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In deep water: diving site names on Norfolk Island

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A linguistic and cultural analysis of diving site names and their role as toponyms is absent in Pacific research and studies into scuba diving tourism. This article analyzes a corpus of 38 diving site names collected during interview-based fieldwork on Norfolk Island. The analyses demonstrate that the naming of Norfolk Island diving sites can be perceived as a type of tourism management – through the names, diving sites are ascribed varying degrees of linguistic, cultural, and historical significance. Previous studies in tourism research have argued that tourism can be perceived as a modern form of pilgrimage, and that the naming of tourism sites is a way of sacralizing sites in order to emphasize their importance within processes of pilgrimage. The results of this article reveal empirically that Norfolk diving sites are part of a sacralization process, where transference of the cultural, historical, and environmental significance from names as language to locations as place occurs. The article puts forward diving site names not only as a toponymic taxon of interest to toponymy and linguistics but also for island and coastal studies in the Pacific and elsewhere.

Keywords: toponymy; language and tourism; scuba diving; pilgrimage; site sacralization; linguistic landscape

Entering the water

Scuba diving and other water sports such as jet skiing are part of the modern tourism era on Norfolk Island, which began in 1942 with the construction of the Norfolk Island Airport. After the arrival of the first commercial flight to the island in 1943 and the establishment of regular services from Australia and New Zealand in 1948, the main commercial industry on Norfolk Island has been tourism and its offshoot industries such as diving, snorkeling, bushwalking, and lawn bowls (Edgecombe, 1991). These activities heralded a new era for the island's economy and its socio-cultural makeup including the migration of Australian and New Zealand citizens to Norfolk for business purposes. The influx of new economic interests resulting from tourism and new business priorities in a small and isolated community like Norfolk Island have had an effect on the island's demography. These have in turn affected the culture of the island and, even if only inadvertently, language use. Norfolk toponymy or place-naming provides evidence of how linguistic and cultural adaptation also involves environmental and topographical adaptation (Mühlhäusler, 2002; Nash, 2011). This article analyzes the effect of the Norfolk diving industry on an aspect of

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Norfolk's toponymic history that has hitherto been undocumented: diving site names. It also considers how the culture of scuba diving on Norfolk may have affected the cultural and linguistic landscape of the island as seen through the naming of Norfolk's underwater topography in relation to scuba and other diving operations.

Scuba diving and other diving expeditions on Norfolk Island began in the early 1960s. Figure 1 illustrates the underwater topography of Norfolk at a dive site on the north coast, Little Organ. A New Zealand man owned and operated several tourism outlets including a part-time scuba diving operation. In the early 1980s, the first official diving operation named *Norfolk Diving* brought in instructors from New Zealand annually. This led to the creation of *Bounty Divers* in 1985, the first full-time resident-run diving company on Norfolk. Several local divers became diving instructors and the diving trade has continued since (Jack Marges, personal communication, Norfolk Island, February 21, 2008). Norfolk Island's location in the Pacific on the Norfolk Ridge, a volcanic geological formation between New Zealand and New Caledonia, gives it its diving sites, and its accessibility and warm waters make it a haven for avid divers. Norfolk's small size, several wreck dives and quasi-wreck dives, isolation, Pacific backdrop, and the promise of clear and clement weather have resulted in the discovery of an inventory of locally recognized dive sites. Apart from locals who know and operate diving expeditions to these locations, and select diving aficionados from outside, few people would know these names nor would they have any need to know the whereabouts or history of these diving sites.¹ Norfolk diving site name toponymy is therefore an esoteric, insider, and relatively unknown aspect of the island's toponymic history.

A search for academic studies dealing with the names of diving sites in the Pacific and elsewhere yields few results. Apart from Nash's (2012a) landscape analysis of Kangaroo Island diving sites, the most comprehensive description of the naming of diving sites is Clark's (2002) presentation of Hawaii's shores, beaches, and surf sites. While many names are presented and although these are commonly connected to other elements of naming of the landscape, e.g. surfing breaks and other terrestrial placenames, Clark only presents names, locations, and brief anecdotal histories of the most well-known Hawaiian



Figure 1. Divers at Little Organ, Norfolk Island (Source: Jack Marges, personal communication, 21 February, 2008).

diving sites. Other research on the role of scuba diving in scientific monitoring and (fishing) resource management (Barker & Roberts, 2004; Davis & Tisdell, 1995; Hawkins & Roberts, 1992; Hawkins et al., 1999) incorporate diving sites as a part of locating their data collection. In this article, we not only put forward diving site names as indicators of location and important elements of Norfolk Island's toponymic lexicon, but also consider the extent to which the naming of diving sites could be considered as a tool for tourism management. As linguists, we adopt linguistic and ethnographic analyses to demonstrate this relationship between language and tourism. Historically, the study of proper names and particularly toponyms or geographical names has not been a central concern to linguistics. This article aims to show that toponyms can be of interest not only to linguistics, but also to the study of cultural tourism and island studies in the Pacific and elsewhere.

