Road	Norfolk	Located near Gary Robinson's property.	Community meeting April 2009	Named after the families that live on the road - Buffett, Robinson, O'Connor, Adams and King [Broak]. (Community meeting April 2009)	Primary
120. Broken Bridge	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	This name was used in the 1858 survey, the 1859 description of grants and also the 1860 map of Norfolk Island. Whether the name dates back to the Second Settlement or not, is not known. However, it does indicate that there was a bridge in this location before the Pitcairn Islanders arrived. The present bridge is constructed of concrete with a culvert of reinforced concrete. The earlier bridge was washed away in the "Flood" of May 1936. Possibly the only early part of the bridge to survive are the embankments to either side. Some of the stone used to retain the walls come from structures unrelated to the bridge. (Varman 1984: 98-99)	Secondary
121. Broken Bridge Creek	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
122. Broken Bridge Road	Road	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
123. Broodie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
124. Brookie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
125. Brud McCoy's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The roller over the well survives. The former croquet lawn, between the road and the cottage, may still be discerned. (This lawn was once a very popular venue for the game on the Island). [...] The house was built by or for Phillip Mc Coy [sic] and passed to Victor (Brud) Mc Coy. The present owner is believed to be a Mrs Stephens. The house is vacant and has been for some years. (Varman 1984: 91-92)	Secondary
126. Brudsey's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
127. Bubby's Corner	House	Norfolk	Music Valley	Nash photos 2008		Primary
128. Bucks Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
129. Buffett's Pole Road	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	This was referred to in the Grant of 1859 to Abraham Blatchley Quintal as the road traversed the trigonometrical station known as Buffetts Pole. Application has been received to change the name to either Christian's Court or Christian's Lane. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
130. Buffetts Pole	Placename	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008		Primary
131. Buffetts Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 8, 9	Previous request to name this 'David Buffett Road' caused considerable angst amongst those who access this road who were of a different lineage. This name has been recommended as a compromise (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
132. Bullock Hut Flat	Placename	Norfolk		1887 Plan of Norfolk Island Shewing Grants and Subdivision		Secondary
133. Bullocks Hut	House	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
134. Bullocks Hut Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 102	I can't vouch for the origin of this, however I have seen photos of teams of bullocks pulling logs so it is possible that the hut that they kept the bullocks was in this area. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
135. Bulls Block	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
136. Bumboras	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Officially known as Cresswell Bay this place is also known colloquially today as 'Bumbys'. At low tide this bay has a number of islets or bumbora which become exposed and make great rock fishing spots. Islanders often 'gu rama' here as well, that is, collect shellfish and other sea edibles on the rocks in the moonlight. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
137. Bumboras Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
138. Bumboras Road	Road	Norfolk		Jason tourist map		Secondary
139. Bun Pine	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Today the main shopping and business district. Called burnt pine because there literally was a burnt pine and 'wi gwen tu ban pain' was 'we are going to the burnt pine'. The burnt pine no longer exists but the name remains. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
140. Bun Pine Alley	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 81		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
141. Burglars Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 87	This road vests in the estate of Nathaniel Quintal. However it has been known as Burglar's Lane and should be formally named.	Secondary
142. Burial Ground Gulley	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This name is used as early as the 1830s, certainly by 1838 when Ensign Best was on the Island. It is reputed that a cemetery existed in this area, however it could have been named Burial Ground Gulley because it approached the cemetery on the way to Kingston. A "Catholic" cemetery was established in an unspecified area during the early 1840s and this valley may have been chosen as the site. I have found no evidence of a cemetery. However, some years ago some human remains were said to have been uncovered whilst digging a water course. (Varman 1984: 162)	Secondary
143. Burn's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was a 20 acres farm located across Lots 143 and 144. (See Arrowsmith map). (Varman 1984: 265)	Secondary
144. Burrell's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
145. Butter Factory Corner	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The Cottee's factory may have been established during the late 1930s and the Butter factory some time after. About twenty years ago, the corner here used to be referred to as "Buttery Factory Corner". (Varman 1984: 130).	Secondary
146. By the Bay	House	Norfolk	Martins Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
147. Byron's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	(1) Line up Black Bank with one little oak tree in the cliff, and (2) the Moo-oo Stone and Red Stone in line with each other. That's very close in to Black Bank. Named such as this is where Byron Burrell used to live.	Primary
148. Cabbage Pool	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
149. Caleb Quintal Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 92	The Grant for portion 74 was to Caleb Quintal and it is recommended that the road be named in his honour.	Secondary
150. Callmorla	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
151. Campbell's Corner	Placename	Norfolk	Current location of EcoNorfolk property. Corner of Anson Bay Road and Mission Road.	Denise Quintal April 2009, Museum Cultural Map (#109)		Primary
152. Captain Cook Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 108-110	It is recommended that the combined roads be named in honour of the great explorer whose memorial is located at the end of the road.	Secondary
153. Captain Quintal Drive	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 91	Named after Captain Sarnum Quintal, his house 'Sarnum' is at the end of this road. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
154. Cascade	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Known as this since the penal settlements due to the 'cascade' of water which once fell there. There was also a place known as Little Cascade. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
155. Cascade Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
156. Cascade Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	[Phillipsburgh] seems to have developed out of a farming settlement called Cascade Farm. (Varman 1984: 294)	Secondary
157. Cascade Pier	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
158. Cascade Pier	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Landing Rock'	Varman 1984	The present pier is built around and over the original Landing Rock. The Landing Rock was used from the earliest First Settlement times. By 1793 a timber wharf was built over the rock to connect the shore. [...] The first concreting of the pier was done in the mid to late 1930s. (Varman 1984: 291)	Secondary
159. Cascade Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
160. Cascade Road	Road	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
161. Cascadyd, Village of	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	On the 30th of April 1791 the 'Village of Cascadyd', also called 'Cascady', was named Phillipsburgh after the Governor. (Varman 1984: 294)	Secondary
162. Cathedral Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Cathedral-like pillar formation of this rock earns it its name. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
163. Cats Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 62		Secondary
164. Cats Lane	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	This name has been used for a number of years and needs to be formally named. Dedicated as a public road on 24 February 2006. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
165. Cave	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A section of the coast which features a large cave at sea level. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
166. Cemetery Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
167. Cemetry Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
168. Chalgrove Park	House	Norfolk		Nash photo 2007		Primary
169. Channers Corner	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
170. Chapman's Hill	Placename	Norfolk		Archaeological Zoning Plan 1997-1998		Secondary
171. Charlgrove	House	Norfolk	Douglas Drive	Varman 1984	[...] The original Charlgrove was built as the house of Charles Rossiter, or perhaps even for his father Thomas Rossiter. By the mid 1920s it had become one of the most successful of the guest houses on the Island and had tennis courts and extensive stables. [...] Owner: Mr R. Barrett. (Varman 1984: 274)	Secondary
172. Charlie Bailey's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
173. Charlie Evans'	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The house appears to have been built by George Francis Mason Evans, the original grantee of Lot 29 before 1909, (when he wrote his Will). Andrew Evans may have removed [sic] to this house between 1910 and 1915, when the house became legally his. On Andrew's death, his wife Phoebe Charlotte nee Bataille lived in the house until her death in 1954, after which date the house passed to their sons Charles Leopold Evans. The house is now in the hands of Charles' second eldest son, Peter Evans. (Varman 1984: 111)	Secondary
174. Charlie Fish Hill	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel	Home of Charles Fish (American whaler) which stood at the crest of the hill (known today as Queen Elizabeth Avenue). Charlie Fish's house was 'Torrie Glen'. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
175. Charlie Nobbs	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Charles Chase Ray 'CCR' Nobbs, established a general store on this site. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
176. Charlie Rossiters	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
177. Charlie Rossiters Paddock	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Charlie Rossiter was son of Thomas Rossiter. Charlie Rossiter received a 50 acre land grant and on that land he mentored the Islanders as he strove to help them achieve their potential and broaden their horizons towards social and economic gain. He became a very successful farmer, grazier, butcher and businessman and with his wife Ethel (nee Robinson) owned and operated a popular guesthouse 'Charlgrove' during the days when passengers only came on the Pacific island trading vessels and stayed several weeks until the ship made its return journey. At one time the islanders held annual horse races in Rossiter's Paddock. Rossiter's Paddock is in the area known as known as 'Hungry Flats'. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
178. Charlotte Field	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	[...] The area was named in June 1790 but it appears that the whole area became to be known as Queensborough. [...] (Varman 1984: 285)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
179. Charlotte Gondon's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This is an Island home on an asymmetrical plan. It may date to the early years of this century. Not examined. Owner: Mrs C. Gondon (Varman 1984: 237)	Secondary
180. Char-Unnoo Mar	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
181. Chibbits	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
182. Chimney Hill	Placename	Norfolk		KAVHA Conservation Management Plan, First Draft, 2001		Secondary
183. Chimney Hill Quarry	Placename	Norfolk		KAVHA Conservation Management Plan, First Draft, 2001		Secondary
184. Chiswick Cottage	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
185. Chood Buffett's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Morros'	Varman 1984	This was a Melanesian Mission home which was sold after the mission closed in 1920. Mr Sid H. Christian remembers that around 1920 he helped to take the house to its present site on a giant sledge. [...] Owner: Mr M. Tilley (Varman 1984: 249)	Secondary
186. Christians Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 29		Secondary
187. Christians of Bucks Point	House	Norfolk	Martins Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
188. Christine McCoy Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 117	This was access to the land held by her [Christine McCoy] for many years. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
189. Clara Jellie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
190. Clive Chapman's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Edward Nobbs'	Varman 1984	This home was built by Edgar Nobbs by the late 1890s. He had obtained a lease on the land in 1892. [...] Owner: Mr. C. Chapman.	Secondary
191. Cloudlands	House	Norfolk	J. E. Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
192. Cobbs Paddock	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Owned by Enoch Cobbcroft 'Cobby' Robinson, husband of Aunt Jemima and son of Isacc Robinson and Hannah Quintal, original grant to Isacc Robinson from which the Stone fer George and Isacc is named. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
193. Cobby Robinson Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 75		Secondary
194. Cockpit	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin	Suspected to be named after a cockpit used for sawing as Norfolk pines used to be cut and milled in this area. Cockpit Waterfall is also in this area. (Colleen Crane April 2009)	Secondary
195. Cockpit Waterfall	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
196. Codrington	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk	House	Fox 1958, p. 218		Secondary
197. Collins Bay	Placename	Phillip		Honey McCoy		
198. Collins Head	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary
199. Collins Head Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
200. Commandant's Garden	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This area is within Orange Vale and is included on the 1842 map of Norfolk Island by Arrowsmith. It was located in the vicinity of the giant bamboo. Owner: Mr. W. Sanders. (Varman 1984: 286)	Secondary
201. Congress Point	Placename	Norfolk	Former name of 'Queen Elizabeth Lookout'	Rachel Borg April 2009	Now known as Queen Elizabeth Lookout - I found a handwritten note in one of Helen McCoy's old books. Helen was a teacher who married into the Island. She was very knowledgeable and meticulous and loved history. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
202. Connecting Point	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
203. Convict Road	Road	Norfolk		Varman 1984	[...] It was apparently the former road leading down to the Lower Garden from the road leading to the Cascade Lookout [...] (Varman 1984: 37) The name 'Convict Road' was used again; "Along the slight gully, the remains of an old unsurfaced road may be seen. This road has not been used in living memory, (but was almost certainly used by loggers, judging by the number of saw pit remains.)" (Varman 1984: 50)	Secondary
204. Convict Store	Fishing ground	Nepean	Trumpeter, kingfish, cod (flowerpot, horny bucket)	David Graham, Tardy Evans	(1) You take a line out from the west end of Nepean in line with the Convict Store and (2) you take a line from the east end of Nepean in line with the cattle track underneath Queen Elizabeth Lookout. Named because it uses the Convict Store in the mark.	Primary
205. Convict's Garden	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Music Walley'	KAVHA Conservation Management Plan, First Draft, 2001	Former name for 'Music Walley.'	Secondary
206. Coolamon	House	Norfolk		Nash photos 2008		Primary
207. Cornish's	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk	Refers to a place that Julia Farr used to walk to.	Rachael McConnell April 2009	Named after Harry 'Cornish' Quintal.	Primary
208. Cotton	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989		Secondary
209. Country Road	Road	Norfolk		Highlands-Airtel	This road was one of the first roads built which took the Islanders from 'town' (Kingston) up-country to their land grants. Round country 'yu gwen raun kantri wieh f' get deya?' (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
210. Cow Bay	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A cow whale was seen suckling a calf in this bay during early whaling days. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
211. Coyne Cove	Placename	Phillip				
212. Crack, The	Fishing ground	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008	No marks. Just fish out from the reef at Nepean. 100 yards off the reef at Nepean. (Trevally) (Bear and Tardy Nov 2009)	Primary
213. Crocodile's Eye	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Fishermen went out on this line off Cascade, until they could look back to Norfolk and see the 'Crocodile's Eye'. There are no marks as such.	Primary
214. Cromer	House	Norfolk	J. E. Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
215. Cross ar Water	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	There may have been a timber bridge here in the 1840s. The area is very swampy which made the survey difficult. No remains were found. The road along this area was probably used as a short-cut to the Cascade Station from the Longridge Station, Mount Pitt and the New Farm and Main Gulley Farm areas. (Varman 1984: 54) When Islanders say 'wi gwen cros a wortá' it is a specific place; the bridge/creek at the bottom of the valley that separates New Cascade and Cascade Roads. You have to 'cross the water' to get to Cascade or vice versa. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
216. Crown Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
217. Crystal Pool	Placename	Norfolk	Present name for 'Aa Big Pool'	Edgecombe-Martin	Modern term for "Aa [The] Big Pool" at Rocky Point, named because of the beautiful crystal clear water on a calm day. The Big Pool was where Islanders used to go after neap tide to collect sea salt. It is a favoured swimming and fishing spot but is treated with great respect and caution by Islanders. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
218. Cullen's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Archaeological Zoning Plan 1997-1998		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
219. Cuppa Tea's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map	Named after a fellow 'Cup a Tea' Buffett who lived in the area. He received his nickname thanks to his dark skin colour. Others say he always welcomed people to his house for a cup of tea hence his nickname. In the Red Road area. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Secondary
220. Cutt 'a' Stiks	House	Norfolk	Cutters Corn	Nash photos 2007		Primary
221. Cutters Corn	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 31	This road has been referred to [by] this name for a number of years and is commonly known as such. Needs to be named. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
222. D.F. Paddock	Placename	Norfolk		Merv Buffett April 2009	The D.F. Paddock stands for 'Direction Finder paddock'. There used to be an all metal road from the airport to this area in Steels Point. Here there was a station for the monitoring of aircraft movements. Planes used to be equipped here. It had its own generator and the plant was manned 24 hours a day with three shifts of eight hours each. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Primary
223. Da Side Fe Auntie Ave	House	Norfolk	Grassy Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
224. Da Side Fe Menzies	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A shoreline fishing location named after Henry Menzies. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
225. Da Stone Fa Murrays	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
226. Daisy Buffett's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Tommy Snar's'	Varman 1984	This cottage was built in 1920 or 1921 from building materials taken from the Melanesian Mission complex. [...] Owner: Daisy Buffett. (Varman 1984: 276)	Secondary
227. Dar Billy Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
228. Dar Cabbage	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	A waterfall once ran down the cliff face under which wild edible cabbages once grew (Albert Buffett). This waterfall has not run for a long time and the cabbages are no longer there but the name remains. The Cabbage is a favourite fishing spot for families out at Steeles Point. When Islanders says 'wind in ar cabbage' it is the prevailing wind, which stays a long time and is no good for fishing and burns and dries out crops (car duu f' fishen en el bun a crop) (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
229. Dar Cave	Placename	Phillip				
230. Dar Cave in Spin Bay	Placename	Phillip		David Graham Dec 2009	Cave in northern part of Spin Bay	Primary
231. Dar Chinaman	Placename	Norfolk		Merv Buffett April 2009	A name for the old convict quarry near Lone Pine in Emily Bay. They used to quarry the coral and used to use a 'chinaman' machine which was stationed in this area to load the trucks. A chinaman is a ramp that sifts stone aggregate. It was built so that the trucks could back underneath it. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Primary
232. Dar fer Yeaman's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	(same as Eddy's)	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Variant name for 'Eddy's'	Primary
233. Dar Fig Valley	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Not a reliable fishing ground. Sometimes a lot, sometimes nothing.	David Graham, Tardy Evans	Anchor about 200/300 yards offshore from where the Fig Valley is near Old Hundred Acres. Can drift a little in this area and catch fish, no real marks as such. Tardy doesn't like this area so much, Bear thinks it's ok.	Primary
234. Dar Flat Side	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
235. Dar Flat Side	Placename	Norfolk		Colleen Crane 6/4/09		Primary
236. Dar Horg	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter, trevally, small cod and gropper	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Off Cascade. Named such as when you look back at the cliff it looks like a big black hog (pig) lying down. You line the deformation in the cliff up with Ar Red Stone. Approximately three miles out	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
237. Dar Horseshoe	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
238. Dar Hump	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
239. Dar Log	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
240. Dar Melky Tree (The Milky Tree)	Placename	Norfolk		Merv Buffett April 2009	A well-known tree just past the large gas containers at Ball Bay. The Milky Tree grows right down to the water. This landmark is used to line up the offshore fishing ground named 'Out on ar Melky Tree' (Out on the Milky Tree) (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Primary
241. Dar Moo-oo	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Location name for the waters, beach and foreshore on the northern side of the Island. The foreshore is densely covered with Moo-oo, the sharp edged sedge <i>Cyperus lucidus</i> . (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
242. Dar Mustard	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	An area on the north where wild mustard used to grow. This plant, similar to silverbeet, still grows in different parts of the Island today and is very good to eat as a green. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
243. Dar Neck	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
244. Dar Pudding	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Possibly named as the black stones in the area by the shore resembled large cake-like puddings. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
245. Dar Saw Pit	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
246. Dar Shed	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
247. Dar Side Fa Farmers	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
248. Dar Side Fe Gels	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A shoreline fishing spot used by Gel (Gerald) Allen's [sic] in the late 1800s. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
