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OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL TOPONYMS
ON NORFOLK ISLAND

Norfolk Island (South Pacific), a small external territory of Australia, has a placenaming record marked by distinct historical, settlement, and land use periods. This brief communication considers the complex nexus of official–unofficial, embedded–unembedded, and English–Norfolk Island language toponyms as a way to make better sense of the localization of toponymic knowledge and to appreciate better how such knowledge functions within a minute society intricately connected to its own largely known past and an ever changing toponymic present. The data were collected during interview fieldwork on Norfolk Island during the period 2007–2009. It concludes by putting forward a four-category division of Norfolk Island toponyms: 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 appear distinct, but they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The differentiation of processes of toponyms becoming embedded and the localization of toponymic knowledge are a possible explanation for the loss of toponymic knowledge among younger people on Norfolk Island and suggests a general ecological disconnect across time involving people, history, and events associated with Norfolk Island toponyms. The Norfolk Island official–unofficial toponym distinction is applicable to other toponymic case studies, especially situations with competing placenaming histories.

K e y w o r d s: island toponymy, Norfolk Island language, endonyms and exonyms, taboo, placenaming.

This brief communication summarises a large corpus of Norfolk Island toponymy [see Nash, 2013] and specifically how toponyms in the Norfolk Island language, Norfolk, and those in English of other settlement periods on the island can be classified and analyzed in terms of their official and unofficial status. Data from the First Settlement (1788–1814) and Second Settlement (1825–1855), the Melanesian Mission period (1867–1920), and post 1856 toponymy (after the arrival of the Pitcairn Islanders to Norfolk Island) demonstrate a sharp and productive distinction between the status of official and unofficial names. There is not only a distinction between the grammar of these names, but there is a marked difference in characterizing several key individual embedded toponyms from various settlement periods.

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 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 (see [Nash, 2012] for more details about pristine toponyms). An analysis comparing these two distinct categories of names may help avoid the imprecise and almost artificial boundary of language use of English and Norfolk in Norfolk toponyms, i.e. instead of seeking to describe linguistic and cultural embeddedness, based on whether a toponym is English or Norfolk, it appears the use of the categorization "official–unofficial" will be more effective in disambiguating and even avoiding these linguistic boundaries. These two categories create a strong demarcation between gazetted toponyms recognized by the Australian Government originating primarily during Norfolk Island's first two settlement periods and those names that arose during the latter periods.

Other works on Norfolk Island toponymy [Mühlhäusler, 2002; Nash, 2016] demonstrate that it is not merely the language used in the naming of Norfolk Island and Norfolk language toponyms that is key to the formal linguistic structure and cultural import of these names. The large amount of ambiguity in the Norfolk Island toponymic data indicates that there are other processes involved in placenaming related directly to the cultural and ecological embeddedness and pristine nature of the names. 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: [± EPONYMOUS] [± DESCRIPTIVE] [± INCIDENT]. Within the system of English placenaming on Norfolk Island, 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 Island and have been imposed on maps and the island's cultural landscape in a similar way to other methods of (British) colonial naming [see Tent & Slatyer, 2009]. Their origins have little to do with an emplaced, localized cartography 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 became integral as descriptive tools. The form of these names is fixed and they represent the most grammatically rigid toponyms on Norfolk Island. The source of these names, however, is different from the two other less arbitrary categories in English toponyms — [± DESCRIPTIVE] and [± INCIDENT] — like *Bloody Bridge*.

    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 with which they are associated. Like the [+ EPONYMOUS] [– DESCRIPTIVE] [– INCIDENT] names, their form is fixed and they are also grammatically rigid. The [– EPONYMOUS] [+ DESCRIPTIVE] [– INCIDENT] and [– EPONYMOUS] [+ DESCRIPTIVE] [– INCIDENT] names are semantically transparent. However, ambiguity in meaning, history

and location begin to be expressed in the analysis of [EPONYMOUS] [– DESCRIP-TIVE] [+ 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, personal communication, Norfolk Island, April 2009).

These three histories of *Puppys Point* cross semantic boundaries and create a great deal of opacity in the interpretation of what the place means historically. While there is no uncertainty in the formal structure of the name, there is an implied degree of semantic ambiguity when dealing with similar names on this level of cultural embeddedness. It is difficult to analyze formally a name like *Puppys Point* in order to gauge its prescribed 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 Norfolk lexemes. Forms such as *Parloo Park* ('Masturbation Park' or 'Lovers Lane'), *Gudda Bridge* ('F*ck Bridge'), *Baccer Valley* ('Tobacco Valley'), and *Moo-oo Bay* (*moo-oo* is a type of thatch) question the role core formal linguistic structure plays in deciphering both meaning and history. It is not clear whether these names are originally English or Norfolk and what the ethnic background of the people who coined the names was. *Parloo* 'masturbation' is taboo in Norfolk and on Norfolk Island, 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 large area, so this is not a precise location). It is a place young boys and girls used to get up to a bit of mischief (*parloo*), particularly on their first date. It is understandable that Norfolk 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 Island. *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 Norfolk 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 Norfolk, a name for the old convict quarry near Lone Pine in Emily Bay in the south of the island, demonstrates an intricacy of knowledge that can both be praised in the Norfolk Island community and in other ways considered a threat.