The importance of placenames

Humans name aspects of the landscape for different purposes – for pragmatic reasons, e.g. orientation and remembrance, or for historical reasons, e.g. memory of past events and people. Toponyms inform history and serve as a reminder of what happened in a particular place in the past, how people treated the landscape, and how they lived their lives. The intricacies of Norfolk Island toponymy have been presented in Nash (2011) where a toponym typology listing geographical names, fishing ground names, house names, and road names was employed. This article adds to this typology by considering diving site names as an extra taxon within the unofficial placename lexicon of the island. The fact that these names are known to few people on the island, i.e. those engaged in the tourism industry primarily in the 1980s and 1990s, and that a few diving enthusiasts and tourists also became privy to these names through their usage does not undermine their role as cultural and linguistic artifacts. On the contrary, these recently coined diving site names provide the possibility to observe the role of unofficial place-naming in different purposes and in different circumstances.

Recent work in toponymy and identity has emphasized the role of place-creation through naming (e.g. Kostanski, 2009). Through toponymic attachment, i.e. naming and identifying with a particular place, dependence on and to a place is established [cf. Clark & Harradine's (1990) description of rock art sites and landscape features in and around the Gariwerd-Grampians National Park, Victoria, Australia]. It is through converting 'space' to 'place' by and through naming and an acknowledgement of this knowledge of place that we come to inhabit, colonize (Carter, 1988), and claim the land (Crocombe, 1991). Names and the process(es) of naming play a role in claiming landscapes and understanding new landscapes that were previously unknown.

In cases where a place has already been discovered, placenames are given to reflect the possession of this place. People who discover places and the historical context of their discovery are often remembered in names, e.g. James Cook Island and Easter Island. In other cases, when a place has been occupied by another country or culture, the renaming of places can reflect the ideology and the version of history that the occupiers embrace (Huff, 2008). By analyzing the names of diving sites, the ideologies of the namer, the (utilitarian) nature of the name, and the 'ecological embeddedness,' or the connectedness of the name to the space-place, and culture of the namer of the name are emphasized. The role of diving site names as an unofficial and even spontaneous element of the Norfolk toponymic lexicon is claimed to be useful to linguistic studies of place-creation through naming and the methods tourism operators use to make sense of the underwater topography of a hitherto unknown environment in terms of its extant toponymic history. However, placenames do

not only reflect history and culture, they can be part of the creation of history and culture (Basso, 1988; Hunn 1996). Although diving site names may appear as a quite light-hearted aspect of a people's toponymy, they nonetheless suggest strong links between the function of names and the role they play within the social placement of tourism and as a part of documenting elements of the language of tourism. In the next section we develop a theoretical statement of how naming can be used as a tool in tourism for the purpose of associating culture with nature.

Naming, tourism, and pilgrimage

People travel to other places as tourists. Travel can also be posed as pilgrimage (Coleman & Eade, 2002); this is a process where the pilgrim moves to another place to experience freedom or even emancipation, if only temporarily, from the social rules and obligations people must perform in everyday life. This 'experience of liberation' has been compared to pilgrimage, and this is said to be quasi-religious (Badone & Roseman, 2004; Vandemoortele, 2009). The detachment between the two realities that travelers experience is similar to the Durkheimian notion of considering interaction with the sacred as 'non-ordinary' experience (Durkheim, 1976; Turner, 1986). This 'liminality,' or being at the threshold between the secular and the supernatural worlds during religious rituals (Gammon, 2004), is experienced as an emotional and meditative experience for the scuba diver (Straughan, 2010).