249. Dar Side Fe Lindsays	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Shoreline fishing spot with small inlet. Grassy steep slopes behind. Also known as 'Round West End'. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
250. Dar Side Fe Murrays	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Shoreline fishing location. A small rocky point on the edge of a small islet. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
251. Dar Side for Beras	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
252. Dar Steps	Placename	Norfolk		Boyd Adams Feb 2008	Name given to the concrete steps leading down to the rocky area at Headstone just north of the tip. There are thought to be around 50 steps and this is one possible history for the placename 'Half Century' in the same area labelled on the Edgecombe-Martin map	Primary
253. Dar Stone Fa Lindsays	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
254. Dar Stool	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The inlet where boats usually land people on the Island. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
255. Dar Target	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	A place in the KAVHA area located nowadays on the current golf course which was used to store ammunitions and arms during the war. They used to do a lot of shooting in this area. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
256. Dar Tomato	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The bay, beach and steep slopes on the western side of the Island. Wild tomatoes grow halfway up the steep slope/cliff. Chopie Evans climbed the cliff and left his hat there to prove he had completed the climb. Was referred to as Coyne Cove during the rabbit control program. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
257. Dave Bailey's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Elouera'	Varman 1984	Although it is said that the house was built around 1920 by Charles and Herbert Bailey, the style and some of the details appear to be much earlier. It may be possible that the materials or even substantial portions of the house were built from materials taken from the Melanesian Mission when the buildings were auctioned in 1920. The house was erected for Herbert Bailey and his family. Owner: Mr Gary Mc Coy. (Varman 1984: 156-157)	Secondary
258. David Buffett's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was the home of David Buffett, a son of the first Buffett to arrive on Pitcairn Island, (1823). The home remains in a fairly original state. Mrs Jean Mitchell, a great grand daughter of David Buffett, (aged 68), states that the house is exactly as she knew it as a child. (Owner: Mr. David Buffett, (Chief Minister). Mr Arthur Buffett has occupied the house for many years. (Varman 1984: 52)	Secondary
259. Davies Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 27	The title to this road remains vested in her estate. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
260. Dead Rat Lane	Road	Norfolk	Now known as 'Mitchell's Lane'	Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
261. Deep Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
262. Deep Water	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
263. Dem Arches	Placename	Norfolk	See 'The Arches'	Joy Cochrane March 2009		Primary
264. Dem Mummy	Placename	Norfolk		Merv Buffett April 2009	The collection of grain storage silos from the convict times just above Islander Lodge on the way down to Kingston on Middlegate Road immediately behind the main government buildings. In the old days they didn't have concrete lids on them but they have recently been sealed. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Primary
265. Devon House	House	Norfolk	Queen Elizabeth Drive	Nash photos 2007		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
266. Devon	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The house was built by Charles Bailey around 1925 for Miss Charlotte Bailey, (Mum Bailey). It is now occupied by George and Dorothy Bailey nee Christian. Owner: Mr M. Christian Bailey (Varman 1984: 154)	Secondary
267. Devon Cottage	House	Norfolk	Queen Elizabeth Avenue	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007	The inlet where boats usually land people on the Island. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management	Secondary
268. Devon House	House	Norfolk	Queen Elizabeth Avenue	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
269. Dew Pond	Placename	Norfolk	Same feature as 'Hennies Lake'	Varman 1984		Secondary
270. Dewud's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
271. Dick Bens'	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
272. Dickie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
273. Diddy's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
274. Dinah Quintal Cottage	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
275. Dixie	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	The name of a sheep station in the Steels Point area of Norfolk. There is now a sign stating 'Dixie' on a house out near Tarries Paddock in the same location. If you were looking for a lost cow in the past, you would say you 'saw it out Dixie way'. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Secondary
276. Doodoo's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
277. Doodsie's Paddock	Placename	Norfolk	Same area as Alec's Paddock, Boo-boo's Paddock	Rachel Borg April 2009	Large flat paddock leading up to Taylors Road owned by Ben (Booboo) and Naomi (Doodsie) Christian, belonged to Alec Nobbs, his house was the one Ray Spraege lived in. We knew it as Boo-boo's Paddock or Doodsie's Paddock, older Islanders knew it as Alec's Paddock. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
278. Dorby Corner	Placename	Norfolk		'A Detailed Map of Norfolk Island' c. 1970	Location name for the waters, beach and foreshore on the northern side of the Island. The foreshore	Secondary
279. Dorby Corner	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
280. Dorcas Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 89	Known as Dorcas Place. It is recommended that the road be named in the honour of Dorcas Buffett. Title to the road vest in the Commonwealth.	Secondary
281. Dot Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
282. Douglas Drive	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Named after an engineer which came to construct the airport during the Second World War, the entire valley was 'dug-out' to build and level the airport. It was through this area and over the top towards the chapel that was known as 'Orange Grove' during the penal settlement. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
283. Down a Town	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	The Norfolk name for Kingston and the entire Kingston and Arthur's Vale Heritage Area (KAVHA). It is the largest low lying area on the island. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
284. Down ar Graveyard	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Hoem nanwi (dreamfish), trevally Pronunciation: stress on second syllable of 'graveyard' in Norfolk	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Not mark as such but just anchor a few hundred yards off from Cemetery Bay. Don't know who named it. Alternate name - Up ar Sand	Primary
285. Down ar Roseapple	Placename	Norfolk		Community meeting April 2009	Roseapple is next door to Annie Dongs, 'Down ar Roseapple' was named such as there were big roseapple trees growing there which were planted during one of the convict settlements. (Community meeting April 2009)	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
286. Down ar Sand	Placename	Nepean		David Graham Dec 2009	Beach on Neapean	Primary
287. Down Dem Steps	Placename	Norfolk		c. 1968 Norfolk Island Map		Secondary
288. Down Frazier	Placename	Norfolk		c. 1968 Norfolk Island Map		Secondary
289. Down to the East	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter. Flat country [seas] out in this area. (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Bev has never been there. They used passage between Setters Point and Lone Pine and they lined that up with Rocky Point. They would run to the east until you can see the petrol tanks down at Ball Bay clear at Frank Bates' place is. Named by some of the younger blokes, Michael and others. In some of these marks you could fish for a mile or two square in the general area and in either direction once you are on the mark.	Primary
290. Downs Folly	House	Norfolk	Beefsteak Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
291. Driver Christian Road	Road	Norfolk	'Highlands Airtel' refers to this as Bloody Bridge Road	Edgecombe-Martin	Named after Charles Driver Christian (b. Tahiti) who along with George Hunn Nobbs was the the Island composer of Gesthemene. It is said Driver Christian saw the words to the hymn on the wall of his room in a vision/dream. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
292. Drummond's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was located on Lots 15 and 30. Plans were prepared for convict accommodation for 'Drummond's Flat' but the structure appears to have been built at the Cascade Station. It is possible that the area taken up by Cascade Station could have been known by Drummond's Flat or the authorities on the Island could have decided that the accommodation for the prisoners would be best located at the Cascade Station. [...] it must be assumed that the farm was established before [1840]. (Varman 1984: 85)	Secondary
293. Duffys Whale	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
294. Dulcibella Cottage	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
295. Dum Bro Ell	House	Norfolk	Rooty Hill Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
296. Duncombe Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
297. Duncombe Bay Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
298. Duncombe Road	Road	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 3		Secondary
299. Dunroamin	House	Norfolk	Headstone Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
300. Dykes	Placename	Phillip				
301. Earl of Limerick's House	House	Norfolk	Former site. Same site as 'Superintendent of Agriculture's Quarters'	Varman 1984	The plans for this house were prepared by H.W. Lugard in April 1839 and from Lugard's plan of the Longridge Station of December 1840, it appears that it was completed by that time. [...] The house survived during the Third Settlement because it became the home of a family from Pitcairn Island, Thomas Buffett and his wife Louisa nee Quintal. The house was locally known as the "Earl of Limerick's House" because the late nineteenth [sic] century Earl was supposed to have been born there. (I haven't been able to confirm this story but it appears that the heir was born on the Island). (Varman 1984: 179) Was demolished during the construction of the Airport during WWII. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
302. Earsdon Farm	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Main Gully'	Varman 1984	This was a large farm consisting of about 190 acres. The farm was crossed by at least four rough roads or tracks. The southern end of the farm had been cultivated since First Settlement times. (Varman 1984: 121)	Secondary
303. Earsdon or Main Gully	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
304. East End	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Easternmost tip of the Island. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
305. East End	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
306. Ed Howards	House	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008		Primary
307. Eddie's	Fishing ground	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008 gave name and location, David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009 gave possible history	Probably named after Eddie Yeaman. He worked in the saw mill on New Cascade Road	Primary
308. Edgar Nobbs'	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Clive Chapman's'.	Varman 1984	This home was built by Edgar Nobbs by the late 1890s. He had obtained a lease on the land in 1892. [...] Owner: Mr. C. Chapman.	Secondary
309. Edward Young Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
310. Edwin Ryland Evans Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 45	Edwin Ryland Evans was a long time resident in this area and it is recommended that the road be named in his honour. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
311. Elephant Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006	A descriptive name of a large rocky feature just offshore on the northern coast which resembles an elephant's head and trunk. (Nash 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
312. Elouera	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Dave Bailey's'	Varman 1984	Although it is said that the house was built around 1920 by Charles and Herbert Bailey, the style and some of the details appear to be much earlier. It may be possible that the materials or even substantial portions of the house were built from materials taken from the Melanesian Mission when the buildings were auctioned in 1920. The house was erected for Herbert Bailey and his family. Owner: Mr Gary Mc Coy. (Varman 1984: 156-157)	Secondary
313. Elsie Rad's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Ot Christian's'	Varman 1984	The land on which the house stands was inherited by Austin Christian from his father Ephraim. Mousha Evans, who lives nearby, remember that the house was built during the 1920s, (which the physical examination agreed with). The house passed on to Austin's daughter, who married Stanley Quintal. (Varman 1984: 86)	Secondary
314. Em Steps	Placename	Nepean	See 'The Convict Steps'	Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
315. Emily Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
316. Enna Taell's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
317. Entie Chapman's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
318. Ephraim Christian Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 34, 37	Title to this road RD34 vests in his name and RD37 [Ephraim Christian Road] was conveyed to him by Fletcher Christian Nobbs. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
319. Ernie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
320. Et Christian's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Frankie Christian's'	Varman 1984	This large modern period style house was built by or for Et Christian in the 1920s, according to the family. Along with the Bailey home of the 1920s, this building would be one of the first consciously modern style homes to be built on the Island. (...) Owner: Mr. F. Christian. (Varman 1984: 84)	Secondary
321. Eureka	House	Norfolk	Mill Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
322. Evansville	House	Norfolk	Near Bloody Bridge	Nash photos 2007		Primary
323. Evansville	Placename	Norfolk		'A Detailed Map of Norfolk Island' c. 1970		Secondary
324. Everett's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	Only the basic core of this house remains. [...] Owner: Mr. Wong. (Varman 1984: 262)	Secondary
325. Excelsa Avenue	Road	Norfolk	An alternate name for Mill Road.	Hoare 2005, p. 40 [Map]		Secondary
326. Fardus Pool	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
327. Fat Gulley	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This area is identified by the 1840 survey of the Arrowsmith map (Varman 1984: 105)	Secondary
328. Feather's Nest	House	Norfolk	Mission Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
329. Feathergill's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Plan of Norfolk Island Shewing the General Nature of the Ground c 1841		Secondary
330. Fenua Maitai	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
331. Fern Tree Gulley Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was a farming area of 23 acres identified from the Arrowsmith map of 1842, (survey of 1840). (Varman 1984: 184)	Secondary
332. Ferny Lane	Road	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5	Named after the large tree ferns which once lined this road (photograph in the Lions Club historic photograph collection), ferns possibly removed during WWII airport construction. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
333. Fifteen Minute Bank	Fishing ground	Norfolk	You get massive trumpeter there, you might only get a dozen but they will be good ones.	Greg Quintal Feb 2008	Fifteen minutes by boat north of the Horseshoe, lined up in the same way as Horseshoe - Phillip with west end of Norfolk. The reef comes up quite suddenly here, sometimes can get 15-20 fish there.	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
334. Fifty Eight	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5	An area past Red Road 'up in a stick' on a track leading to Captain Cook's Monument. It is located near the beginning of the Bridle Track which gives wonderful views out over Red Stone and the northern coast of Norfolk. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
335. Fig Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
336. First Valley	Placename	Phillip				
337. First Valley East End	Placename	Phillip				
338. First West End Valley	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Was referred to 'Red Road Valley' (after the colour of the soil) during the rabbit eradication program. The remains of an old hut (built around the 1930s) are found on the north-eastern side of the valley. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
339. First West Valley	Placename	Phillip				
340. Fishermans Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 106	This road has been known as this for a number of years and it is recommended that it be formally named. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
341. Fishermens Hut	Placename	Phillip				
342. Fishing Hut ('Fishing' is added)	Placename	Phillip				
343. Fitzzy's Farm	House	Norfolk	The Village	Nash photos 2008		Primary
344. Flagstaff	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	In all settlements the flagstaffs were used to communicate with ships. The name of the Kingston one encapsulates the whole of the end of this ridge, including where Gaye and Diddles live. The flagstaffs continued to be used by the Pitcairn Islanders to signal ships, especially with regard to which was the more favourable side of the Island to unload. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
345. Flagstaff (Anson Bay)	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	I was personally unaware until recently that this was also called Flagstaff although I understand that in years gone by when conditions were unsuitable at both jettys cargo was sometimes off-loaded at Anson Bay and livestock swum ashore. I have heard a few Islanders say this is a 'fraidy side' but that the hi-hi are big. Islanders who live and have grown up in this area will know more. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
346. Flagstone Cottage	House	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
347. Flat Reef	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
348. Flat Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin	These large flat platforms are favoured rock fishing spots. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
349. Fleeman's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map	This was a turn of the century, or slightly later house. [...] this house was also demolished and only	Secondary
350. Footsteps	House	Norfolk	Mount Pitt Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
351. Forsyths Place	House	Norfolk	Selwyn Pine Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
352. Fothergill's	Placename	Norfolk	Same site as 'Victoria Farm'	Varman 1984	Its inclusion on the Arrowsmith map suggests a founding date prior to 1840. (Varman 1984: 183)	Secondary
353. Frank Bates	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
354. Frankie Christian's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Et Christian's'	Varman 1984	This large modern period style house was built by or for Et Christian in the 1920s, according to the family. Along with the Bailey home of the 1920s, this building would be one of the first consciously modern style homes to be built on the Island. (...) Owner: Mr. F. Christian. (Varman 1984: 84)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
355. Frankie's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Line up (1) the pine trees on Garnet Point (Collins Head) with Sail Rock and the gap in the cliff in the Moo-oo Stone. Frankie Christian was a respected member of the community who was an engineer by trade. He had a high IQ and remembered all the fishing marks in his head. He joined the airforce during the war. His mother was a school teacher.	Primary
356. Frazers	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
357. Fred Snell's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
358. Freddicks Age	House	Norfolk	Youngs Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007	I think this 'edge' or cliffside property belonged to Frederick 'Fredick' Young. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
359. Freddicks Age	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Not to be confused with the name 'Frederick' although this 'edge' or cliff side property belonged to Frederick 'Fredick' Young. Huki Milish, Norfolk's resident boogie man, lived at Freddick's Age. It is a very windy and dangerous place with steep ravines and sheer drops down to Cascade. Also known as 'Dar Age' or simply 'Fredicks'. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
360. Frederick Young's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Howard Christian's'	Varman 1984	[...] The house is thought to have been completed by 1878 because of an inscription scratched onto one of the panes which reads, 'Not painted, September 10, 1878'. [...] The original occupier, George Martin Frederick Young, (1822-1899), was the first Chief Magistrate on Norfolk Island, (1856, 1857). The house was passed on to Frederick Young's granddaughter, Mary C. Buffett nee Loch, who sold it to E.S. Christian, the father of the present owner, in 1937. [...] (Varman 1984: 37-38)	Secondary
361. Fredricks Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
362. Freshwater	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
363. Funny Bill's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
364. Fus Sand	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Bumboras'	Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
365. Futtu Futtu	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel	'Fatafata' is a common name for islets formed in the middle of streams and creeks. It comes from Tahitian meaning 'to flatten out'. There is a large fatafata on the top of the next valley behind Ma & Pa Ette's in Mill Road, behind the old house which now belongs to Lyle Tavener, this became known by the name Fatafata. It is mentioned in Ena 'Ette' Christian's poetry book. In her poem 'Ivy House' she talks of going fishing and coming home across Fata Fata so it appears to be the area between Cascade and Stockyard Road. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
366. G.G.F Quintal The Mayor of Anson Bay	House	Norfolk	Anson Bay Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
367. Galleon Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
368. Gallows Gate	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Legend has it that the outline of steps on the sea-side outer wall of the prisoners barracks (The Compound) were the location of the gallows, hence the large opening or gateway became known as 'Gallows Gate'. More recently the steps were said to go to a guard tower. Whatever the case the name Gallows Gate remains in use amongst islanders.	Primary
369. Gannet Point	Placename	Phillip				
370. Gardens (The)	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Plentiful trumpeter but they are not very big here. Can get any other type of fish out there (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008 gave name and location, David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009 gave fish details	Line up Jacky Jacky across Bucks Point. About 12 miles out. It's a part of the No Trouble Reef. Same fishing as the rest of this area though only small fish. Maybe named because it's always so smooth out there and you're just sitting in the boat relaxing, don't know.	Primary
371. Garnet Landing	Placename	Phillip				

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
372. Garnet Point	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The southern portion of the Island below Jacky Jacky. Named after the Masked Boobies (Garnet in Norfolk) that nest there. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
373. Garnet Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	'Garnet' is the Norfolk word for the seabirds commonly known as 'gannets'. This point was probably a popular site for nesting. Gannets tend now to nest more on the outer islands. There is a place on the southern tip of Philip Island also named 'Garnet Point'. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