Norfolk Island has a history of "dangerous" names. *To be Snell* '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 Island'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 are still common on the island today. Such names are rarely officialized.

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, how Norfolk language words in toponyms are spelled is connected culturally to how they are pronounced and vice versa. Examples where pronunciation drives feasible orthography and hence cultural emplacement and indexing are *Fus Sain* for *First Sand* (same place as Bumboras on the southern coast), *Second Sain* for *Second Sand*, *Yollo Lane* for *Yorlor Lane* (a *yollo* is a slab of pumice stone of Polynesian origin used traditionally on Pitcairn Island to grate vegetables for baking and was brought to Norfolk Island), 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 in toponyms. These names occur not only on handwritten maps but in house and business signs.

In order to summarize this analysis of official and unofficial toponyms and their linguistic implications, several Norfolk forms are presented and analyzed which differ markedly from English.

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

Like the pristine toponyms of Tristan da Cunha, Pitcairn Island, and Dudley Peninsula toponyms [e.g. Nash, 2012; 2013], and unlike English names like *Middlegate* and *Point Hunter* on Norfolk Island, the form of these names is not typical of toponyms at all. Prepositions are not common in English toponyms on Norfolk Island 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' [Basso, 1996, *86*], 'White Rocks Lie above in a Compact Cluster' [Ibid., *87*], and even the simple but humorous, 'Shades of Shit' [Ibid., *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. These names are defined as process-oriented in that they link (verbal) processes to the places they describe.

While *Side ar Whale Es* is essentially a descriptive name for what looks like a whale in the landscape in the Cascade area on the northern coast, the use of the existential verb places it into the category of a process-oriented name. It is a name known to few people, which means it is also an esoteric name. *Side Eddie Find ar Anchor* and *Side Suff Fly Pass* both emphasize 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.'

Where Basso has focused primarily on process-oriented, esoteric names and their concomitant knowledge and other writers such as Dominy [2001] prioritizes the apparently trivial names of paddock and farm names in the highlands of the South Island, New Zealand, which mainly serve a spatial and orientational function, this analysis has not overlooked the role of exonyms, e.g. *Anson Bay*, and descriptive names, e.g. *Rocky Point*, in Norfolk Island toponymy. Moreover, exonyms like *Anson Bay* can be embraced in an endonymic or embedded manner in the house name, *The Mayor of Anson Bay* (see Figure).

To summarize the formal linguistic analysis of Norfolk Island toponyms presented in this paper, I propose four distinct categories which describe Norfolk Island toponymy more generally:

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*;

Image of The Mayor of Anson Bay. 2009

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 localization of toponymic knowledge. The flux created by exonyms becoming embedded and endonyms becoming forgotten illustrates the non-static nature of Norfolk Island toponymy. A possible explanation for the loss of toponymic knowledge among younger people on Norfolk Island is their ecological disconnect with the histories and events associated with Norfolk Island toponyms, which makes the study of this material particularly difficult.

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ОФИЦИАЛЬНАЯ И НЕОФИЦИАЛЬНАЯ ТОПОНИМИЯ ОСТРОВА НОРФОЛК

Статья посвящена географическим названиям острова Норфолк, одной из внешних австралийских территорий в южной части Тихого океана, топонимическая традиция которой привязана к нескольким историческим периодам, связанным с заселением острова и последовательным освоением его земель. В настоящем сообщении речь идет о сложном соотношении официального и неофициального в топонимическом наследии острова, в котором сталкиваются английский и норфолкский языки и элементы которого проявляют разную степень культурной освоенности. Исследование позволяет лучше понять структуру и специфику функционирования топонимического знания жителей острова с учетом сложного прошлого этой территории и ее постоянно меняющегося настоящего.

Материал собирался во время полевых исследований в период 2007–2009 гг. Анализ топонимов позволяет распределить их по четырем типам: а) официальные топонимы, отражающие общие для колониальной топонимии модели именования; б) официальные и неофициальные дескриптивные названия; в) неофициальные коммеморативные названия, связанные с местными жителями; г) неофициальные и тайные топонимы, мотивированные различными событиями или социальными практиками. Как показывает автор, эти типы названий не являются взаимоисключающими. Автор также констатирует эрозию топонимической компетенции среди молодой части населения острова, что обусловлено нарушением преемственности топонимической традиции, приводящим к утрате знаний о людях, истории и событиях, с которыми связаны географические названия. Метод анализа официальной и неофициальной топонимии Норфолка может быть применим к топонимическим системам других территорий, для которых характерно сосуществование нескольких конкурирующих парадигм топономинации.

К л ю ч е в ы е   с л о в а: островная топонимия, норфолкский язык, английский язык, эндонимы и экзонимы, табу.