On the other hand, the quasi-religious status of tourism in people's lives at present is also reflected through the activities conducted and the sites visited during travel (Badone & Roseman, 2004; Vandemoortele, 2009). Although many tourists would claim that trips are planned and sites chosen in accordance to personal interests, much tourism promotes and portrays the 'must-sees' and the 'must-dos' of any place (Busby and Klug, 2001; Gammon, 2004; Howe, 2001). For example, if one were to visit Italy, one would be told that Venice is a 'must-see' because the city has been symbolized as representing Italy and its culture. If one were to visit Venice, riding the gondola is a 'must-do' because the gondolas symbolize the city and culture of Venice. Just like the Western Wall in Jerusalem is to the Jew and the Masjid al-Haram Mosque in Mecca is to the Muslim, sacred sites and the activities conducted in these sites serve as symbolic tools for visitors, whether tourists or pilgrims, to accomplish their ritual of visiting, through which the result of experiencing detached realities has been achieved (MacCannell, 1976). Scuba diving, a vastly growing sector of the sport industry (Dignam, 1990), has gained its significance as a part of Norfolk Island tourism. What we pose in our consideration of the linguistic and cultural import of scuba diving on Norfolk is that traveling to a diving site is a type of 'linguistic pilgrimage;' Durkheim's liminality can also be experienced during the diving experience where the apparently ordinary, i.e. scuba diving, is transformed into the non-ordinary or sacred through pilgrimage and tourist/tourism based awareness.

Norfolk diving sites are also hidden and esoteric 'must-sees;' they are 'must-sees' which when traveled to give an emotional connection to the place of Norfolk and extend Straughan's (2010) notion that the feeling of being 'touched by water' when the body is surrounded by water during scuba diving has concomitant therapeutic effects by considering the linguistic ramifications of the naming of diving sites. Scuba diving on Norfolk as an activity has become one of the many 'must-dos' of the tourist 'pilgrimage' trip to the island. Where Lea (2008) reports on pilgrimage being a 'retreat to nature' which involves the recollection of previous events which have a therapeutic effect, we pose scuba diving on Norfolk as a mean to achieve the goal of the pilgrimage trip. Diving sites as 'must-sees' are 'sacralized' destinations of, on, and during the pilgrimage trip.

MacCannell (1976) put forward the idea of the symbolization of tourism sites, i.e. that people ascribe significance to tourism sites through naming and knowing, and proposed a three-step structure to explain how sites have been and become sacralized. Naming is the first step; the names of the sites firstly distinguish them from the surrounding environment, and the names relate the sites to that which is signified – the culture, social value, or history that the sites are supposed to carry or embody. After the sites have been named, they will be framed and elevated to a place emphasized and based in their distinctive values. By reproducing them in the media or via other printed materials, such as postcards and photographs, the sites will be marketed based on and with reference to their importance. Naming is then a way to manage tourism destinations; from their names travelers understand the historical and cultural significance of places, the relation between the places and the(ir) surroundings, and the functions or uses of the places. Names and processes of site sacralization also condition and psychologically prepare pilgrims for what they may find and experience during their tourism encounter.

Place-naming as a pilgrimage function is a tool of ‘linguistic environmental management’: by traveling to, experiencing the place through sensual means, and learning of and about a particular named place and its cultural and environmental history, i.e. in this article specifically about diving site names, the ‘place-naming pilgrim’ experiences the tenuous relationships between the natural environment, culture in the form of language, and heritage in the form of how language is remembered and solidified in the landscape and cognition of the people who know these named places. A similar approach was argued in Nash (2012b, pp. 116–118) where pilgrimage is perceived and posed as a method where differences and similarities across time and environments through physical, intellectual, and emotional travel are achieved. Our method in this article differs in that we are arguing that by ‘linguistic sacralization’ through the conduit of place-naming, tourists become more than just tourists – they become pilgrims and indeed linguistic and environmental pilgrims.

Our argument suggests that place-naming, naming and tourism, and naming and pilgrimage are different ways to ‘de-other the unknown,’ to establish occupation of a physical space, or to reflect the values of the land owners. However, within the context of tourism, it serves another important role – to bring importance and cultural significance to the traveling sites as the first step of a symbolization process (MacCannell, 1976). Names carry value, history, and culture; naming transfers these from ‘language to landscape’ (Jett, 2011) and from ‘landscape to language’ (Mark, Turk, Burenhult, & Stea, 2011). In our analysis, we attempt to reveal how these processes of transference are achieved through linguistic and cultural means.