374. Geare Pere	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk	In Julia Farr's diaries the descriptions given refer to a place which is beautiful, in the shape of a horseshoe with a little creek running to the dam with lots of rocks around. Based on this she thinks this is the Mota/Melanesian name for either (1) Cockpit or (2) Ball Bay.	Rachael McConnell April 2009	Means 'bottom' or 'under the valley' in Mota, with 'pere' meaning '4' (four) in Mota but in this context it means 'place of big or scarred rocks'.	Primary
375. Gel Allen's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
376. George Evans'	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Tinker's'	Varman 1984	This is a typical Evans' home, built on the usual plan but having a gable roof. It was formerly the home of George Francis Mason Evans, referred to locally as "Tinker" Evans. George Evans, (1935-1910), was the original grantee of Lot 29. He was willed the 30 acres upon which the house stands by his father, John Evans Sn, who died in 1891. The house appears to have been built by that time. In later years the house was lived in by Austin "Ot" Christian and later still by tenants (B.N and M Christian). [...] Owner: Mr P. Woodward. (Varman 1984: 110)	Secondary
377. Ghost Corner	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	This is a reknowned haunted corner along Bullocks Hut Road. Horses shy and cars and motorbikes stall. The 'ghost', it is said, can outrun any horse! (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
378. Ghostie Ghostie	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
379. Ghostpiss Valley	Placename	Norfolk		Willie Sanders Feb 2008	A valley on the northern coast of the Island. Named such as, supposedly, when people were coming back from fishing or collecting periwinkles, they would be 'piss scared'. (Willy Sanders Feb 2008)	Primary
380. Gillie's / Mestu'ss	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
381. Girlie Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This is a small timber house which has three distinct building phases, though the earliest would not be before World War II. A shop and/or house of accommodation for the staff of "Ivy House" was once on or located near this site. It is not known if any part has been incorporated in the present structure. (Varman 1984: 140)	Secondary
382. Girlie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
383. God's Country	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	This general term is often used in good-natured ribbing. If one Norfolk Islander talks to another about which part of the Island they live in you will often hear them talk about 'God's Country'. It's a long-running joke, a subtle jibe and an allusion to the fact that they live in the best part of the Island. But here is the irony, God's country is no particular place at all, but if you grew up at Steeles Point for example (then that's God's country), and then lived at Shortridge, (then funnily enough, that's God's Country too). At the end of the day all Islanders agree that Norfolk is 'God's Country'. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
384. Goddard's Corner	Placename	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
385. Goldies Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 51		Secondary
386. Gone Fishin	House	Norfolk	Hibiscus Drive	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
387. Good Eye	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter, groper (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Named such as you need a good eye to see it, it's about 24 miles out. Jacky Jacky in line with the edge of Mt Pitt on the Anson Bay side, i.e. the western side of Mt. Pitt. It's 24 miles out and you just run on that line until you strike Good Eye to see Phillip.	Primary
388. Gooty's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Mainly trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Close to Cascade, just off Bird Rock. Three or four miles out. You line up the Moo-oo Stone in the valley down at the Captain Cook Memorial with some pine trees at Byron Burrell's property. Named after Gustav 'Gooty' Buffett. He lived on the corner of Pine Avenue and Country Road.	Primary
389. Government House Grounds Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
390. Grassy Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
391. Graveyard Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Now known as Cemetery Bay. Named for its proximity to the graveyard. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
392. Green Pool Stone	Placename	Norfolk	This offshore feature has two names: one describes the rock, the other refers to a pool feature on top of the stone.	Edgecombe-Martin	A stagnant 'green' pool of water sits constantly on top of this rock. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
393. Greenacres	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was the home of the Melanesian Mission blacksmith, George Bailey. According to the family tradition, the house was built in the year the land was granted, 1878. [...] Greenacres is now the focus of Marie's Tours and would be one of the most well maintained houses on the Island. [...] Owner: M/s Marie Bailey (Varman 1984: 127-128)	Secondary
394. Greg Quintal Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 98	As a long time resident on this road it is recommended that it be named in his honour. Title vests in the Commonwealth.	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
395. Gudda Bridge	Placename	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008		Primary
396. Gumm's Blue Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
397. Gun Pit	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
398. Gun Pit (Ar)	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter and cod (Norf'k: horny bucket)	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	In the Anson Bay area. Line up the Gun Pit with the cliff at Flagstaff and Johnnies Stone in line with the Moo-oo on Phillip. Approximately three miles out. Out Ar Gun Pit must have been named after the war as the gunpit wasn't there before.	Primary
399. Gunson Evans	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This early twentieth century cottage stands on part of George F. M. Evans' 30 acres inheritance and is locally known as "Gunson's". (Varman 1984: 108)	Secondary
400. Gus Allen's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map	[...] The house was built by or for Alfred Nobbs (1846-1906). [...] Owner: Mr Joe Nobbs (Varman 1984: 25)	Secondary
401. Hadleys	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
402. Haeremai	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	"Haeremai" was built [...] around 1928 by Charles Bailey as his family home. Charles Bailey was an expert builder and carpenter and many of the durable homes built on the island during the 1920s to 1940s are of his construction. The home is occupied by a daughter of Charles Bailey, Mrs Gwen Findlay. Owner: Mrs Gwen Findlay. (Varman 1984: 157)	Secondary
403. Hain's	Fishing ground	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
404. Hairpin Bend	Placename	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008		Primary
405. Half Century	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin	An old fishing area near Headstone. Local legend has it that somebody caught 50 fish there and thus it was named 'Half Century'. Another story claims that a chap owned 50 acres there and gave half of the 50 acres to his family. (Boyd Adams Feb 2008)	Secondary
406. Halfway Round	Placename	Phillip				

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
407. Hamilton's House	House	Norfolk		KAVHA Conservation Management Plan, First Draft, 2001		Secondary
408. Han's	Fishing ground	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
409. Happy Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
410. Hard Balli Stone	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Northernmost offshore rock. Balli is Norfolk for 'belly'. Hard Balli is a type of fish (<i>Scorpius lineolatis</i>). (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
411. Harnishes Lane	Road	Norfolk	See 'George Hunn Nobbs Road'	Denise Quintal April 2009		Primary
412. Harpers Road	Road	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
413. Hasette!!	House	Norfolk	Selwyn Pine Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
414. Haydanblair House	House	Norfolk	Selwyn Pine Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
415. Headstone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	This is the location of the Headstone erected to the memory of two soldiers who drowned whilst fishing off this point during the convict period. Legend has it they were cursed by the convict Barney Duffy who lived in a hollow pine for seven years when they in company with another soldier apprehended him. It is a favoured fishing area but used with caution. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
416. Headstone Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
417. Headstone Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 95		Secondary
418. Helen Lindsay's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Lindsay Buffett's'	Varman 1984		Secondary
419. Helen's Pool	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
420. Hemus Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 64	Dedicated as a public road 2006. This access has been known as Hemus Road for a number of years. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
421. Hennies Lake	Placename	Norfolk	This feature appears to be a man-made dam or watering hole [...] (Varman 1984: 59). Same feature as 'Dew Pond'	Highlands Airtel	This 'dew pond' along Cascade Road was built during the second penal settlement in the manner of the English dew ponds, this one collects rainwater rather than dew. Henry Alden	Secondary
422. Henny's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Kitty Burgess'	Varman 1984	The home was built for John Evans Jnr, (John Valentine Maunsell Evans, 1829 – ca 1891). [...]The house was built in 1887 or before but almost certainly during the 1880s, judging by the building materials. [...] In 1887 [John Evans Jnr.] willed the house and land to his nephew George Henry Young, (1864 – 1896), who in turn left the house to his sister Emily Rachel Young. After her death in 1930, the house was sold to Henry Aldin (Henny) Nobbs. In 1947 the house became the property of Katherine Agnes (Kitty) Burgess, (a daughter of Henry Nobbs?). [...] Owner: Mr and Mrs D and D Christian. (Varman 1984: 73)	Secondary
423. Hetae	House	Norfolk	Bumboras	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
424. Hettys	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
425. Hibiscus	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The main clump of Hibiscus insularis. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
426. Hibiscus Drive	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 15	This road was the result of subdivision in the 1960s which has been referred to as the 'Mountbatten Park Subdivision.' It was dedicated as a public road on 24 February 2006. Recommend that it be formally named Hibiscus Drive due to the large number of native oak trees in the area (which are related to the hibiscus species.) (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
427. Hideaway Retreat	House	Norfolk	George Hunn Nobbs Road	Nash photos 2009	Named after Charles Driver Christian (b. Tahiti) who along with George Hunn Nobbs was the the Island	Primary
428. High Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
429. High Red Rock	Placename	Phillip				
430. High Red Stone ('High' has been added to 'Red Stone')	Placename	Phillip				
431. High Side	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A shoreline fishing location just west of East End. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
432. High Side	Placename	Norfolk	Steeles Point	Edgecombe-Martin	The hillock or high place/hill (side) out at Steeles Point, this was coined by very early Pitcairn Islanders who came up from their homes in Kingston to their gardens 'up country' out at Steeles Point, particularly on weekends to collect vegetables from their gardens for the week ahead. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
433. High Side	Placename	Norfolk		Boyd Adams Feb 2008	Not to be confused with 'High Side' at Steels Point. Located on the Rocky Point side of the outcrop that appears on the Edgecombe-Martin map, on the opposite side of Crystal Pool and Monty. Descriptive name.	Primary
434. Highside	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
435. Highside	Placename	Phillip				

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
436. Highside	Placename	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
437. Hillie Lillies	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009		Primary
438. Hip Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
439. Hoemside	House	Norfolk	Cutters Corn	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
440. Hollow Log	House	Norfolk	Former site	Varman 1984	This was the site of a two storey house built by a Mr Blake. I believe that Mr Blake was a builder and he imported red cedar to build the house during the 1920s or 1930s. The house was dismantled to make way for the airport. The site is supposed by many locals to be haunted. (Varman 1984: 167) Brent Jones lives there or close by – he knows the family history of Hollow Log. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
441. Hollow Pine	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel	A large hollow pine on the Mt Pitt Road approximately half-way up, now dead but the butt piece remains, not to be confused with Barney Duffy's Pine. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
442. Hollow Pine Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
443. Holman Christian Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 38		Secondary
444. Holy Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road. Planned but never named	Nash 2009		Primary
445. Home Nanwi Point	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
446. Homey Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was burned down in 1983. Charles Bailey, who was one of the most skilful builders on Norfolk in the last century, built it. Built ca. the late 1920s, it was influenced by the Bungalow style common to the 1920s. The land was inherited by Holman (Homey) Christian from his father Reuben, who had purchased the six acres from his cousin, Stephen Christian. (Varman 1984: 45)	Secondary
447. Hookys	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
448. Horse & Cart	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009) In the large fishing area known as 'Ar Side fer Doddes' (Wiseman 1977: no pagination)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	The reason they call it Horse & Cart is because there is a passage between Philip Island and Bucks Point and three points out at Byron Burrell's place (near Captain Cook's) which when you line them up and when you're up here, in the area we call Doddes, there is just about enough space to drive a horse and cart through it. It's nine miles out from Norfolk, from the Steeles Point side. The old people used to call that area Doddes. Horse & Cart is a new name created by the younger generation. I don't know who Doddes was but he must have been one of the old fishermen.	Primary
449. Horsepiss Bend	Placename	Norfolk		Bubby Evans Feb 2008	'Horsepiss' is the name of a weed in Norf'k. This place is just past Jacob's Rock near the Gunpit on Anson Bay Road. (Bubby Evans Feb 2008) 'Horsepiss' is named as the flowers smell of horsepiss when you squash them. (Nash 2009)	Primary
450. Hot Tin Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
451. House Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Norf'k name for Rooty Hill Road (Nash 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
452. Howard Christian's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Frederick Young's'	Varman 1984	[...] The house is thought to have been completed by 1878 because of an inscription scratched onto one of the panes which reads, 'Not painted, September 10, 1878'. [...] The original occupier, George Martin Frederick Young, (1822-1899), was the first Chief Magistrate on Norfolk Island, (1856, 1857). The house was passed on to Frederick Young's granddaughter, Mary C. Buffett nee Loch, who sold it to E.S. Christian, the father of the present owner, in 1937. [...] (Varman 1984: 37-38)	Secondary
453. Hundred Acre Point	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Rocky Point'	Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
454. Hungry Flats	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	'Hungry Flats' is the flat grazing land along Douglas Drive just after the airport. This area was known by the old islanders as 'Hungry Flats' because it has been so overused and the soil so spent during the convict settlements that anyone that attempted to grow crops on it would 'go hungry'. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
455. Hurlstone Park	House	Norfolk	Anson Bay Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
456. Hurlstone Park	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
457. Hut	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The Fishing Club Hut erected in 1968. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
458. Ike's	Fishing ground	Phillip	Trumpeter, red snapper. (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009) This is the same feature as 'Ar Yes', 'Iye's'	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	West point of Phillip. The reason they call it that is because when your line hits the bottom and the fish start biting, you say 'Ar yes! They're down there!' You line up the pine trees on Collins Head across the High Point on Nepean, and you travel west until a little rock on Phillip Island comes out in the cliff like a head. It's about three or four miles from 10 O'Clock Bank. You mainly get trumpeter and sweet lip [red emperor] there. If it is called 'Ike's' it is referring to Isaac 'Ike' Christian.	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
459. Ikey Bob's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Orange Grove'	Varman 1984	The original grant was to Dinah Quintal but by 1887 the land had been transferred to Abraham Quintal, her son. Dinah Quintal nee Adams was the daughter of the bounty mutineer John Adams and was born in 1796 and died in 1864, her husband had died in 1841 on Pitcairn Island. The house was built by Abraham Quintal (1827-1910) probably during the 1870s [...] The house passed on to Emily Edwards, the daughter of Abraham and Esther 'Moriah' nee Nobbs. Emily (1875-1961) was born in the house, so the house must have been built by 1875. After Emily's death the house passed to her son Ike Edwards for life tenancy and then to a sister of Ike's, Ilma Heyden. The house is now owned my [sic] Mrs Jeanine Brown, a niece of Ike and Ilma. [...] Owner: Mrs Jeanine Brown. (Varman 1984: 241-246)	Secondary
460. Isaac's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Close to Cascade, just off Bird Rock. Three or four miles out. (1) There is a reef outside on the Moo-oo Stone and you line that up with the cave right in the corner at Black Bank. (2) There used to be a big gum tree on Bob Patt's house/property and you just put line up the house with the gum tree but now it's more or less a guess as to where it is because they have cut the tree down. Named after Isaac Christian, one of the old Pitcairn Islanders. Named by Bill Pumpa.	Primary
461. Ithaca	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
462. Ivy House	House	Norfolk	Former site	Varman 1984	This was an Island home which became a very successful guest house during the 1920s and 1930s. [...] (Varman 1984: 306)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
463. Iye's	Fishing ground	Phillip	Trumpeter, red snapper. (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009) This is the same feature as 'Ar Yes', 'Ike's'	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	West point of Phillip. The reason they call it that is because when your line hits the bottom and the fish start biting, you say 'Ar yes! They're down there!' You line up the pine trees on Collins Head across the High Point on Nepean, and you travel west until a little rock on Phillip Island comes out in the cliff like a head. It's about three or four miles from 10 O'Clock Bank. You mainly get trumpeter and sweet lip [red emperor] there. If it is called 'Ike's' it is referring to Isaac 'Ike' Christian.	Primary
464. Jacaranda Park	House	Norfolk	Cutters Corn	Nash photos 2007		Primary
465. Jack Jenkins Shop	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Jack and Kitty (nee Quintal) Jenkins lived in the home presently known as 'Bounty Lodge Restaurant' in Ferny Lane, with Jack Jenkins' shop being on the road frontage site presently where the tourist apartments are. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
466. Jacky Jacky	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The steep ridge separated from the main part of the Island by a razorback ridge. Named after the infamous escaped convict Jacky Jacky Westwood, who, according to legend, jumped to his death from there. In fact Westwood was hanged at the gaol at Kingston. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
467. Jacob Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house, known only from the records, was built by 1877 and left to Jacob's son William, who died in 1880. Nothing further is known about the house or its site. (Varman 1984: 49)	Secondary
468. Jacobs Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin	Islanders often say 'wi gwen aut Jacobs', it is a favourite fishing spot for many as well as a picnic area. Named after a school teacher Mr Jacobs whose ship stood off-shore for some time due to bad weather. Unable to land or wait any longer Mr Jacobs and his family were off-loaded onto a large rock in a crescent-shaped rocky bay hugged by precipitous cliffs until the weather abated and the Islanders could retrieve the family. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
469. Jalilly Cottage	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
470. Jazzy Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
471. JE Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 83	(see Mühlhäusler (2002) for history)	Secondary
472. Jell Allen's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984:	This house has two basic phases. The basic core of the house was probably built about 1900 [...] It is suspected that the addition was built around the early 1920s, possibly from materials purchased from the Melanesian Mission [...]. The house is built on a portion purchased by Pardon Snell by 1887. (Varman 1984: 277)	Secondary
473. Jericho Jerusalem Babylon	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	An area up under the mountain at Palm Glen that was as prolific and as green and lush and giving as the biblical Babylon. Farmed by Ivens 'Pullis' Nobbs. Babylon was the lower garden, above which were Jerusalem and Jericho. (Rachel Borg April 2009) Gilbert Bailey used to live in the area. He was a religious man and probably named these places in a religious way. There were three separate valleys in this area in Palm Glen where they planted banana and oranges during the 1930s.	Secondary
474. Jimmy Bill Reef	Placename	Phillip				
475. Jimmy Bill's	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
476. Jimmy Bill's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
477. Jimmy Bills	Placename	Phillip	Also called 'Dar Side Fe Soss'	Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A shoreline fishing location near East End, Named after Jim Edwards who was also called 'Soss.' (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
478. John and Rosalie's	House	Norfolk		Nash photos 2008		Primary
479. John Quintal Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 11	Portion 3 was granted to John (Tono) Quintal and the title remains vested in his estate. It is recommended that the road be named in his honour. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
480. John Quintal's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This land was subdivided by 1887. In 1910 John Quintal bequeathed the house to his daughter, Nancy, and grandson, George Rawdon Quintal. The home later became a place of accommodation. Extensive alterations have been made to it. Owner Mrs. K. Welsh. (Varman 1984: 102)	Secondary
481. John Young's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Olive Young's'	Varman 1984	This was the first house built on the grant of John F. Young. [...] the house appears to have been constructed during the 1870s or 1880s. [...] Owner: Mr R. Campion. (Varman 1984: 234)	Secondary
482. Johnnie's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter, not plentiful though (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Close to Cascade, just off Bird Rock. Three or four miles out. (1) Ray Hall's house, just down on the tip of New Cascade Road before you go to Harpers Road in line with Prince Phillip Drive, and (2) Frankie Christian's house comes through the quarry and you line them up. Bev doesn't know who Johnny was but obviously they named the mark after him.	Primary
483. Johnnies Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	A stone just off the coast from Rocky Point. Johnnie Jackson was the captain of a whaling boat. One time he fastened a whale and it took the boat over the rock when there was high tide and thus it was named. His father was an American who married a local girl. (Charles Adam 2009)	Secondary
484. Johnny Nigger Bun Et	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5	An area on the cliff face in the northern part of Norfolk towards Red Stone. Named after an African-American whaler who came to Norfolk, one of the several American whalers who came to Norfolk. There used to be a lot of grass and bracken fern in this area. 'Johnny' was looking for pigs, possibly in a group, and they burnt the bracken to aid their hunt.	Secondary
485. Johnstone Nobbs Lane	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	Access to toilets off Taylors Road in Burnt Pine (rear of Camerahouse). The original grant was in the name of James Wingate Johnstone Nobbs. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
486. Jonathan Adams Road	Road	Norfolk	Off Cascade Road.	Government gazette # 32	Title to the road vests in Jonathan Adams and it is recommended that the road be named in his honour. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
487. Joowho	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Bev McCoy Feb 2008	(1) Blow Hole Point in line with the Whaling Station at Cascade, (2) Pole Point and Flagstaff Point in line with each other. Named such as this was one old bloke's nickname. Bev doesn't know who Joowho was but it could have been Ike Christian's brother. Old name.	Primary
488. Juvenile Point	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The name given by Owen Evans to a small plateau where juvenile Masked Boobies gather. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
489. Kaa Sii da Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
490. Kaka's	House	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
491. Kawana Cottage	House	Norfolk	Pitcairn Place	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
492. Kerapai	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk		Rachael McConnell April 2009	Means 'big tree' or 'valley' in Mota. According to old maps and recent interviews this seems to be located in the same area as the Mission Pool on the old Melanesian Mission property, just near Anson Bay Road. (Nash 2009)	Primary
493. Kettle se Boil	House	Norfolk	Selwyn Pine Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
494. Kilbourne Crescent	Road	Norfolk		Hoare 2005, p. 51 [Map]		Secondary
495. King Fern Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel	Take the King Fern Gully Track from Palm Glen in the Mt Pitt Reserve. The endemic tree ferns can be found growing here sometimes up to twenty metres in height. This is the world's tallest tree fern and is actually endemic to Norfolk. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
496. Kingfisher Paddock	Placename	Norfolk	Former site of 'Kingfisher Airtel'	Rachel Borg April 2009	At Anson Bay there was accommodation, known as Kingfisher Airtel. It was destroyed by fire but the paddock on which it was built is still known to Islanders as 'Kingfisher Paddock' or 'out Royal Kingfisher'. There are lots of people who can tell you which year it was destroyed by fire and may even have photographs. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
497. Kingston Common	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 3	'The Common' is the local name for the large tracts of grazing land in KAVHA used for the common grazing of livestock (communal grazing rights originated from the old English Commons system). Originally livestock grazed for free along the roadsides, cattle now graze for a small annual fee. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
498. Kingston Common Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
499. Kingston Recreation Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
500. Kitty Burgess'	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Hennys'	Varman 1984	The home was built for John Evans Jnr, (John Valentine Maunsell Evans, 1829 – ca 1891). [...]The house was built in 1887 or before but almost certainly during the 1880s, judging by the building materials. [...] In 1887 [John Evans Jnr.] willed the house and land to his nephew George Henry Young, (1864 – 1896), who in turn left the house to his sister Emily Rachel Young. After her death in 1930, the house was sold to Henry Aldin (Henny) Nobbs. In 1947 the house became the property of Katherine Agnes (Kitty) Burgess, (a daughter of Henry Nobbs?). [...] Owner: Mr and Mrs D and D Christian. (Varman 1984: 73)	Secondary
501. Knight's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Archaeological Zoning Plan 1997-1998		Secondary
502. Lala's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Pearl Buffett's'	Varman 1984	The family believe the house to date to the mid 1920s. Owner: Mr. Albert Buffett. (Varman 1984: 53)	Secondary
503. Land Stephen	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Stephen's Stone'	Merv Buffett April 2009	The Norf'k name for 'Stephen's Stone'. An early Pitcairn whaler, Stephen, was injured here during the whaling days and this was the quickest way to get him ashore. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Primary
504. Landing Beach	Placename	Phillip				
505. Landing Rock	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Cascade Pier'	Varman 1984	The present pier is built around and over the original Landing Rock. The Landing Rock was used from the earliest First Settlement times. By 1793 a timber wharf was built over the rock to connect the shore. [...] The first concreting of the pier was done in the mid to late 1930s. (Varman 1984: 291)	Secondary
506. Lavendula Garden Cottage	House	Norfolk	New Cascade Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
507. Ledwich's Gulley	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Powder Walley' and 'Babylon, Jerusalem and Jerico'	Varman 1984	This gully is part of the west branch of the Great Cascade Creek, (from the area where Fat Gulley leads off and appears centred on Lot 23). As this area is marked on the Arrowsmith map as having 52 acres, it must have been used as a farm, (and would date back to the late 1830s). Locally the gully is known as "Powder Walley" and further up to the north-west is known as Babylon, Jerusalem and Jericho. (Varman 1984: 120)	Secondary
508. Leekee Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
509. Leaside	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This is one of the earliest of the Island homes to survive. [...] A family bible in the possession of Mrs Ruth Mc Coy, relating to the Nobbs and Christian families, reveals that the house was built in 1870 for James Wingate Johnson Nobbs. [...] Owner: Mr Ken Nobbs. (Varman 1984: 125)	Secondary
510. Leo and Marie McCoy's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house is one of the later Charles Bailey built houses. The design is distinctly "modern" and was executed about 1948. [...] The outbuildings house the Mc Coy's taxis and buses. Owners: Mr and Mrs L[eo] and M[arg?] Mc Coy. (Varman 1984: 130)	Secondary
511. Lerm Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The cottage probably dates between ca 1900 and ca 1914. The house was the home of Lerm and Rita Christian. [...] Owner: Denis Christian. (Varman 1984: 119)	Secondary
512. Lerms	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	This house was the home of Stephen 'Lerm' Christian and is now Christian's Apartments. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
513. Leslie's Green Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
514. Lettie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
515. Lettle Valley	House	Norfolk	George Hunn Nobbs Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
516. Liar Strait	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	In the extreme north-west of Norfolk, it gets its name as it is a rock that appears to tell a lie, as it acts like a whale. When a wave hits and the water runs over one of the small rocks out there, it looks like a whale blowing. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Secondary
517. Lili Oodoo's	House	Norfolk	Youngs Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
518. Lindisfarne (Bartle)	House	Norfolk	Near Pacific Palms	Nash photos 2007		Primary
519. Lindsay Buffett's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Helen Lindsay's'	Varman 1984	Lindsay Buffett inherited the land from his father John Buffett in 1910 but he may have built the house before then. One elderly resident believes it was in 1901 or 1902. (Varman 1984: 48)	Secondary
520. Lindsays	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A shoreline fishing location. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
521. Lindsays Bay	Placename	Phillip				
522. Little Cascades	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Lower Garden'	Nash 2009		Primary
523. Little Cutters Corn Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 113	This name has been used for this road and it is recommended that it be continued to be known by that name.	Secondary
524. Little Green Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 88	Title to this road vests in Christine Sheridan. It has been known by this name for a considerable period and should be formally named. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
525. Littlewood	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
526. Lizzie Carr's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The original house was built around 1909/1910 by members of the Carr family of the Melanesian Mission. The first owners were Alex Carr, a saddler and leather worker, and his wife Elizabeth Carr nee Christian. She received land from her father Ephraim Christian in January 1909. The home became a guest house for some years. The home was left to the Carr's [sic] son, John, who eventually sold the house and land to Mr Anderson who sold it to the present owner Mr Lyle Tavener. (Varman 1984: 85-86)	Secondary
527. Lockie's Nest	House	Norfolk	Collins Head Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
528. Lone Pine	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Point Hunter Pine'	Edgecombe-Martin	One of Norfolk's celebrity pines, Lone Pine is a venerable old male Norfolk Island Pine (<i>Araucaria heterophylla</i>) standing some 45 metres in height, perched on the rocky limestone cliff at Seta Point or Point Hunter on the southern head to Emily Bay. The Lone Pine has stood here for some 650 years, withstanding constant salt-laden winds, storms and droughts, as well as a nearby rubbish tip in the 1970s and well-meaning attempts to grow successor trees under its spreading branches. (Bruce Baskerville December 2009) I understand that the original 'lone pine' stood at the end of the golf course and is no longer with us, and what many now know as 'lone pine' is actually the 'Point Hunter Pine'. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
529. Lonely Bay	Placename	Phillip				
530. Long East End Valley	Placename	Phillip				
531. Long Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Long rocky outcrop in Anson Bay favoured for rock fishing and free diving. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
532. Long Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
533. Long Valley	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The longest valley on the Island. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
534. Longridge	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
535. Longridge	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Longridge Road'	Rachel Borg April 2009	This is the long ridge which runs from Flagstaff in Kingston right out to Branka House, a road ran along the ridge from convict times to the agricultural outstation. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
536. Longridge Road	Road	Norfolk	See 'Longridge'	Government gazette # 71	A road ran along the ridge from convict times to the agricultural outstation. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
537. Louis Bataille's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This home was built around the 1880s/1890s by Albert Louis Victor Bataille. [...] Owner: Richard Bataille. (239)	Secondary
538. Low Top Pine	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel	Now known as Stockyard Road. The actual 'Low Top' pine situated on the corner of Martin's Road and Stockyard Road was a geographical marker point and was removed c. 2007 due to disease. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
539. Lower Garden	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Little Cascade'	Edgecombe-Martin	[...] It is not known how the area came to be called 'Lower Garden' but it has been known as such as far as the oldest inhabitants of the Island can remember. The older generation inevitably associate the name with a tale that it was the first area to be cleared and cultivated during the First Settlement. [...] it is suspected that the newly arrived Pitcairn Islanders were told this story by the few remaining convicts in 1856 [...] (Varman 1984: 35-36) A garden that was used during the convict times for growing vegetables. It also goes by the alternate name 'Little Cascades'. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
540. Lulla's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
541. Lulus	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
542. Ma Adams'	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was probably built during the late nineteenth [sic] century or early twentieth. The house was not examined. Owner: Mrs Adams. (Varman 1984: 132)	Secondary
543. Ma Anna's (Christian)	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Pa Reuben's'	Varman 1984	This picturesque home is reputed to be one of the oldest of the Pitcairner houses on the Island. The house was probably built by or for Charles Christian, (1818-1886). Two of Charles' sons benefited in 1887 from the Will concerning Lot 14. Selwyn (1857 – 1889) received the western half, and Reuben (1856 -) the eastern half. Selwyn received the portion with the house. In 1896 Selwyn transferred it and a strip of six acres to Reuben. By this time Selwyn's house had been built. In 1931, the house passed to Ernest Selwyn Christian for life interest. The house is now in the ownership of the daughter of Ernest's sister, Edith Randall, Mrs, Brian Bates. (Varman 1984: 74-75)	Secondary
544. Ma Channer's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Channer's Corner'	Varman 1984	This house was built by John Joyce Chapman before 1896. It later became the home of the Channer family. The old home has been unrecognizably altered within the last fifteen years and now functions as holiday apartments. Owner: Mr and Mrs Val and Art Albin. (Varman 1984: 149)	Secondary
545. Ma Nobby's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009, Puss Anderson Nov 2009	From Cascade (Dar Horg) move towards the norwest, out past Captain Cooks, just past Red Stone. Named such as Ma Nobby's house was there and you used to line up the red roof on her house with Red Stone (Bird Rock) with the other mark being Green Poll Stone and three pines in the cliff. Approx. three miles out. Old name from around early 1900s.	Primary
546. Ma-Anna Paetts	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
547. Main Gulley	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Earsdon Farm'	Varman 1984	This was a large farm consisting of about 190 acres. The farm was crossed by at least four rough roads or tracks. The southern end of the farm had been cultivated since First Settlement times. (Varman 1984: 121)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
548. Major's Gulley	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This gully is marked on the Arrowsmith map of 1842, (survey 1840), and is located along the north branch of the Mission Creek. References in Ensign Best's journal indicates that it was Major Anderson's Gulley at that time. The gully would have been used for growing fruit trees and vegetables. The area is thickly overgrown and was not surveyed. (Varman 1984: 274)	Secondary
549. Mandalay	House	Norfolk	Rooty Hill Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
550. Maria Heaps	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The house was built by one of the Baileys during the early 1920s for Dr Heaps and his wife Maria, (pronounced as in Moriah), nee Bailey. [...] Dr Heaps was a greatly respected doctor attached to the Cable Board before and after World War I. [...] the house has been converted to "Maria Heaps Restaurant" [...] The house has had a fearful reputation for haunting since the late 1930s. (Varman 1984: 158-159)	Secondary
551. Marjoram Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This area is outlined in the Arrowsmith map of 1842, (survey 1840). (Varman 1984: 263)	Secondary
552. Marshs Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 18	This access to Ball Bay was done by the former administrator Marsh and the road has been referred to as that name since then. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
553. Martin Manor	House	Norfolk		'A Detailed Map of Norfolk Island' c. 1970		Secondary
554. Martins Road	Road	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
555. Marty's	Fishing ground	Phillip		David Graham Nov 2009	A fishing ground which Puss Anderson used to use. Named after Marty Quintal who showed them this mark. Near the west end of Phillip. 1) the road at Bloody Bridge in line with the west end of Nepean, 2) go out until the pine on Cow Bay lines up with point on left hand side looking out to Cow Bay.	Primary
556. Mary Hamilton Reef	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
557. Mary Hamilton Rocks	Placename	Nepean		Allen 'Ikey' Bataille May 2008		Primary
558. Mate Bob Edwards	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	[...] The house was probably built during the 1890s. [...] Owner: Island Pottery. (Varman 1984: 264)	Secondary
559. Matthew Quintal Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 69	As the other roads in this area have been named after the original mutineers this named is recommended. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
560. Matts Ground	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	This grant belonged to Matthew Quintal II, born in 1814 and a bachelor who arrived in 1856 on the Morayshire. (Rachel Borg April 2009) It is a flat piece of land where well-known Islander carpenter and fisherman Howard Christian has since built a house.	Secondary
561. Matts Ground Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 41	Originally part of the grant to Matthew Quintal, it was subsequently transferred to Adeline Christian then resumed for road purposes. Together with registered easements from Mill Road it provides access to a number of portions in the area.	Secondary
562. Mauve Gully	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Name used in the rabbit eradication program for short gully through mauve coloured hills. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
563. Mauve Valley	Placename	Phillip				
564. McLaughlins Lane	Road	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel	Named after William McLaughlin a WWII veteran who lived at the end of this lane. He proceeded to live there for some time, some say like a hermit. It was believed he worked in a highly classified area during the war and was recalled to duty. After he left the house remained uninhabited and fell into disrepair. It was eventually removed by National Parks although many of the 'exotic' plants surrounding his home remain. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
565. Melaleuca	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
566. Melanesian Mission	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk		Varman 1984	[...] The Melanesian Mission received a grant of 919 acres in 1867 for the sum of £1,890/10/-. One of the first buildings to be built was the old St Barnabas's chapel and the attached bishop's house. By the 1890s a small village ad sprung up about the Chapel. [...] Owner: Church of England, Norfolk Island or Anglican Church of Australia, (Sydney Diocese). (Varman 1984: 267-269)	Secondary
567. Melanesian Mission Station	House	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett c. 1980		Secondary
568. Melrose Place	House	Norfolk	Mount Batten Estate	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
569. Menzie's Grant / Menges	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	Block 19c was granted to H. Menzies by 1887. The house on 19k, belonging to Rodney Menzies, was built around the fireplace of an earlier Menzies home, perhaps the original one. The house on 19d belonged to "Wacko" Menzies but now is owned by Steve Menzies. (Varman 1984: 97)	Secondary
570. Menzies	Placename	Phillip				
571. Mereweather	House	Norfolk	Stockyard/Martins Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
572. Merv Inn	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
573. Mervyn Buffett's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Seymour Buffett's'	Varman 1984	This was the home of Henry Seymour [sic] Buffett and Selina Buffett and at least twelve of their children. The home was built around the early 1880s. It was passed onto Frederick Stanley [sic] Buffett on Seymour's death in 1931 but with his mother's life interest. The house was subsequently passed on to Stanley's son, Mervi [sic]. Owner: Mr. M. Buffett. (Varman 1984: 97-98)	Secondary
574. Miches	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
575. Michie McCoy's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house is reputed by the older generation to have been the first Pitcairner house to have been built along "House Road" (Rooty Hill Road). It is said to have been built by two of Phillip Mc Coy's sons on the land owned by their father. The main part of the house may have been built ca 1895 but the south addition may date to the early 1920s. Owner: Mrs "Puss" Quintal. (Varman 1984: 175-177)	Secondary
576. Mickey Christian Bailey	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was built by the Bailey family in 1926 for George and Dorothy Bailey. Owners: Mr and Mrs G and D Bailey. (Varman 1984: 170)	Secondary
577. Middle Gate	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
578. Middlegate Road	Road	Norfolk	See 'Store Road'	c. 1968 Norfolk Island Map		Secondary
579. Middleridge Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
580. Military Road	Road	Norfolk	See 'Quality Row'	Rachel Borg April 2009	During the penal settlement known as Military Row. Renamed 'Quality Row' by the Pitcairners who did not want to be reminded of the Island's previous history. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
581. Mill Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 36	This road was named 'Excelsa Road' on 18 June 1954 as a result of a council resolution. Needs to be renamed otherwise it will be necessary to have the road sign changed to the official name. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
582. Millbrook	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009		Primary
583. Missing Valley	Placename	Phillip				
584. Mission Pool	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
585. Mission Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
586. Mitchell's Lane	Road	Norfolk	Formerly D.R. Lane, Dead Rat Lane.	Rachel Borg April 2009	Named after a much loved little boy Mitchell Grube who lived in this lane and lost long battle with leukemia, his beautiful nature and positive outlook made him an inspiration to all. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
587. Moira	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	It is believed to have been built for C.C.R. Nobbs at about the same time as the building of Nobbs' Store, (in 1886). The land at that stage was still in the name of Fletcher C.N. Nobbs. Owner: Mrs Moira Robinson. (Varman 1984: 193-194)	Secondary
588. Moll Nobbs'	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house is reputed to be the second earliest house in the area. It was built by Maurice "Moll" Nobbs by the 1890s of stone. [...] Owner: Mr Jerry Aafjes. (Varman 1984: 178)	Secondary
589. Monty	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Monty Drown'	Edgecombe-Martin	A popular shoreline fishing location. This placename appears on the 1988 Pitcairner names map as 'Monty' and also appears on an old handwritten map [Moresby Buffett map] as 'Down Side Monty Drown'. It is also referred to as 'Monty's', 'Monty Drown' or 'Down Monty's'. Islander memories are unable to recall who exactly Monty was but the name suggests that this is where a person by the name Monty drowned. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
590. Monty Drown	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Monty'	Moresby Buffett Map 5	A popular shoreline fishing location. This placename appears on the 1988 Pitcairner names map as 'Monty' and also appears on an old handwritten map [Moresby Buffett map] as 'Down Side Monty Drown'. It is also referred to as 'Monty Drown' or 'Down Monty's'. Islander memories are unable to recall who exactly Monty was but the name suggests that this is where a person by the name Monty drowned. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
591. Monument	Placename	Phillip				

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
592. Mo-oo Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