Method and results

The 38 diving site names were collected on two fieldtrips on Norfolk Island in 2008 and 2009. Several interviews with diving tour operators were conducted to document the history of the names and the location of the sites. Diving site names, the linguistic patterns of the names, toponymic category, and the history and description of the placenames are presented in Table 1.

There are two principal namers of Norfolk diving sites. This married couple who lived on Norfolk began *Bounty Divers* in 1984, and the majority of diving sites were named during the first few years of operation. One of the couple was a Norfolk Islander, a descendant of the *Bounty* mutineers and their Tahitian wives who settled on Pitcairn Island in 1789 and were subsequently moved to Norfolk in 1856, and spoke the Norfolk language. The

Table 1. Norfolk Island diving site names (The authors, 2012, based on previously unpublished information compiled by Jack Marges, personal communication, Norfolk Island, February 21, 2008).

Diving site names	English linguistic patterns	Norfolk linguistic patterns	Toponymic category	History and description of location
01 Mullens Bay	Proper noun + possessive + generic noun		Eponymous-descriptive located in Mullens Bay, a well-known Norfolk toponym named after the local gentleman Mullens	Boulders and reef flats, good coral cover. Swimthroughs under reef flats
02 Gurrett Wellout		Adjectival expression (means 'very angry')	Humorous	The wall drops down to 16 m. There are large tent-like swimthroughs where part of the cliff and wall have collapsed. It can only be accessed during slack tide
03 Black Bank	Adjective + generic noun		Descriptive located near the place Black Bank	Good wall, small cave with backdoor exit. This is a good dive if you need more fishing line sinkers as it is a popular fishing spot and many people lose their tackle here. Lovely bommies (small boulders) nearby rising from 18 m to within 5 or 6 m of the surface
04 Back Bommies	Adjective + generic noun		Descriptive	Bommies continue out from Black Bank well into Duncombe Bay. Good coral cover and plenty of small reef fish
05 The Arch	article + generic noun		Descriptive located near the place The Arch on the northern coast	Large arch leading through a submerged reef platform. Several other swimthroughs. Walls densely covered with invertebrates. 'Off' bommie has clouds of unusual reef fishes. A school of Amalco Jacks (<i>Seriol rivoliana</i>) is almost always present to follow you around on your dive
06 The Cave	Article + generic noun		Descriptive	As the name implies a beautiful cave can be entered from the sandy bottom along the reef wall. The cave has a 'backdoor' so no need to backtrack. The walls of the reef platform are home to a spectacular array of marine life. Giant anemones abound
07 The Cord	Article + generic noun		Descriptive located near the place The Cord (<Norfolk: Dar Cord) on the northern coast	One of Norfolk's best rock pools for snorkeling if you are prepared to put in the effort to get down to it. The easy way to access is by boat. Spectacular walls dropping down to 22 m. Best dived at slack tide as the currents can be a problem

08 Reid's Folly	Proper noun + possessive + generic noun		Eponymous	The name comes from the folly of trying to dive here at anything but slack tide. The current whips through here at a rate of knots. If you time it right it's a great dive on a large partly above water pinnacle. You enter the dive through the back door, a chimney leading into a huge cave, follow the right hand wall around and in about half an hour you are back to where you started. Great invertebrates on the wall and plenty of moray eels
09 The Bulge	Article + generic noun		Descriptive	Another dive for slack tide only and even then the ocean may surprise you. Advanced and experienced divers only. The bulge rises steeply from the bottom to within 5 m of the surface. There is a very large arch right through the Bulge. Plenty of sea whips on the bottom. Large pelagic fish frequent the site
10 The Gutters	Article + generic noun		Descriptive	Another slack tide dive. Rising steeply from the bottom to within 6 m of the surface. The Gutters are deeply cut and when entered the walls tower over you. As you penetrate the gutters further a 'bridge' covers the top. Further again you can enter a cave sloping upward into the rock. Sea whips on the bottom and frequent visits by large pelagic fish. Large black groupers (<i>Epinephelus daemlii</i>) are often seen here. This is a dive for advanced or experienced divers only
11 Moo-oo		Adjective	Descriptive	A perpendicular wall drops down to sand at the maximum depth. This is unusual (for Norfolk) marine life and the area includes a species of starfish not found elsewhere around the island

(Continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Diving site names	English linguistic patterns	Norf'k linguistic patterns	Toponymic category	History and description of location
12 Little Organ	Adjective + generic noun		Descriptive	A spectacular dive. Fish life, particularly golden trevally (<i>Pseudocaranx dentex</i>) and 'stinken' (<i>Kyphosus sydneyanus</i>), in their thousands. At times it is difficult to appreciate the spectacular scenery because the fish block your view. Little Organ consists of a huge arch. The right hand leg of the arch has a horseshoe shaped tunnel (you need a torch) full of small fish, mostly the Cardinal fish (<i>Archemia leai</i>). Coming back out of the arch a reef extends toward the south. You can swim through a tunnel, turn right, and back through another tunnel. Sometimes the tunnels are filled with Bullseyes (<i>Parapriacanthus ransonnetti</i>) making it almost impossible to see the exits. Several large bommies rise toward the surface as you finish you dive
13 Cathedral Rock (Organ Rock)	Generic noun + generic noun	Generic noun + generic noun	Descriptive located near the place Cathedral or Organ Rock	Plenty of invertebrates to look at. Quite an easy dive if conditions becomes choppy
14 Bones	Proper noun		Eponymous	Named after New Zealand dive identity Bruce 'Bones' Walton who lost his much loved (and ancient) mask here back in 1986. A small reef with plenty of sessile life to look at. Deeply cut platform you can cruise through extends away toward the west
15 Sia & Anna's		Proper noun + possessive	Eponymous located near the well-known coastal location where Sia and Anna Adams used to live	A pleasant dive if surface conditions are choppy and you can't get further afield. Nice wall from a white sandy bottom
16 Simon's Water Flats	Proper noun + possessive + generic noun + generic noun		Descriptive located near Simon's Water, a well-known house name in the Steels Point area	The flats are an extensive hard coral reef that seems to go on forever. Some small reefs rise above the flats with excellent fish life. A small bommie toward the shore can be visited on the same dive. The bommie provides a different habitat and has totally different marine life when compared with the flats.

17 Policeman's Hat (Dar Stone fer George and Isaacs)	Generic noun + possessive + generic noun	Article + generic noun + adjective + proper noun + conjunction + proper noun (means George and Isaacs Stone)	Descriptive Policeman's Hat and Dar Stone fer George and Isaacs are different names for the same topographical feature	Another submerged tabletop reef that rises steeply toward the surface. Plenty of invertebrate life, the occasional cray (in season) and some swimthroughs. Painted crayfish are usually found here
18 Ball Bay Bommie	Generic noun + Generic noun + generic noun		Descriptive Ball Bay is a large bay in the south- eastern part of the island	The bommie can only be dived when conditions are near to perfectly flat as the surge mostly is overpowering. Given the right conditions, it is a lovely dive with varied marine life growing on a wall, which actually slopes back out over you.
19 West Cave	Adjective + generic noun		Descriptive West Cave is the name of the cave on the western side of Phillip Island	The water at Phillip Island always seems to have a typical deep ocean blue color to it. The dive starts no more than 15 m from the shore in 15 m of water and steeply steps down to a maximum depth of 29 m. The fish life here is quite different from Norfolk itself with large pelagic fish predominating. One of the few dive sites where an encounter with a bronze whaler sharks is the rule rather than the exception (they are friendly and never bother divers). Large boulders provide spectacular scenery and are home to a wide variety of marine life
20 Spin Bay	Verb + generic noun		Descriptive Spin Bay is the name of the bay on the south-eastern side of Phillip Island	A flat slightly raised reef with excellent coral cover. Because it located on the exposed southern side of Phillip Island, it is rarely visited
21 Sail Rock	Noun + generic noun		Descriptive Sail Rock is the name a coastal feature in the northern coast of Phillip Island	The site steeply slopes down to its maximum depth. It is sometimes thought of as 'Anchor Coral City' as this type of coral totally dominates the site. Pelagic fish often visit here and it is a popular fishing spot when conditions permit
22 Two Chimney Rock	Numeral + noun + generic nouns		Descriptive	Similar to Sail Rock, but often more sheltered as it is closer to the shore

(Continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Diving site names	English linguistic patterns	Norfolk linguistic patterns	Toponymic category	History and description of location
23 South Rock	Adjective + generic noun		Descriptive South Rock is the name of the southernmost point on Phillip Island	Strictly for experienced divers only and then only in perfect conditions and during slack tide. This area cannot be dived very often. The currents can be very strong and heavy surge appears out of nowhere. The dive itself is spectacular dropping straight down. Black coral predominates the scenery as do very large pelagic fish, including bronze whalers. Watch your depth and bottom time carefully as anchoring on this site is impossible
24 Mary Hamilton	Proper noun + proper noun		Eponymous located near the Mary Hamilton Reef on Nepean Island	Named after the ship Mary Hamilton which struck this reef. It stayed afloat long enough to make it to the reef at Kingston, where it sunk without loss of life. A spectacular reef rising from the bottom. The reef is absolutely riddled with tunnels and caves. Home of many crayfish and some spectacular black coral trees. Unfortunately the site is in a current line and can only be dived at slack tide in flat conditions
25 Tai-Tai		Adjective + adjective means 'boring, uninteresting'	Descriptive	Being closer inshore the site can be dived on an ebb tide. There are large bommies, caves, and tunnels but not as much marine life as you will encounter elsewhere. There are the remains of an unknown wreck on this site, consisting of some curved ribs and steel plates. Unfortunately nobody remembers a ship coming to grief there and nothing identifiable remains
26 Fish Bowl	Generic noun + generic noun		Descriptive	Aptly named because the fish life is something to be seen to be believed. For some reason it is not a popular fishing spot. It is located on the north eastern corner of Nepean Island, incoming tides carry a rich load of food to the waiting fish. Can only be dived on an outgoing tide, taking care to stay out off the current line. As well as fish, coral and other marine life thrive in this location. There are a number of swimthroughs as well. Bronze whaler sharks are relatively encountered on this dive site
27 Full Frontal	Adjective + adjective		Descriptive	This dive involves gently drifting along the front (Norfolk side) of Nepean Island. It can only be done just before or just after the turn of the tide. Once in full flow currents can reach up to 7 knots

28 Clayton's Wreck	Proper noun + possessive + generic noun		Eponymous/humorous	This is a wreck dive you have when you're not having a wreck dive, and the name remembers the non-alcoholic drink 'Clayton's,' the drink you have when you are not having a drink. The rock formations resemble portholes, masts, ribs, and even an old anchor. Many divers have thought they did a wreck dive while in fact there is no wreck at all. Fish predominate here but the site also has an excellent coral cover as well as caves and swimthroughs. Can only be dived on an incoming tide
29 Swiss Cheese	Adjective + generic noun		Descriptive	This dive normally starts by dropping into the 'doughnut,' an underwater feature, exiting through the tunnel, crossing the rock pile and then following the wall. Holes predominate the dive site hence the name. A lovely dive only a short boat trip away, often accessible when conditions do not allow diving elsewhere
30 Off Swiss	Preposition + adjective		Descriptive	In this diving site just off Swiss Cheese, there are deep gullies cut into the reef and provide a haven for a myriad of reef dwelling fish with a good coral cover
31 Ship's Anchor, Daa Randa	Generic noun + possessive + generic noun	Article + generic noun (means 'The Verandah')	Incidental	This undercut reef platform gives the appearance of a long veranda. Gutters and broken reef patches and a collection of anchors, including one that seems old enough to have been left behind by Captain Cook
32 Crystal Pool	Adjective + generic noun		Descriptive Named after the placename Crystal Pool	There is great snorkeling in the pool and good diving outside the pool when conditions permit. Slack tide and no swell are prerequisites. The bommies which rise to the surface are frequented by pelagic fish
33 Fig Valley	Proper noun + generic noun		Descriptive Located just offshore from the Fig Valley	Three pinnacles steeply rise toward the surface, each with their own reef population. There is excellent hard coral cover. Great reef fish on top of the bommies
34 100 Acre Wall	numeral + generic noun + generic noun		Descriptive	Another slack tide dive, but one worth waiting for. Everything seems bigger than life here. Very steep walls, deeply crevassed rise above you. Excellent marine life

(Continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Diving site names	English linguistic patterns	Norf ^o k linguistic patterns	Toponymic category	History and description of location
35 Johnnie's Stone	Proper noun + generic noun		Eponymous Located near Johnnie's Stone on the south west coast	Unfortunately this dive requires a slack tide and very calm conditions. The site is very exposed, just off Headstone Point. Three tunnels lead into a central cave. The cavern itself has an exit through the ceiling straight up like a chimney. Watch for currents and surge as a vortex can form and try to pull you through. Very large black groper fish are found here
36 One Ton	Numeral + generic noun		Descriptive	This dive presents the diver with a mini Ayers Rock in the middle of nowhere. The northern side has excellent marine life cover and is well worth diving.
37 Longnose	Adjective + generic noun		Descriptive	Good caves and excellent marine life. Unfortunately this site is prone to strong currents and is exposed to swell except from the east
38 Puppys Point	Generic noun + generic noun		Descriptive Located near the well-known picnicking site Puppys Point on the west coast	The site steeply slopes down to its maximum depth. We sometimes think of it as 'Anchor coral' city as this type of coral totally dominates the site. Pelagic fish often visit here and it is a popular fishing spot when conditions permit