593. Moo-oo	Placename	Phillip				
594. Moo-oo Bay	Placename	Phillip				
595. Moo-oo Beach	Placename	Phillip				
596. Moo-oo Stone	Placename	Norfolk	North coast	Martin (1988)	Named after flax found in area. Stone on which moo-oo (flax) grows. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
597. Morros	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Chood Buffett's'	Varman 1984	This was a Melanesian Mission home which was sold after the mission closed in 1920. Mr Sid H. Christian remembers that around 1920 he helped to take the house to its present site on a giant sledge. [...] Owner: Mr M. Tilley (Varman 1984: 249)	Secondary
598. Mount Bates	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel	The plans for this house were prepared by H.W. Lugard in April 1839 and from Lugard's plan of the Lo	Secondary
599. Mount Bates Road	Road	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
600. Mount Bates Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
601. Mount Cross	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 6		Secondary
602. Mount Pitt	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
603. Mount Pitt Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
604. Mount Pitt Road	Road	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
605. Mountain View	House	Norfolk	Bullocks Hut Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
606. Mousha Evan's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The front door came from the family home at Kingston, (Assistant Superintendents' and Overseers' Quarters, locally known as Aunt Jane's Longhouse). (...) The house was built around 1904 for Mousha Evans' mother, Daisy Dufty, (daughter of the well known nineteenth [sic] century photographer, Frederick Walter Dufty). The one acre, which the house was built on was willed to Daisy Dufty by Ephraim Christian. Mrs Evans has lived in the house for about eighty one years and can remember it being built. Mrs Evans and her mother moved from Aunt Jane's Longhouse at Kingston when she was four years of age. (Varman 1984: 87-88)	Secondary
607. Muddy Water	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Literally a pool of muddy water which forms in a natural depression along Collins Head Road after heavy rain, used as a geographical marker point. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
608. Mulberry Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 61	This name has been used for a number of years. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
609. Mulberry Valley Far House	House	Norfolk	Mill Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
610. Mulberry Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
611. Mullins Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
612. Mum Bailey's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	Mum Bailey grew up in George Bailey's old home, "Greenacres". The cottage itself dates to the 1940s. Owner: Bernie Christian-Bailey. (Varman 1984: 154)	Secondary
613. Mumma Norns	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Also known as The Usual Place. A shed owned by Nornie Douran where wreaths are traditionally made for Island funerals. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
614. Munnas	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Today this building is used by the KAVHA Works team. Before moving up-country this was the home of 'Munna', Gilbert Jackson's aunt. 'Munnas' today is the name of the surf break out on the reef and the general onshore area used for BBQs, etc. Apparently Gilbert inherited it and gave it back to the Island. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
615. Murderer's Mound	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Legend has it that this was the site of a mass convict grave in unconsecrated ground outside the cemetery for those executed as a result of the part they played in a convict uprising. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
616. Music Walley	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Convict's Garden'	Edgecombe- Martin	Belongs to Leon 'Bubby' Evans (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
617. Mut'tas'	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
618. Myer's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
619. Nancy's Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin	Nancy Menzies (nee Christian) used to go fishing here a lot. (Willy Sanders Feb 2008)	Secondary
620. Naomi Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This is a weatherboard home, reputed by the family to have been built ca 1906. It was built for one of the descendants of Francis Mason Nobbs. Owner: Naomi Christian. (Varman 1984:	Secondary
621. Navy Bay	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The small bay just south of East End. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
622. Nellies Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
623. New Cascade Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
624. New Farm East	Placename	Norfolk		Plan of Norfolk Island Shewing the General Nature of the Ground c 1841		Secondary
625. New Farm Road	Road	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
626. New Farm West	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This farm was located to the south-west of the New Farm Centre and consisted of 16 acres. As it appears on the Arrowsmith map, based on a survey done in 1840, the origins of the farm would date to the late 1830s at least. (Varman 1984: 120)	Secondary
627. Nicis Drive	House	Norfolk	Selwyn Pine Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
628. Niggers Head	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
629. Niggers Hoof	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Small bay on the north-east coast shaped like a big foot. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
630. Niggers Hoof Reef	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Rock platform that extends east/north-east from Nigger's Hoof. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
631. Nine Acre Piece	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This 11 acre farm was identified from the Arrowsmith map of 1842. [...] (Varman 1984: 278)	Secondary
632. Nine Pines	House	Norfolk	Rocky Point Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
633. No Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
634. No Trouble (Reef)	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Plenty of fish, but small [because] lots of boats go there. Shark, groper. (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Line up Jacky Jacky over Bucks Point and Matts Ground and Cockpit Waterfall and Prince Phillip Drive and that's just about the start of the reef. It runs from about where Shallow Water is, this is pretty much the start of the reef, about nine miles out. Shallow Water is a big area and No Trouble starts from there and bends all the way round not quite to where Horse & Cart is. The reef runs all the way down to just about off Ball Bay. Approx. 10 miles out and it goes down to about 12-16 miles in the direction towards Steels Point. You can fish anywhere along the reef, it's not in a straight line. You can be nine, 12, 14 miles out. It curves around. You can use Phillip anywhere across Norfolk and you will pretty much be in the No Trouble Reef area. Named such as you would never have problems catching fish there.	Primary
635. Nobby Buffett's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was not examined but it is believed to have been built by or for Young E. Buffett in the 1890s. Owner: Mr L. Buffett. (Varman 1984: 95)	Secondary
636. Nobby Fardys	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
637. Norfolk House	House	Norfolk	New Cascade Road	Nash photo 2007		Primary
638. Norfolk Island National Park	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
639. Norfolk Village Road	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	Title vests in the Administration. Needs to be formally named. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
640. Norinnie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
641. Novo Kailana	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk		Brooke 1871, p. 13		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
642. Now Now Walley	Placename	Norfolk	Used to be cleared and cultivated but now it is grown over. Frankie Christian used to cultivate the area. In Cuppa Tea Buffett's area.	Edgecombe-Martin	Located in the area known in Norf'k as 'Up in a Stick', this place is one of the most well-known and adored Norf'k placenames. There is a very steep gorge in the valley so that the pigs can't get out and as legend has it two men were hunting pigs and one exclaimed, 'now now!' before shooting at a pig. It is in the same property as 'Cup a Teas'. It is a lovely little valley with red guava trees all around. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
643. Nuffka-Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
644. Oakleigh	House	Norfolk	Former site	Varman 1984	The house is believed to have been built in 1884 by members of the family, the year Gustave Quintal received the grant. [...] Owners: Mr and Mrs S and A Jensen (247-248)	Secondary
645. Oakley	House	Norfolk	Rocky Point Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
646. Oakridge	House	Norfolk	Rooty Hill Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
647. Ocean View	House	Norfolk	Taylors Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
648. Oceanview Apartments	House	Norfolk	New Cascade Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
649. Off Anson Bay Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
650. Off Capt Quintal Drive	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
651. Off Cascade Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
652. Off Collins Head Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
653. Off Country Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
654. Off Fletcher Christian Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
655. Off Mill Road	Road	Norfolk	Name for an old track/easement.	Alan McNeil 8/2/08		Primary
656. Off Mill Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
657. Off New Cascade Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
658. Off New Farm Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
659. Off Queen Elizabeth Avenue	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
660. Off Rocky Point Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
661. Off Stockyard Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
662. Off Two Chimneys Road	Road	Norfolk		Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
663. Offie Bank	Fishing ground	Nepean	Trevally (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Stump lined up with West End. Rocks off Poison Bay lined up with the top of Saddle.	Primary
664. Offie Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
665. Old Mountain Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
666. Old Queensborough / Longridge Road	Road	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The remains of this road may be traced from the Pier Area at Kingston to Bennett's Flat after which it fades out in the direction of Longridge. The original road went to Charlotte Field and Queensborough and would have been established by 1790 (Varman 1984: 190)	Secondary
667. Old Sarum	House	Norfolk	Near airport	Nash photos 2008		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
668. Oliander	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Aunt Els'	Varman 1984	"Oliander" appears to have been the home of one of the Adams' family. [...] The house was converted to a guest house and many extensions were made to it during that period. The basic core of the house may date to the 1890s. Some of the doors and windows may have been adopted from earlier structures. [...] Owner: Mr F. Gillen (Varman 1984: 133)	Secondary
669. Olive Young's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'John Young's'	Varman 1984	This was the first house built on the grant of John F. Young. [...] the house appears to have been constructed during the 1870s or 1880s. [...] Owner: Mr R. Campion. (Varman 1984: 234)	Secondary
670. One Hundred Acre	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	<p>This area may be found on the Arrowsmith map which dates to the 1830s. It is one of the few Second Settlement place names which has survived into the Third Settlement, the area being referred to as 'Hundred Acre'. (Varman 1984: 240)</p> <p>This was a [blank] farm, probably established by the late 1830s, as it appears on the Arrowsmith map of 1842, (survey of 1840). The area is locally referred to as 'Hundred Acre'. A number of interesting large exotic trees grow here, but some, or most of these, may date from the Melanesian Mission Experimental Farm days. (Varman 1984: 304-305)</p> <p>We generally refer to this simply as 'hundred acres'. The shoreline is favoured place for rock fishing and rumma (hi-hi, welks and crabs). (Rachel Borg April 2009)</p>	Secondary
671. Onion Patch	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Nash photos 2009	As the other roads in this area have been named after the original mutineers this name is recommended	Primary
672. Oodles	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Boyd Adams Feb 2008	A fishing ground named by Byron and Boyd Adams. Approximately one mile off Fraziers/Mullins Bay in the Anson Bay area. Named spontaneously as one day they caught oodles of fish out there. Quite likely they never returned to that mark.	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
673. Orange Grove	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Ikey Bob's'	Varman 1984	The original grant was to Dinah Quintal but by 1887 the land had been transferred to Abraham Quintal, her son. Dinah Quintal nee Adams was the daughter of the bounty mutineer John Adams and was born in 1796 and died in 1864, her husband had died in 1841 on Pitcairn Island. The house was built by Abraham Quintal (1827-1910) probably during the 1870s [...] The house passed on to Emily Edwards, the daughter of Abraham and Esther 'Moriah' nee Nobbs. Emily (1875-1961) was born in the house, so the house must have been built by 1875. After Emily's death the house passed to her son Ike Edwards for life tenancy and then to a sister of Ike's, Ilma Heyden. The house is now owned my [sic] Mrs Jeanine Brown, a niece of Ike and Ilma. [...] Owner: Mrs Jeanine Brown. (Varman 1984: 241-246)	Secondary
674. Orange Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
675. Orange Vale	Placename	Norfolk	Same area as 'Orange Vale'	Varman 1984	William Neate Chapman's map of 1794 shows the Queensborough Road, (later Longridge Road), passing along the south side of the southern branch of the Mission Creekm (old Lots 68-70). A road [...] appears to lead off from the Queensborough road and into the southern branch of the Mission Creek: If this is the case, Queensborough was almost certainly sited here. The use of fie mortar, however, suggests a late First Settlement period, (mid 1790 onwards). However, it should not be discounted that it was built at a later date as part of the Orange Vale government garden, or commandant's garden. [...] The area was known as Orange Vale during the Second Settlement [...] Owner: Mr W. Sanders. (Varman 1984: 279-285)	Secondary
676. Organ Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
677. Ot Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The land on which the house stands was inherited by Austin Christian from his father Ephraim. Mousha Evans, who lives nearby, remember that the house was built during the 1920s, (which the physical examination agreed with). The house passed on to Austin's daughter, who married Stanley Quintal. (Varman 1984: 86)	Secondary
678. Out ar Chinaman	Placename	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map	Growing up we always called the eastern end of Emily Bay where the convict quarry was 'Chinamans.' (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
679. Out ar Mission	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	This placename and general area close to the western coast of Norfolk refers to the buildings and surrounding area where the Anglican Melanesian Mission once stood and where St Barnabas Chapel and Bishops Court still remain. The Mission was stationed on Norfolk Island from 1867 to 1920. The pool near Anson Bay Road is known locally as 'Mission Pool'. (Rachel Borg April 2009) There are also several placenames for the area in the Mota language, the lingua franca favoured by the Melanesian Mission for their evangelism in the South Seas. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
680. Out ar Station	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	The Station referred to the cable station and was used to refer to the general area around the station 'wi gwen auta stieshan'. 'Out ar Station' was all the land from the Anson Bay/Royal Kingfisher area right the way out to the Fisherman's Lane area. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
681. Out ar Windmill	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	The location of the convict built windmill. The windmill is a favoured rockfishing area. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
682. Out orn Ar Milky Tree	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter, good fish (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	In the 'Up to the East' area line up the Red Stone with Moo-oo Stone (off Cascade) and use the Milky Tree in the gap down Bucks Point through dar stone (unnamed stone near Bucks Point). Same distance out at 'Down to the East'.	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
683. Out Yenna	House	Norfolk	Headstone Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
684. Out Yenna	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Yenna is the Island term for 'out yonder' or as far as you can go, the extremities of the Island such as Anson Bay in one direction, Rocky Point in another, etc It denotes a general area rather than a specific point. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
685. Owen's Ledge	Placename	Phillip		Rachel Borg map		Secondary
686. Pa Chris'	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Selwyn Christian's', 'Sonny Evans', 'Tatie's'	Varman 1984	According to the descendants of Reuben Christian, the house is later than Pa Reuben's. The house was probably built between the late 1870s and 1889, (when Selwyn died). The house was built by or for Selwyn Christian, who was married in 1887. His first and only child, Gertrude, is recorded as having been born at "Cascade", (referring to this part of the Island), in 1878. (Though, it must be admitted that at that time both brothers could have been sharing Pa Reuben's at that time). The house was passed on from daughter to daughter for three generations: Gertrude, who married Fletcher Christian Nobbs, (Pa Chris), passed it onto her daughter, Susan Nobbs; Susan, who married George Albert (Sonny) Evans, left his house to her daughter Dolly; Dolly married Dalyell Christian. The house has been passed onto their son, Gary Christian (who is descended on his father's side from Reuben Christian). (Varman 1984: 77-79)	Secondary
687. Pa Collie's	House	Norfolk		Willie Sanders Feb 2008	Probably named after Henry Quintal. On J.E. Road near the junction with Red Road.	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
688. Pa Ette's	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Ma & Pa 'Ette' Christian built their house in Mill Road. They had 9 children. Neville 'Loppy' Christian lives in this house today. Ma 'Ette' came to the Island as a school teacher. She was betrothed to a mainland man. Ma and Pa 'Ette' fell in love and Ma 'Ette' wrote to her betrothed and the engagement was called off. With the permission of her betrothed she sold her engagement ring to buy the nails that built the house which still stands today. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
689. Pa Les	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
690. Pa Les	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe- Martin		Secondary
691. Pa Les'	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was built about 1920/1921 from a previous Melanesian Mission building. The building was dismantled and re-erected on the present site. [...] The living room has a cove ceiling, (which is a typical Melanesian Mission feature). The house was built for Leslie Quintal and his family but it is not yet clear as to whose house it was when it belonged to the Mission. [...] Owner: Mrs Jeanine Brown was the last tenant. (Varman 1984: 99)	Secondary
692. Pa Pete's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
693. Pa Reuben's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Ma Anna's (Christian)'	Varman 1984	This picturesque home is reputed to be one of the oldest of the Pitcairner houses on the Island. The house was probably built by or for Charles Christian, (1818-1886). Two of Charles' sons benefited in 1887 from the Will concerning Lot 14. Selwyn (1857 – 1889) received the western half, and Reuben (1856 -) the eastern half. Selwyn received the portion with the house. In 1896 Selwyn transferred it and a strip of six acres to Reuben. By this time Selwyn's house had been built. In 1931, the house passed to Ernest Selwyn Christian for life interest. The house is now in the ownership of the daughter of Ernest's sister, Edith Randall, Mrs, Brian Bates. (Varman 1984: 74-75)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
694. Pa Seymour's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
695. Pacific Cable Track	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 103	The Pacific Cable Board was granted the original portion exclusive of the road.	Secondary
696. Paddockwood	House	Norfolk	New Farm Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
697. Pa-Fortys	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	May have been named after Fortescue Morseby Buffett. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
698. Palm Glen	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Named for the proliferation of endemic niow/thatch palm, the midrib of which is used to make brooms and the entire faanu (palm leaf) used for festive decoration, etc. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
699. Palm Glen Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
700. Palmerston	House	Norfolk	Ferny Lane	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
701. Palpaltate Vat	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk	May describe Ball Bay or Cockpit	Rachael McConnell 6/4/09	Describes it as a beautiful place in the shape of a horseshoe with a little creek running to the dam with lots of rocks around.	Primary
702. Parade Ground	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 6		Secondary
703. Paradise	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	The Paradise Hotel stood on this site in KAVHA. It was an icon in the Island's social life and those who lived through its heyday remember going courting on horseback to the Paradise, they tell so many stories; it is a very sentimental place. It was one of the last places on the Island which had whalebone ribs over the entranceway. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
704. Park House	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
705. Parker's Gulley	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This gulley formed part of a farming area of 140 acres. It is located on the Arrowsmith map and would have been established in the 1830s and certainly by 1840. (Varman 1984: 231)	Secondary
706. Parkin's Corner	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
707. Parloo Park	Placename	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008	This name seems to have become myth and folklore on Norfolk. 'Parloo' means masturbation in Norf'k and is an example of the many Tahitian words in the language used to describe taboo things, concepts and actions. 'Parloo Park' is located in the Old Hundred Acres Reserve and is supposedly the place young boys and girls used to get up to a bit of mischief, particularly on their first date. (Greg Quintal Feb 2008)	Primary
708. Parsons Chair	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
709. Passage	Placename	Norfolk		Interviews with fishermen	Local name given to the stretch of water between Norfolk Island and Phillip Island. Used especially by fishermen.	Primary
710. Patching's Hill	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map	An area on New Cascade Road on the Burnt Pine side of Cross ar Water. Patching was a hardworking mainlander man who was liked by the Norfolk community. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Secondary
711. Patteson	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk	House	Fox 1958, p. 218		Secondary
712. Patteson Quintal's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Betsy Kilbourne's'	Varman 1984	This was the original home of Robert Patteson Quintal and was built around the time when he received the grant, (1880). Upon the death of Patteson Quintal in 1926, the house appears to have been shared equally between his daughters Elizabeth Quintal and Agnes. (Varman 1984: 95-96)	Secondary
713. Peacehaven	House	Norfolk	Pitcairn Place	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
714. Pearl Buffett's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Lala's'	Varman 1984	The family believe the house to date to the mid 1920s. Owner: Mr. Albert Buffett. (Varman 1984: 53)	Secondary
715. Peg Evans	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was the family home of Mrs Evans and her parents, Charles Lynch and Hannah Lynch nee Buffett. [...] It was built around 1920. [...] Owner: Mrs P. Evans. (Varman 1984: 263)	Secondary
716. Peggy Christian Road	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	This was part of the original grant to Peggy Christian in 1859 and title vests in her name. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
717. Peggys Peach	Placename	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008		Primary
718. Pellill's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Plan of Norfolk Island Shewing the General Nature of the Ground c 1841		Secondary
719. Pennington	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
720. Peter Christian's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This picturesque style house was built about 1914, probably by one of the children of Roland Sinclair Evans. [...] Owner: Mr John Christian. (Varman 1984: 170)	Secondary
721. Peters Highway	Road	Norfolk		Hoare 2005, p.10 [Map]	This is known to Islanders but not officially named. The road was built during WWII to reconnect the remnants of Ferny Lane with Country road after land resumption to build the airport. Named in honour of someone associated with building the airport. 'Peter's Highway' is not more than 200 metres long. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
722. Pettitt's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This site was located through the Arrowsmith map. In 1840 it was a farm of 34 acres and would most likely have its origins in the 1830s. [...] The site may be a paralell to Piper's Farm which is marked by an enormous Port Morton Bay type fig [...] The site is mostly on airport property. (Varman 1984: 164)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
723. Phillipsburgh	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This township seems to have developed out of a farming settlement called Cascade Farm. [...] On the 30th of April 1791 the 'Village of Cascadyd', also called 'Cascady', was named Phillipsburgh after the Governor. [...] At the time of the naming the village had little character of one because on the 17th of May 1791, Major Ross and Lt Clark, 'Marked out the Town which is to be built there'. [...] (Varman 1984: 294-301)	Secondary
724. Phoebe Adams Cottage	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
725. Piddy's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
726. Pidgeon Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
727. Pidgeons Cave	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
728. Pier	Placename	Phillip				
729. Pier Street	Road	Norfolk		KAVHA Conservation Management Plan, First Draft, 2001		Secondary
730. Pilly Pilly	House	Norfolk	Rooty Hill Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
731. Pindari	House	Norfolk	Mission Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007	Means 'house on the hill' in an Aboriginal language' (Denise Quintal, April 2009)	Secondary
732. Pine Avenue	Road	Norfolk		Hoare 2005, p. 10 [Map]	A beautiful avenue of 375 pines planted during the convict settlement, demolished to build the airport during WWII. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
733. Pine Tree Flat	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This area was identified from the Arrowsmith map which suggests that the name was established by the late 1830s. Any view of Kingston which shows the northern skyline features several stands of pines in this area. A large stand survives to this day but an examination of the stand revealed that due to grazing the stand is not being renewed. (Varman 1984: 154)	Secondary
734. Piper's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	Banyan trees and Port Morton Bay type fig trees on Norfolk Island often indicate Second Settlement activity. A combination of the presence of the giant fig and the Arrowsmith map (1840 survey) led to the discovery of these remains. (Varman 1984: 137)	Secondary
735. Pitcairn Place	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 33	This has been referred to for a number of years as Pitcairn Place and is the result of a subdivision by Tekkeliana Vink (since deceased) and Keith Bishop. Title vests in their joint names. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
736. Pizen Bay	Placename	Nepean	See 'Poison Bay'	Honey McCoy April 2009		Primary
737. Poinciana	House	Norfolk	Cutters Corn	Nash photos 2007		Primary
738. Point Blackbourne Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 3		Secondary
739. Point Blackburne	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary
740. Point Howe	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary
741. Point Hunter	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary
742. Point Hunter Pine	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Lone Pine'	Rachel Borg April 2009	The Point Hunter Pine (now often mistakenly called Lone Pine) still remains on the Emily Bay side of Point Hunter and is present in many early photographs. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
743. Point Hunter Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
744. Point Ross	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary
745. Point Ross Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary
746. Point Ross Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
747. Point Vincent	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 3		Secondary
748. Poison Bay	Placename	Nepean	Map from Honey McCoy has Pizen Bay as a possible form. Location of this placename has been a question	Bev McCoy, Honey McCoy		Primary
749. Pole Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
750. Ponderosa	House	Norfolk	Beefsteak Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
751. Pool Stone	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Three Pool Stone'	Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
752. Poolie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
753. Poorpay Side	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009		Primary
754. Pop Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	This is said to be where the crater of the volcano which formed Norfolk is. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
755. Porpaynui	House	Norfolk	Cutters Corn	Nash photos 2007		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
756. Pott's Farm	House	Norfolk	Former site	Varman 1984	This house was built by or for Samuel Mc Coy and it was known as Pott's Farm as early as 1882. Isaac Robinson used to collect ferns and pine seeds from the area to send overseas during the early 1880s. Fysher [sic] and Maud Christian, two of Benjamin's children lived there for many years. The house was burned to the ground some years ago. [...] Owner: Mrs Joy Quintal. (Norfolk: 138)	Secondary
757. Potts Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
758. Potts Farm Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 42		Secondary
759. Powder Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Located behind the hospital, this valley was named after Nathaniel 'Powder' Quintal who used to live there. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
760. Powder's	Fishing ground	Phillip		Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Line up (1) the pine trees on Garnet Point (Collins Head) with the Skull, the white thing which when the sun shines on it, it looks like a skull on Nepean, and (2) when the south rock comes clear on the on west end of Phillip.	Primary
761. Powders	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A shoreline fishing location just south of East End. Named after Powder Evans. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
762. Prince Phillip Drive	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 43		Secondary
763. Pullis Nobbs	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Sadie Nobbs'	Varman 1984	One of the earliest and largest Kentia palm plantations may be seen around the house and in the valley below. Owner: R and G Nabour (Varman 1984: 166-167)	Secondary
764. Pullis Valley	House	Norfolk		Nash photo 2007	The valley in which Ivens 'Pullis' Nobbs lived, farmed and planted a plantation of Kentia Palm seeds for export. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
765. Pulloo	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
766. Pulpit Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	A descriptive name for the rock formation on the beach at Anson Bay. This rock, which resembles a church pulpit, used to be much larger but was damaged by the laying of the communication cable circa WWII. (Ken Christian Feb 2008)	Secondary
767. Pumper's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
768. Puppys Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Several theories abound (1) named after 'Pappy' Quintal, Les Quintal's grandfather, who once owned the land and fished off the point regularly (this would seem the most likely); (2) in earlier times the cargo ships swum the livestock and other animals ashore, a puppy was once lost in the process and was later found on one of the rocks below; (3) very unlikely theory but some say that one of the rocks on the cliff below looks like an puppy. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
769. Puss's	Fishing ground	Phillip	Probably trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Puss Anderson found this mark. (1) East end of Nepean in line with the old post office/current administration offices down at Kingston (where the Australian administration buildings are), the big convict building and (2) on Phillip there are five holes in the cliff just near the East End and you line the fifth hole up over the pine tree on Phillip. The pine tree is on the eastern side of Phillip on top of the Moo-oo in the Short Valley. Found it about 10 years ago (about 1998).	Primary
770. Putara	House	Norfolk	Rocky Point Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
771. Quality Row	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	During the penal settlement known as Military Row. Renamed by the Pitcairners who did not want to be reminded of the Island's previous history. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
772. Queen Elizabeth Avenue	Road	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 3		Secondary
773. Queen Elizabeth Lookout	Placename	Norfolk	Present name of 'Congress Point'	Highlands Airtel		Secondary
774. Queensboro Road	Road	Norfolk		Archaeological Zoning Plan 1997-1998		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
775. Queensborough	Placename	Norfolk	Same area as 'Orange Vale'	Varman 1984	William Neate Chapman's map of 1794 shows the Queensborough Road, (later Longridge Road), passing along the south side of the southern branch of the Mission Creek (old Lots 68-70). A road [...] appears to lead off from the Queensborough road and into the southern branch of the Mission Creek: If this is the case, Queensborough was almost certainly sited here. The use of fie mortar, however, suggests a late First Settlement period, (mid 1790 onwards). However, it should not be discounted that it was built at a later date as part of the Orange Vale government garden, or commandant's garden. [...] The area was known as Orange Vale during the Second Settlement [...] Owner: Mr W. Sanders. (Varman 1984: 279-285)	Secondary
776. Queenstown	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel		Secondary
777. R. H.	Fishing ground	Norfolk		James Partridge	Maybe named after a man on Norfolk Island named Ray Hall (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Primary
778. Rahooo	House	Norfolk	Beefsteak Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
779. Rainbows End	House	Norfolk	Collins Head Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
780. Ralph & Enid's Side	House	Norfolk	Headstone Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
781. Ralston Cottage	House	Norfolk	Harpers Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
782. Ranston Farm	House	Norfolk	Anson Bay	Nash photos 2008		Primary
783. Ranui	House	Norfolk	Near airport	Nash photos 2007		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
784. Razorback	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The precipitously-sided ridge between Jacky Jacky and the rest of the Island. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
785. Red Knoll	Placename	Phillip				
786. Red Road	Road	Norfolk		Hlghlands Airtel	Named after the reddish brown soil located in this area, particularly apparent before sealing the road. Old Red Road drops straight down into Cockpit and is no longer is use as a public road. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
787. Red Road Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
788. Red Road Valley	Placename	Phillip				
789. Red Rock / High Red Stone	Placename	Phillip				
790. Red Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
791. Red Stone	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Large islet with orange-brown colouring. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
792. Red Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
793. Redder Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
794. Redleaf	House	Norfolk	Douglas Drive	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
795. Rented Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
796. Reuben Christian Road	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	Title vests in the estate of Reuben Christian and it is recommended that it be named in his honour. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
797. Reuben's	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Bev McCoy Feb 2008	You line up Johnnie's Stone with the Stool on Phillip Island and Bird Rock lined up with the High Point at Steels Point. Reuben was one of the old Pitcairners and he had quite a big family here. Howard Christian is his great grandson. Reuben Christian was probably the first person to find that area.	Primary
798. Rigger's Retreat	House	Norfolk		Nash photos 2007		Primary
799. Riggers	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	A shoreline fishing spot used by Rigger Adams. Also known as 'Halfway Round.' (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
800. Roaring 40s	House	Norfolk	New Cascade Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
801. Robertson's Orchard	House	Norfolk		Nash photos 2007		Primary
802. Robin Adams Road	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	Title vests in the name of Robin Adams. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
803. Rocky Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
804. Rocky Point Road	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	Title vests in the Commonwealth.	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
805. Rodgers Cottage	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This cottage is actually named in the 1860 allotment map of the Third Settlement. The cottage was dog-legged into Lot 69, in favour of John Buffett Senior. (It should have been part of Lot 68 which was granted to Mary Crhistian.) Rodgers Cottage was a stone cottage belonging to an overseer attached to the Longridge Agricultural Establishment. Mr Rodger(s) was one of the few men selected to stay behind on the Island to introduce the Pitcairn Islanders to the facilities. [...] The cottage passed from John Buffett to his son Edward and then to Edward's two daughters, Minnie and Louisa. [...] Owner: Airport authorities. (Varman 1984: 285-286)	Secondary
806. Roland Evans'	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Blimp Christian's'	Varman 1984	This was the home of the eldest surviving son of George Francis Mason Evans, George Rowland Sinclaire [sic] Evans, (1861 - late 1940s, he was known as Roland Evans). The family traditions and land transactions suggest a late 1880s date for the house. The original grantee, Jonathan Adams, sold the 51 acre allotment to Charles Christian in 1863. Charles Christian's daughter, "Caroline Evans", (Catherine, or Kitty, wife of George F. M. Evans), received the twelve acres upon which the house was built in 1887. Her son built the house for himself and family, (or had the house built). The family consisted of his wife, Evangeline Buffett (and later Jane Adams) and at least eleven children. The house was inherited by Rowland's son Ernest Evans who then left it to his nephew "Blimp" Christian. [...] Owner: Mr. "Blimp" Christian. (Varman 1984: 114-116)	Secondary
807. Rome of Fredicks lej (Fredicks Edge)	House	Norfolk	Youngs Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
808. Ronnie Dickie's	House	Norfolk	Remains	Varman 1984	Nothing but a number of masonry walls stand to mark the site of the house built by or for Charles H.D. Buffett. Judging by the building materials [...] the earliest part of the house dated to the 1870s or 1880s. (This seems to be too early considering the lateness of the grant). Some graffiti and the building materials of the masonry section seem to suggest a date of about 1909 for the remainder of the structure. The house passed to Edward Buffett and then Ron Buffett [...] the new owners preferred to build a new house nearby. The old house was demolished late in 1983 or early 1984 [...] Owner: Mr Borry Evans. (Varman 1984: 171)	Secondary
809. Roof Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
810. Rooty Hill	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
811. Rooty Hill Road	Road	Norfolk	The English name for 'House Road'.	Moresby Buffett Map 3	Named because of the large number of tree roots encountered when building this road (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
812. Rose Apple Grove	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	These trees often grow in the remote valleys where there was convict activity. However, legend has it that the Pitcairners introduced this species to Norfolk Island. The tree is reported to grow like a weed on Pitcairn Island. As the Pitcairners may have recognized the tree when (or if) they saw it on Norfolk Island when they first arrived, subsequent generations may have assumed that it was introduced from Pitcairn Island. There is no reason why the Pitcairners should have bothered to take seeds with them as the tree is of no or little use. The older generation believed that the timber made good posts in swampy areas. (Varman 1984: 47)	Secondary
813. Rosie & Reg	House	Norfolk	Cutters Corn	Nash photos 2007		Primary
814. Ross Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This farm of 135 acres was indentified from the Arrowsmith map, (survey 1840). In a map dated 1844, it is listed as 'Point Ross Farm'. (Varman 1984: 252)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
815. Rosshaven	House	Norfolk	Former site	Varman 1984	This was the site of Ernest Christian's and his wife Florence's house. The house was built soon after 1897. (Varman 1984: 254)	Secondary
816. Rossiter's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
817. Rossneath	House	Norfolk	Former site	Varman 1984	This was the home of Hardy Rossiter, a son of Thomas Rossiter. Daisy Buffett nee Rossiter grew up in this house. By the 1920s it was converted into a guest house. It was burned down during the 1960s. (Varman 1984: 165)	Secondary
818. Round Country	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
819. Round West End	Placename	Phillip				
820. Routi	House	Norfolk	Beefsteak Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
821. Routi House	House	Norfolk	Beefsteak Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
822. Rugs Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
823. Rusty Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
824. Sadie Nobbs	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Pullis Nobbs'	Varman 1984	One of the earliest and largest Kentia palm plantations may be seen around the house and in the valley below. Owner: R and G Nabour (Varman 1984: 166-167)	Secondary
825. Sail Rock	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Offshore stack with two outcrops that look like masts. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989) Convicts called it 'Twin Brothers' (Bev McCoy Feb 2008)	Secondary
826. Salt House	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
827. Samuel McCoy's House	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
828. Sandfud's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
829. Sarita	House	Norfolk	J. E. Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
830. Sarnems	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
831. Sarnum Quintal's	House	Norfolk		Varnam 1984	It was built by or for Caleb Quintal and later passed to his son Captain Arthur Quintal, or "Sarnum". The building materials indicate an early date for the house, probably the 1870s. [...] Owner: Mr Mike Prentice. (Varman 1984: 185)	Secondary
832. Sattie's Corner	House	Norfolk	Collins Head Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
833. Satties Corner	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	The corner on which Nathaniel Satterfield 'Sattie' Menzies and his wife Susan Agnes 'Aggie Sat' (nee Nobbs) lived. I believe Sattie was a whaler. Their home has been restored and is still located at Sattie's Corner. He was the son of Henry Menzies b. 1856 and Nancy Jane Christian. He served during World War I with the 7th ALH. (5'10 1/2" tall, frizzly coarse black hair, light brown eyes, low forehead, prominent eyebrows & chin.) (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
834. Seal Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
835. Seaweed Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
836. Second East End Valley	Placename	Phillip				
837. Second Sain	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	A walk along the rocky foreshore and around the western point of Bumboras (Cresswell Bay) leads you to a 'second' sandy beach. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
838. Second West End Valley	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Was referred to as 'Whitewood Valley' (after the few relict Whitewood trees) during the rabbit eradication program. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
839. Seldom Inn	House	Norfolk	Taylor's Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
840. Selwyn Bridge	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	Very little of the original bridge survives as most of it was washed away in 1936. The embankments may date to 1888, when the bridge was constructed. [...] (Varman 1984: 305)	Secondary
841. Selwyn Christian's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Pa Chris', 'Sonny Evans', 'Tatie's'	Varman 1984	According to the descendants of Reuben Christian, the house is later than Pa Reuben's. The house was probably built between the late 1870s and 1889, (when Selwyn died). The house was built by or for Selwyn Christian, who was married in 1887. His first and only child, Gertrude, is recorded as having been born at "Cascade", (referring to this part of the Island), in 1878. (Though, it must be admitted that at that time both brothers could have been sharing Pa Reuben's at that time). The house was passed on from daughter to daughter for three generations: Gertrude, who married Fletcher Christian Nobbs, (Pa Chris), passed it onto her daughter, Susan Nobbs; Susan, who married George Albert (Sonny) Evans, left his house to her daughter Dolly; Dolly married Dalyell Christian. The house has been passed onto their son, Gary Christian (who is descended on his father's side from Reuben Christian). (Varman 1984: 77-79)	Secondary
842. Selwyn Pine Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
843. Selwyn Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
844. Serendipity	House	Norfolk	Hibiscus Drive	Nash photos 2009		Primary
845. Serenity	House	Norfolk	Martins Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
846. Serenity Park	House	Norfolk	J. E. Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
847. Setta Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
848. Setters Point	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
849. Seven Acres	House	Norfolk		Nash photos 2008		Primary
850. Seymour Buffett's	House	Norfolk	Same building as Mervyn Buffett's	Varman 1984	This was the home of Henry Seymour [sic] Buffett and Selina Buffett and at least twelve of their children. The home was built around the early 1880s. It was passed onto Frederick Stanley [sic] Buffett on Seymour's death in 1931 but with his mother's life interest. The house was subsequently passed on to Stanley's son, Mervi [sic]. Owner: Mr. M. Buffett. (Varman 1984: 97-98)	Secondary
851. Shag Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
852. Shallow Water	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Just at the start of No Trouble you will find Shallow Water. When you go off Norfolk there is a clear piece out there we call the Alligator's Eye. When you put that on Mt. Pitt [i.e. line it up] and you follow that line out until you get a little narrow gap in the pine trees at Byron Burrell's place at Duncombe Bay. The reef comes up to about 35 metres depth, very shallow. Good fish there. It's about a mile square that fishing bank. About nine miles off the coast from Duncombe Bay.	Primary
853. Shangrila's	House	Norfolk		Nash photos 2008		Primary
854. Shark Bank	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Shark Bank - close to Cascade, just off Bird Rock. Three or four miles out. You line up Bird Rock with a cut out in the cliff. [Bev McCoy is only sure of one of the marks]	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
855. Sheep Dip	Placename	Norfolk		Joy Cochrane (April 2009), Museum Cultural Map (#144)	In the creek that runs from just under the South Pacific Hotel and goes down to Emily Bay there is a small man-made pond just down from where tree Farm is now. Young kids used to go swimming there when they were walking down to Kingston. There were eels and freshwater prawns in there and it was deep enough to dive into. Due to changes in the running of Norfolk watercourses, it is now gone. Why it was called 'Sheep Wash' or 'Sheep Dip' is not known. (Joy Cochrane April 2009)	Primary
856. Shepherd's Hut	House	Norfolk	On the same site as 'Ar Bamboo'	Varman 1984	[...] reputed to have been the remains of a shepherd's hut from the convict period [...] (Varman 1984: 31)	Secondary
857. Shere's Gulley	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was a remote valley, possibly associated with the nearby sheep station. (See Arrowsmith map, 1842). (Varman 1984: 257)	Secondary
858. Short East End Valley	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Was referred to as 'Box Canyon' during the rabbit eradication program. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
859. Short Moo-oo Valley	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Valley just above Dar Moo-oo. Was referred to as 'Hut Valley' during the rabbit eradication program. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
860. Short Valley	Placename	Phillip				
861. Short Water	Fishing ground	Phillip		Bev McCoy Feb 2008	In the area known as The Passage between Norfolk and Phillip, (1) you use the stone outside the Moo-oo, Dar Stone Outside Moo-oo, in line with the Twin Brothers (Sail Rock?) and (2) the tree up on the hill down by/on top of the cemetery and you put that on/over the High Side of Nepean. Named such as it is very close to Phillip. Old name.	Primary
862. Shortridge	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
863. Shortridge Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 59	This is an extension of the existing Shortridge Road and title vests in the Commonwealth. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
864. Shunna's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This home was built in the early Pitcairner Colonial Post-Georgian style. [...] The home was built by or for James Quintal, (1825 - 1898), the original grantee. After James' death the home passed to Pricilla Quintal nee Christian, his wife, and from thence in 1907 to their son Nathan, (Shunna). The house passed on to Nathan's son, William Samuel (Freddie) and within recent years to his eldest son, Louis. The home was used as a guest house for many years, as quite a few of the old houses on the Island were before the 1960s. Owner: Mr L. Quintal. (Varman 1984: 92-94) Perhaps William 'Shunna' Quintal's? (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
865. Sia & Annas	Placename	Norfolk		Highlands Airtel	Josiah 'Sia' Adams was the grandson of John Adams. He became the sole patriarch of the reformed Pitcairn society after drink and murder had taken their effect. Sia and his wife Anna lived in a house on Cascade Road although others claim they lived in a house at Anson Bay. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
866. Side ar Whale Es	Placename	Norfolk		Willie Sanders Feb 2008	Only ever elicited once and known only to one informant, this placename describes a land feature which when looked at from a distance resembles a whale. In the Cascade/Steels Point area just above where 'Dixies' appears on the Edgecombe-Martin map	Primary
867. Side Suf Fly Pass	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006	Located at Garnet Point, Side Suff Fly Past is a very specific rocky outcrop at which the sea comes in at a particular angle and creates a large spray of sea water, rock fisherman must be wary of 'side suff fly past' i.e. the place where the sea flys past (Albert Buffett). This place name is a very culturally useful warning sign. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
868. Silver Roof Party Headquarters	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
869. Simon's Water	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
870. Simon's Water	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The area was named by the Pitcairner's, 'Simon's Water', after the grantee of Lot 2, Simon Young, (1823-1893). Simon Young and his family returned to Pitcairn Island soon after they arrived on Norfolk Island. (Varman 1984: 32) Simon Young was granted allotment No. 2 when the Pitcairners moved out of Kingston and went 'up-country'. It consisted of about 55 acres on the east coast near the Little Cascade which was known to locals as Simon's water. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
871. Skate Harbour	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
872. Skeeter's Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
873. Slaughter Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	The older Islanders used to say 'wi yussa gu naawi iin aa Slorta', we used to go swimming in the Slaughter. I have heard a number of versions of the naming of this Bay, legend says it was because the sea ran red with the blood of the flogged/slaughtered in convict times. More plausible is that it is a reference to the English 'slaughter' system which would correlate with the water systems which lay behind this area. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
874. Snells Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 60	Title to this road vests in a number of persons who are related to the original Fred & Polly Snell. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
875. Sofa Bank	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	A husband on finding his wife making love to another man on a sofa, promptly took the sofa and hurled it off the cliff. This place is forevermore known as 'Sofa'. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
876. Soldiers' Gulley	Placename	Norfolk	Same area as 'Town Creek'	Varman 1984	This area has had extensive First and Second Settlement activity, being well watered and having rich valley soil. Along the valley may be found the remains of several convict structures including a silted dam, the foundations of a water conduit system, some cottage or building remains etc. This area has been surveyed in the Kingston and Arthur's Vale Historic Area Archeological Report, but not completely. Owners: Many individuals have land in this area (Varman 1984: 161)	Secondary
877. Sonny Evans'	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Selwyn Christian's', 'Pa Chris', 'Tatie's'	Varman 1984	According to the descendants of Reuben Christian, the house is later than Pa Reuben's. The house was probably built between the late 1870s and 1889, (when Selwyn died). The house was built by or for Selwyn Christian, who was married in 1887. His first and only child, Gertrude, is recorded as having been born at "Cascade", (referring to this part of the Island), in 1878. (Though, it must be admitted that at that time both brothers could have been sharing Pa Reuben's at that time). The house was passed on from daughter to daughter for three generations: Gertrude, who married Fletcher Christian Nobbs, (Pa Chris), passed it onto her daughter, Susan Nobbs; Susan, who married George Albert (Sonny) Evans, left his house to her daughter Dolly; Dolly married Dalyell Christian. The house has been passed onto their son, Gary Christian (who is descended on his father's side from Reuben Christian). (Varman 1984: 77-79)	Secondary
878. South Rock	Placename	Phillip				
879. Spin Bay	Placename	Phillip	Honey McCoy has indicated, with an arrow, a narrower provenance for this name	Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The large bay stretching from Garnet Point to the eastern portion of the Island. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
880. St Barnabas's Chapel	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk		Varman 1984	[...] Owner: Church of England, Norfolk Island or Anglican Church of Australia, (Sydney Diocese). (Varman 1984: 270)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
881. St. Barnabas	House	Norfolk	Anson Bay Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
882. St. Barnabas	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk		Nobbs 1990		Secondary
883. Stage	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
884. Stanley's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Archaeological Zoning Plan 1997-1998		Secondary
885. Statts	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
886. Steeles Point	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
887. Stegside	House	Norfolk	Grassy Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
888. Stephen's Stone	Placename	Norfolk	See 'Land Stephen'	Edgecombe-Martin	Another name for 'Land Stephen.'	Secondary
889. Stock Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
890. Stockyard Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
891. Stone fer George & Isaacs	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	This rock sits out in the ocean. It looks very much like a policeman's hat. It was used as a boundary marker. On one side of the rock was George Quintal's property, on the other side Isaac Robinson's. Isaac Robinson was the father of Enoch Cobbcroft 'Cobby' Robinson who married Aunt Jemima (she lived to 100) Her daughter is Aunty Girlie Nobbs. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
892. Stony Valley	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Was referred to as 'Rocky Valley' (after the rocky/stony nature of the soil) during the rabbit eradication program. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
893. Store Road	Road	Norfolk	See 'Middlegate Road'	Edgecombe-Martin	Norf'k name for Middlegate Road. Named such as the road leads down to the Commissionariat Store in Kingston. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
894. Stormy Paddock	House	Norfolk	Taylors Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007	Named such as a quarrelsome family used to live there. (Community meeting April 2009)	Secondary
895. Strathconon	House	Norfolk	J. E. Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
896. Strawberry Fields	House	Norfolk	Anson Bay Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
897. Stump	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
898. Sucker Ground	Placename	Norfolk	Generic name	Varman 1984	This sucker ground was located solely in Lot 39. This sucker ground was one of several noted on the Arrowsmith map, (based on a survey in 1840). (Varman 1984: 125)	Secondary
899. Suicide Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Locals say that if you fish here you may as well be committing suicide as the swell smashes right onto the rocks. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Secondary
900. Sul	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk		Rachael McConnell April 2009	Where the single children live, means 'people' in Mota.	Primary
901. Summit Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
902. Sunhaven	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The original core of the house was built by Gunson Evans probably during the 1920s. [...] Mr and Mrs K and M Christian. (Varman 1984: 254-255)	Secondary
903. Sunny Boy's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
904. Sunnybrook	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009		Primary
905. Sunnyside	House	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Name of a house built by a family who came to participate in the agricultural boom, was located in Palm Glen where the flat section is half-way up the hillock. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
906. Sunset Cottage	House	Norfolk	Little Cutters Corn	Nash photos 2007		Primary
907. Superintendent of Agriculture's Quarters	House	Norfolk	Former site. Same site as 'Earl of Limerick's House'	Varman 1984	The plans for this house were prepared by H.W. Lugard in April 1839 and from Lugard's plan of the Longridge Station of December 1840, it appears that it was completed by that time. [...] The house survived during the Third Settlement because it became the home of a family from Pitcairn Island, Thomas Buffett and his wife Louisa nee Quintal. The house was locally known as the "Earl of Limerick's House" because the late nineteenth [sic] century Earl was supposed to have been born there. (I haven't been able to confirm this story but it appears that the heir was born on the Island). (Varman 1984: 179)	Secondary
908. Sweat Bank	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
909. Sydney	Placename	Norfolk	Former name for Kingston.	Settlers Lots on Norfolk Island 1791-1804		Secondary
910. Sydney Bay	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
911. Tania's Place	House	Norfolk	George Hunn Nobbs Road	Nash photos 2009	Title to the road vests in the name of Robert Edward Buffett. Road needs to be dedicated as a public road. It has been known by that name for many years.	Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
912. Tara	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
913. Tarie's Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 115	Title to the road vests in the name of Robert Edward Buffett. Road needs to be dedicated as a public road. It has been known by that name for many years.	Secondary
914. Tarie's Paddock	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
915. Taro Ground	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	I have heard this only once or twice. I believe when the Pitcairn Islanders came they preferred communal planting and there was a place they called 'Taro Ground' at Steeles Point. I understand that once a week (perhaps on the weekend) they made the trip up-country to work their ground (gardens) and to collect provisions for the coming week [Shirley Harrison Glossary]. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
916. Tarooma	House	Norfolk	J. E. Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
917. Tarries Paddock	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	A large paddock at Steels Point. Used to be owned by Charles 'Tarrie' Buffett. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
918. Tatie's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Selwyn Christian's', 'Pa Chris', 'Sonny Evans'	Varman 1984	According to the descendants of Reuben Christian, the house is later than Pa Reuben's. The house was probably built between the late 1870s and 1889, (when Selwyn died). The house was built by or for Selwyn Christian, who was married in 1887. His first and only child, Gertrude, is recorded as having been born at "Cascade", (referring to this part of the Island), in 1878. (Though, it must be admitted that at that time both brothers could have been sharing Pa Reuben's at that time). The house was passed on from daughter to daughter for three generations: Gertrude, who married Fletcher Christian Nobbs, (Pa Chris), passed it onto her daughter, Susan Nobbs; Susan, who married George Albert (Sonny) Evans, left his house to her daughter Dolly; Dolly married Dalyell Christian. The house has been passed onto their son, Gary Christian (who is descended on his father's side from Reuben Christian). (Varman 1984: 77-79)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
919. Tavener Lane	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	Title vests in Jim and Louise Tavener. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
920. Taylors Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
921. Teeny's	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	1) clump of pine trees down by the Lion's Club. 2) mark not known. Named after Teeny Menzies.	Primary
922. Tern Corner	House	Norfolk	Taylors Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
923. Ternwood	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
924. Terrace	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The relatively flat terraced area above the Oaks and Olives at the top of Long Valley. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
925. Tevarua Lane	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 52		Secondary
926. The Acre	House	Norfolk	Middlegate	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
927. The Bar	Placename	Norfolk		Merv Buffett April 2009	During convict times, several men drowned 'crossing the bar'. This is recorded on some headstones in the cemetery. 'The Bar' is a petrified wooden wharf or slipway under the water in Cemetery Bay near 'Murderer's Mound'. It was used by the convicts to transport sandstone from Nepean Island to Kingston during the Second Settlement. There are very rough seas in this area and there is a strong undertow so a lot of them drowned crossing 'The Bar'. It is underwater and it can sometimes be seen from the shore when it is not covered in sand. (Merv Buffett April 2009)	Primary
928. The Big Flat	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	[...] This was a grazing area as there was a sheep station located in the vicinity [...] 1830s/1840s [...] (Varman 1984: 33)	Secondary
929. The Billy Tin	Fishing ground	Norfolk	'This fishing ground is not used anymore. GPS has made it redundant' (Bob Toft)	Bob Toft March 2008, Byron Adams March 2008	A fishing ground off Headstone, a place where a guy supposedly lost/dropped his lunch off the side of a boat. (from Bob Toft, also mentioned by Byron Adams).	Primary
930. The Bottlehouse	House	Norfolk	Off Fletcher Christian Road	Toft and Toft 2004	Built by Bob Hemus ~1950.	Secondary
931. The Bottlehouse	Placename	Norfolk	Hemus Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
932. The Clock	Fishing ground	Norfolk		David Graham Nov 2009	There used to a clock in the All Saints church, by the entrance. 1) line up the pines at the Lion's Club with the foot of Flagstaff Hill, 2) the shear of Garnet Point with Lone Pine. Need a northerly breeze as it pushes you back towards Phillip.	Primary
933. The Compound	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	The walled compound/enclosure in Kingston which during the second penal settlement was the Prisoner's Barracks, once housed the Public Works Department, used by Islanders for the Bounty (Anniversary Day) oicnic. The Compound was also for many years where the Youth Centre was run from. Used also for recreational purposes and public functions. (Rachael Borg April 2009)	Primary
934. The Convict Steps	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
935. The Cord	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Known in earlier times as the 'Cordline' because access was by climbing down a rope. It was simply abbreviated to "The Cord". The Cord pools are popular for swimming and rock fishing. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
936. The Cottages	House	Norfolk	Selwyn Pine Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
937. The Crab Stone	Placename	Norfolk		1923 (1942) Plan of Subdivision of Former Melanesian Mission Lands, Norfolk		Secondary
938. The Crack	Fishing ground	Nepean	Trevally	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	No marks. Just fish out from the reef at Nepean, 100 yards off the reef.	Primary
939. The Crack	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
940. The Finger	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008	When you look at the bathometric map, it looks like a finger. A long way south of Norfolk.	Primary
941. The Horseshoe	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008	You would line up Jacky Jacky and Mt Pitt. Large area for fishing, when you lined then up you knew you were there. Long way out from Norfolk to the south.	Primary
942. The Mayor of Cutters Corn	House	Norfolk	Cutters Corn	Nash photos 2007		Primary
943. The Mistral	House	Norfolk	Rooty Hill Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
944. The Nest	House	Norfolk	Bucks Point	Nash photos 2007		Primary
945. The Oaks	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
946. The Old Whaler's Road	Road	Norfolk		Varman 1984	It is said that during the whaling days the road was used for access around the cliffs and fires were lit to guide whalers back to the Island. The road was also used by loggers and one informant believed that the area near the Cemetery Road was used to lower pine logs into the sea so that waiting ships could transport them away. (...) The Pitcairn Islanders when they arrived, tended to use existing roads and tracks. It is though that the road may date back to a pre 1856 period. Owner: Mr W. Blucher [sic] (Varman 1984: 163) Anow dis-used road which runs off Driver Christian Road linking Kingston and the jetty with and Ball Bay. This old road intersects Driver Christian Road just above Bloody Bridge. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
947. The Pines	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was built by William Taylor, the grantee of Lot 52 and builder and stone mason to St Barnabas' Chapel at the Melanesian Mission. The house appears to have been built during the 1870s, perhaps the late 1870s. Mr Jim Edwards lived in the house for many years and is [sic] now of the home of Mr Paul Edward. (Varman 1984: 150-151)	Secondary
948. The Pinnacles	Fishing ground	Norfolk		Byron Adams Feb 2008		Primary
949. The Rocks	House	Norfolk	Collins Head Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
950. The Saddle	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
951. The Skull	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
952. The Thumb	Fishing ground	Phillip	Trumpeter	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Between Dar Thumb, west end of Phillip and Teeny's. Marks not known. Frankie Christian used to use it.	Primary
953. The Village	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 56		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
954. The Vines	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
955. Third West End Valley	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Was referred to as 'Missing Valley' during the rabbit eradication program. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
956. Third West Valley	Placename	Phillip				
957. Thistledoo	House	Norfolk	Headstone Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
958. Thorton Yager's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This is the site of a home built after the turn of the century. The land was willed by William Quintal to Helen Yager. (William died in 1905). The house was demolished during the 190s, much to the regret of the Yager family, and now survives only as a pile of rubble. Owner: resumed by the local government. (Varman 1984: 105)	Secondary
959. Three Pool Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
960. Three Sisters	Placename	Norfolk		Boyd Adams Feb 2008	This is a classic example of a name known even to very few islanders. There is a tree formation near the spectator mound on the property which holds the 'Mutiny on the Bounty' show. It is unique in that it three trunks appear from the one tree hence the name.	Primary
961. Tilley's	Fishing ground	Phillip	Same mark as 'Ar Saddle'	Bev McCoy Feb 2008	Line up (1) the pine trees on Garnet Point (Collins Head) across the Saddle in Nepean, and (2) when the south rock comes clear on the on west end of Phillip. Who Tilley is is unknown.	Primary
962. Timiti's Crack	House	Norfolk	Music Valley	Nash photos 2008		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
963. Tinker's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'George Evans'	Varman 1984	This is a typical Evans' home, built on the usual plan but having a gable roof. It was formerly the home of George Francis Mason Evans, referred to locally as "Tinker" Evans. George Evans, (1935-1910), was the original grantee of Lot 29. He was willed the 30 acres upon which the house stands by his father, John Evans Sn, who died in 1891. The house appears to have been built by that time. In later years the house was lived in by Austin "Ot" Christian and later still by tenants (B.N and M Christian). (...) Owner: Mr P. Woodward. (Varman 1984: 110)	Secondary
964. Tintoela	House	Norfolk	New Cascade Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
965. Tip Road	Road	Norfolk		Boyd Adams Feb 2008	Unofficial name for the road leading down to the tip at Headstone	Primary
966. Tipi Haere	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
967. Titerack Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	'Titerack' is the local/Island name for the Black Noddy (aka White-capped noddy). Titerack Valley is located at the end of McLaughlin's Lane in the National Park where they are commonly found and very active in Spring and Summer. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
968. Tobacco Valley	Placename	Phillip				
969. Tom Bailey's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
970. Tomato	Placename	Phillip				
971. Tommy Jackson's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
972. Tommy Snar's	House	Norfolk	Same building as 'Daisy Buffett's'	Varman 1984	This cottage was built in 1920 or 1921 from building materials taken from the Melanesian Mission complex. [...] Owner: Daisy Buffett. (Varman 1984: 276)	Secondary
973. Tooka-Tern	House	Norfolk	Driver Christian Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
974. Tormsby	House	Norfolk	Near airport	Nash photos 2007		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
975. Torrie Glen	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This house was built around 1909. A shop was later erected on the site and an access road created from the Middlegate Road to Queen Elizabeth Avenue so that customers could easily reach the house. Owner: Mr Keith Bishop. (Varman: 159)	Secondary
976. Tower Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
977. Town	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Kingston where the Pitcairners originally settled the Island elders in particular call 'Town' They might say 'saf kwait guud iin taun' (the seas are quite good in Kingston). When they moved 'ap kantri' it became 'daun taun'. We grew up with our grandparents - in my family we went downtown to Bounty Day, to picnic and pick hi-hi's, pay bills, register cars, go to the liquor bond (then in the New Military Barracks), to go swimming. The way Islanders use 'in town', 'down town', 'up town' 'round town' is very generation-specific. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
978. Town Creek	Placename	Norfolk	Same area as 'Soldiers' Gulley'	Varman 1984	This area has had extensive First and Second Settlement activity, being well watered and having rich valley soil. Along the valley may be found the remains of several convict structures including a silted dam, the foundations of a water conduit system, some cottage or building remains etc. This area has been surveyed in the Kingston and Arthur's Vale Historic Area Archeological Report, but not completely. Owners: Many individuals have land in this area (Varman 1984: 161)	Secondary
979. Tracker's Gulley	Placename	Norfolk		Plan of Norfolk Island Shewing the General Nature of the Ground c 1841		Secondary
980. Trade Winds	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
981. Tree Farm	Placename	Norfolk	Former site	Varman 1984	This area was settled by grant during the First Settlement. (...) Owner: Mr Keith Bishop (166)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
982. Tree of Knowledge	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5	The Tree of Knowledge was demolished to construct the airport. It was part of Pine Avenue. The Tree of Knowledge was the local notice board, notices were often written on old flour sacks and the like, and attached to this pine tree or boards thereon. There were no cars at that time, but often someone on a 'sulky' (two wheeled cart) or horse or on foot would pass by, stop by and have a chat and post a sign on the Tree of Knowledge. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
983. Truly Auwas	House	Norfolk	Beefsteak Road	Nash photos 2008	This is an extension of the existing Shortridge Road and title vests in the Commonwealth. (The Admin	Primary
984. Tummie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
985. Turtle Bay	Placename	Phillip				
986. Twin Brothers	Placename	Phillip				
987. Two Chimneys Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
988. Two Chimneys Road	Road	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
989. Two Ships Marker	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Stab in the dark mark. Tardy and Bear didn't encourage using this mark.	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Use the naval anchorage marks at Cascade.	Primary
990. U. J. Road	Road	Norfolk		Hoare 2005, p. 51 [Map]		Secondary
991. Ugene Stone	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006	A small offshore stone just out from Bumboras near Second Sand. 'Stone' means 'testicles' in Norf'k. Supposedly someone by the name of Eugene was fishing from this rock and was bitten on the testicles by a crab.	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
992. Uncle Cornish Quintal's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	The house was probably built for Arthur Quintal Sn [Senior], son of the Bounty Mutineer, (1795-1886). The land and house was inherited by his son Cornelius Quintal, (b. 1841). "Uncle Cornish" was one of the last Pitcairners to survive on Norfolk Island. This are was the site of the New Farm Centre and the New Farm East of the 1830s and 1840s. Owner: Mr. A. Mawson (Varman 1984: 104)	Secondary
993. Uncle Daewed's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
994. Uncle Joe's	House	Norfolk	Martins Road	Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
995. Uncle Joes Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 16	Through usage it has been referred to [by] this name as the person who resided there was Joe Jenkins. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008) At the end of Buck's Point, named after Uncle Joe Jenkins (married to Aunt Ruth) (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
996. Uncle Pat's	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
997. Under Foots	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
998. Under Hadleys	Placename	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008		Primary
999. Under Kaka's	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Johnny 'Kaka' Quintal used to live there. His house was located in the Old Hundred Acres area. Islanders used to go down to the shore line to collect 'hi-hi' (periwinkles). (Bev McCoy Feb 2008)	Secondary
1000. Under Ross	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
1001. Under Stump	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary
1002. Under Wicksteads	Placename	Norfolk		Greg Quintal Feb 2008		Primary
1003. Unicorn	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1004. Unoo's Corner	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Charles Leopold "Charlie Unoo" Evans (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
1005. Up ar Sand	Fishing ground	Norfolk	(same as Down ar Graveyard)	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Variant name for 'Down ar Graveyard' (same as Down ar Graveyard)	Primary
1006. Up Charlie's	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	C.C.R. Nobbs Store, general store located in New Farm Road, was owned by Charles Chase Ray Nobbs and was accidentally burnt down some years ago. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
1007. Up Chats	House	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Charles Henry Evans, "Chat" was born. 24 Sep 1886 on Norfolk. Parents William Henry Hodgson Evans and Rachel Quintal. Served during World War I with the 6th ALH. He married Mary Quintal in 1926, daughter of Cornelius Quintal (Uncle Cornish) and Ellen Amelia Moore. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
1008. Up Country	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	Anywhere that was upwards of Kingston 'taun' was 'up country' – 'dem si muuw ap kuntri' to their land allotments.	Primary
1009. Up in a Stick	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin	Any area up towards the mountain areas and the underlying valleys which are/were wooded and full of bush or sticks (we go 'upinastick' for guavas, palm leaves, mountain rush, mountain lemons, to walk, to plant, to garden, to court, to play) (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1010. Up the Norwest	Fishing ground	Norfolk	Trumpeter, groper hoem offie [?] (David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009)	Bev McCoy Feb 2008, David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Bear/Tardy: or 'Out the Norwest', several locations and marks for fishing when you are out there. Approx. 17 miles out. Tardy used to use marks over Jacky Jacky with the west end of Norfolk as well as marks using Red Stone. Mainly catch groper out there. 'Norwest Ridge' – quite a long reef in that area, they would work the edge of the reef and catch big trumpeter. Can also use the west end of Phillip Island as well. Bev McCoy: Jacky Jacky in line with the pine at Byron Burrell's property about 18 miles out. You just follow that line straight out there, it's a vast area and you can fish in many parts of this area.	Primary
1011. Upcooks	House	Norfolk	Stockyard Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007	A large paddock at Steels Point. Used to be owned by Charles 'Tarrie' Buffett. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
1012. Valis we Poa	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk		Coombe 1909, p. 48	'Big Grass' is the name of our grand old meadow, dotted with pines and lemons, and white-oaks, and stretching right away to the cliff.	Secondary
1013. Valley on Top Niggers Hoof	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Was referred to as 'Tobacco Valley' during the rabbit eradication program. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
1014. Vanua	Melanesian Mission	Norfolk		Coombe 1909, p. 20		Secondary
1015. Victoria Farm	Placename	Norfolk	Same site as 'Fothergill's'	Varman 1984	Its inclusion on the Arrowsmith map suggests a founding date prior to 1840. (Varman 1984: 183)	Secondary
1016. View Ridge	House	Norfolk	Martins Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
1017. Waager's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
1018. Wager Quintal's	House	Norfolk	Now called 'Island Pottery'	Varman 1984	This cottage was built by, or for a son of, Robert Patteson Quintal (usual spelling but not used for original grant), William (Wager) Quintal. The home was built by 1926 but appears to be much earlier. Owner: Mr A. Biggs. (Varman 1984: 95)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1019. War Memorial Reserve	Placename	Norfolk		Norfolk Island Parks & Forestry Service Plans of Management 2003		Secondary
1020. Ward Buffett's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	Ward Buffett, a son of Davd Buffett, built a house here but only the fireplace remains. Ward Buffett was one of the last to keep sheep on the Island in a meaningful way. (Varman 1984: 33)	Secondary
1021. Water Mill Walley	Placename	Norfolk		Edgecombe-Martin		Secondary
1022. Watermill	House	Norfolk	Taylors Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
1023. Watermill Road	Road	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
1024. Watermill Valley	House	Norfolk	Taylors Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
1025. Wattie's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
1026. Wattle Cottage	House	Norfolk	New Cascade Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
1027. Webb Adams Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 63	Title to this road vests in the estate of George Webb Adams. Needs to be dedicated and named. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
1028. Weltevreder	House	Norfolk	Mission Road	Nash photos 2008		Primary
1029. West End	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	The western tip of the Island. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
1030. West End	Placename	Nepean		Bev McCoy Feb 2008		Primary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1031. West End Pool	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Small intertidal rock pool. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
1032. West Palm Glen Track	Placename	Norfolk	Located in Norfolk Island National Park	Hitch & Hitch (1991: 22) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary
1033. Whale's Hump	Fishing ground	Phillip	Trumpeter	David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	1) clump of pine at the Lion's Club across reef at east end of Phillip. 2) Go out on this run until you make a whale's hump with the rock that comes out of the back of Phillip Island. Pray to god you strike it.	Primary
1034. Whales Hump	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Small offshore rock on western side of Garnet Point. That fishermen use as a marker for fishing offshore. They find the correct fishing spot when the rock takes the appearance of a whale's hump. (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
1035. Whaling Station	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006	The site of the last whaling station (Cascade) the remains of the digester/boiler being the most obvious. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Secondary
1036. Whispering Pines	House	Norfolk	Mount Pitt Road	Nash photos 2007		Primary
1037. White Oak	Placename	Norfolk		Moresby Buffett Map 5		Secondary
1038. White Oaks	House	Norfolk	Martins Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
1039. White Rock	Placename	Phillip				
1040. White Stone Outside Dar Stool	Placename	Phillip		Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989	Offshore volcanic plug, whitish colour obvious, even from Norfolk Island. (Sometimes called 'Sail Rock'.) (Phillip Island Revised Plan of Management 1989)	Secondary
1041. Whitewings	House	Norfolk	Remains	Varman 1984	This was a turn of the century, or slightly later house. [...] this house was also demolished and only the fireplace remains. Owner: Borry Evans. (Varman 1984: 173)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1042. Whitewood Valley	Placename	Phillip				
1043. Wicksteads	House	Norfolk	Headstone Road	Nash photos 2007	Currently Ralph Weslake's house. Named because the Wicksteads homestead is above it. Several pines in this property were important for lining up numerous offshore fishing grounds. (Nash 2009)	Primary
1044. Wicksteads	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006	Currently Ralph Weslake's house. Named because the Wicksteads homestead is above it. Several pines in this property were important for lining up numerous offshore fishing grounds. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
1045. Willandra	House	Norfolk		Nash photos 2009		Primary
1046. William Evans Lane	Road	Norfolk		The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008	William Evans was granted this land and it is recommended that the road be named in his honour. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary
1047. William Kendall's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This area was the site of Kendall's cottage and outbuildings. William Kendall was sent out to the Island in the service of the Melanesian Mission in 1867 as a carpenter. He lived at the Mission in 1867 as carpenter. He lived at the Mission until about 1891, when he was given notice. Kendall was granted 50 acres [...] in 1891. [...] His first residence was his cookhouse and his cottage was built about 1900. [...] The house was burned down in 1928 and the remains are now partly under Mr B.N. Christian's large garage. [...] Owner: Mr B.N. Christian. (Varman 1984: 260-261)	Secondary
1048. William McCoy Road	Road	Norfolk		Government gazette # 68	As the other roads in this area have been named after the original mutineers this name is recommended. (The Administration of Norfolk Island 2008)	Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1049. Willie Boy's	House	Norfolk	Bullocks Hut Road	Edgecombe-Martin	Willie Boy Quintal was a gentleman who lived at Anson Bay. He used to chew tobacco and drink a lot of Valiant Rum. Willie Boy's property, which is where Anson Bay Lodge currently stands, was also known as 'Valiant Park' by those who used to go drinking out there because of the rum they used to drink. He worked for the forestry service and planted the pines at Emily Bay along with Kik Kik Quintal, Thornton 'Bobo' Yaeger and Ivens Pulis-Nobbs. (Bubby Evans Feb 2008)	Secondary
1050. Willow's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
1051. Willy Netty's	House	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This cottage is built on a gable style and may date between the 1890s and ca World War II. Not examined. (Varman 1984: 252)	Secondary
1052. Wind Mill	Placename	Norfolk		Bev McCoy 2006		Secondary
1053. Wind Song	House	Norfolk	Hibiscus Drive	Nash photos 2009		Primary
1054. Windy Bend	Placename	Norfolk		Rachel Borg April 2009	When you travel to Kingston from Burnt Pine on Taylors Road, 'Windy Bend' is the last corner you go round before you arrive in Kingston. It is a very tight and exposed corner hence the name. (Merv Buffett April 2009) I understand 'Windy Corner' is the long, exposed (and therefore 'windy') corner at the crest of Middlegate Road near Panorama Court (previously called Store Road in the 2nd Settlement - the convict Commissariat Store is at its base, the silos at the top of the adjoining hill). This road was the primary road between the two main landing points. (Rachel Borg April 2009)	Primary
1055. Windy Ridge	House	Norfolk	Rocky Point Road	Museum Cultural Map, Nash (2007)		Secondary
1056. Wits End	House	Norfolk	Little Green Lane	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1057. Wolf Rock	Placename	Norfolk		Black map 1844		Secondary
1058. Wood's Roof	House	Norfolk	Cascade Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
1059. Wright's Farm	Placename	Norfolk		Varman 1984	This was a 24 acre farm located from the Arrowsmith map, dated 1842, (survey, 1840). (Varnam 1984: 187)	Secondary
1060. Xanadu	House	Norfolk	Cutters Corn	Nash photos 2007		Primary
1061. Yaa Ya's	House	Norfolk		Museum Cultural Map		Secondary
1062. Yaeman's Mill Road	Road	Norfolk		Archaeological Zoning Plan 1997-1998		Secondary
1063. Yaralla	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary
1064. Yaralla	House	Norfolk	Two Chimneys Road	Nash photos 2009		Primary
1065. Yorlor Lane	Road	Norfolk	Fishers would go here to get enough fish for food, not for selling. Wouldn't get a large catch here. Mainly trumpeter (Norf'k: sweet lip) and cod (Norf'k: bucket, flower pot) - David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Government gazette # 53	A lane off New Cascade Road remembering the stone grating instrument 'yollo' brought from Pitcairn and originally from Tahiti. It is used to grate sweet potatoes and unripe bananas in traditional Norfolk cookery. (Nash 2009)	Secondary
1066. Young Evans'	House	Norfolk	Former name for 'Crystal Pool'	Varman 1984	This is a small cottage built for Young Evans' family about 1920. (...) Owner: Miss Karyn Evans (?) (Varman 1984: 106)	Secondary
1067. Youngs Road	Road	Norfolk	Mainly get trumpeter, sometimes red snapper, sometimes gropper and the odd kingfisher - David Graham, Tardy Evans Nov 2009	Hitch & Hitch (1991) Map Directory Norfolk Island 1992		Secondary

Placename	Feature	Island	Notes	Source	History	Data
1068. Zanadu	House	Norfolk	Selwyn Pine Road	Norfolk Island Telephone Directory 2007		Secondary

APPENDIX B DUDLEY PENINSULA DATA

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
1. 77	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
2. Abyssinnia	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
3. Adas	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. Arnolds 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		
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.
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.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
22. Bill Brians Walk	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2	
23. Bill's Hill	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
24. Binnies	Placename		
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. Careys Gully	Placename	Beverley Willson 22/2/09	
39. Careys Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
40. Careys Pit	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Named after Dennis Carey
41. Castle Hill	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
42. Cemetery Hill	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
43. Chapmans	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	
47. Chimney Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Location of where the Tapleys had their hut.
48. Clitchers 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 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		
57. Crocodile	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	Also known as 'Page View' - Kym Trethewey 23/2/09
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. Cuttlefish Bay	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
61. Daveys	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
62. Daveys Hill	Placename	Beverley Willson 22/2/09	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
63. Dead Dog Gate	Placename	Beverley 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. Duttons 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.
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		
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. (Nash is not sure which bay is being referred to.)
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	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
82. Four Square	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
83. Freds Shed	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
84. Freds Shed Paddock	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
85. Freds 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 Trac	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	
88. Gillfillans	Fishing ground	Tom Clarke 24/2/09	A whiting ground two kms off Gillfillan'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.
92. Harolds	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		
97. Hollands	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	
98. Hoppys Farm	Placename	Graham Trethewey 19/2/09	
99. House Dam	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
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		
105. Left Chimney Patch	Fishing ground	Nils Swanson 25/2/09	Uses the left side of The Burnt Out House as a mark.
106. Linnetts	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.
109. Little Wonder Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/0	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. Lyalls 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	
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	

Placename		Feature type	Source	History
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.	Nats Shed	Placename	Taylor 2008: 94	Named after Nat Thomas
126.	Neaves Gully	Placename	Hartley Willson 22/2/09	Named such as the Neave's family used to own this area.
127.	Neaves 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		
135.	Old Canowie Patch	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
136.	Old Golf Course Corner	Placename	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
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	Beverley Willson 22/2/09	Old local name for Penneshaw
140. Pigs Head Corner	Placename		
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. Pirkeys	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. Ragseys	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	
153. Red House	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/09	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
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	
160. Sadlers	Placename	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
161. Salt Lagoon	Placename	Bev Willson 22/2/09	
162. Sanctuary	Placename	Nash's observation	
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 Gillfillan's 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 kms 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. Shortys 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	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
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	
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 approximatey 1.5 miles out. Ian (no surname given) calls it 'Outside Willson's'.
182. T Os 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.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
192. The Canyon	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/00	
193. The Canyon Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/00	
194. The Chimney	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/00	
195. The Chimney Paddock	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/00	
196. The Doctors Patch	Fishing ground	Bruce Bates 20/2/09	Bruce Bates would go fishing in the 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 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
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.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
207. The Inn	Fishing ground	Shorty Northcott 22/2/09	
208. The Kipsie	Placename		
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		
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 kms 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 kms 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.
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.

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
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 23/2/0	
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	Now known as 'Grain Shed Paddock (The)'
235. Tigers Cairn	Placename	Kym Trethewey 23/2/0	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.
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. Uniters 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	

Placename	Feature type	Source	History
245. Wabs 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	