linguistic importance of Norf^ok has been described elsewhere (Laycock, 1989; Mühlhäusler, 2004). While Norf^ok features in the corpus of Norfolk diving site names, the morphology and syntax of these names will not be analyzed in detail. Rather the importance of Norf^ok as ‘linguistic economy’ and ‘linguistic capital,’ i.e. Norf^ok is spoken on Norfolk and is used in place-naming, will be emphasized.

Interviews revealed that naming served a pragmatic function – good diving sites got named because they were continually used, while average ones were used only occasionally. Once named, the names stuck and remained. Informants expressed that people who were taken to particular diving sites said they related well to the name either due to humor or because of the obviousness the names evoked, due to the location, events, or shape of the underwater features. A map of the diving sites was never devised by the diving operators because the operators knew where the places were and tourists had no other means to get to these locations. The map presented in Figure 2 is the first cartographic representation of the location of these places.

The list of Norfolk Island diving site names is presented in Table 1. In dividing up our data, we use the toponym and semantic typology presented in Tent and Blair (2011, p. 83).

A plotted location map for the majority of these names in accordance with the numerical system presented above is given in Figure 2:

A number of linguistic patterns emerge:



Figure 2. Norfolk Island diving site map (The authors, 2012, based on previously unpublished information compiled by Jack Marges, personal communication, Norfolk Island, February 21, 2008).

- (1) A single noun is productive as a diving site name, e.g. Bones.
- (2) Compounds are productive, e.g. Puppy's Point.
- (3) Norf'k is used in naming diving site names, e.g. Gurret Wellout, Dar Stone fer George and Isaac's.
- (4) There are no verbs or verbal processes in the names.

There are several diving site names which share the same name of other Norfolk place-names, e.g. Black Bank, Mullens Bay, Sail Rock, Spin Bay. The forms of these names are the same as their topographical equivalents. These (English) name patterns share the same syntactic and semantic structure as other English (colonial) place-naming patterns, i.e. proper noun (+ possessive) + generic noun, on Norfolk (Nash, 2011) and elsewhere in Australia (e.g. Tent & Slatyer, 2009). Both proper and generic nouns used in these placenames are similar to other English placenames – most proper nouns are English surnames that are used for a commemorative purpose; most generic nouns are words describing particular generic aspects of the landscape (e.g. bay, valley, pool). However, from the perspective of tourism, the similarities may also give people a sense of 'having seen it somewhere before,' or 'déjà vu,' which relate the experiences at spatially distant locations to the landscapes and seascapes of Norfolk Island through naming.

Secondly, the use of English in the diving site corpus was predominant. Only six names use Norf'k lexemes [Gurret Wellout (English: very angry), Moo-oo, Dar Stone fer George and Isaac's (as part of a placename doublet), Tai-Tai (English: boring, drab), Daa Randa (as part of a placename doublet)]. On one hand, this pervasive use of English indicates the predominant position of English in the diglossic situation on Norfolk Island; on the other hand, it may also be a result of a practical consideration for tourism purposes – Norf'k placenames would appear as unfamiliar to tourists and therefore are less penetrable linguistically and culturally than English names. Norf'k names are also emblematic and iconic of their place within the tourism industry. The summary of landscape names on Norfolk Island shows more use of Norf'k than its use in diving site naming (Nash, 2011). However, the scarcity of Norf'k names does not necessarily mean much because non-Norf'k speakers coined the majority of the diving site names.

Thirdly, the semantic analysis and categorizing of the diving sites showed few eponymous and incidental but many descriptive placenames. There are few significant incidents on Norfolk Island related to scuba diving and naming and that if any, most of them are local incidents not known to outsiders. This suggests naming diving sites after incidents a less optimal choice, because they bear little meaning to tourists. If place-naming in tourism is a practice of transferring cultural and historical values to the named sites, the choices would be based on the criterion of which name can maximize a site's 'cultural potential.' For the same reason, few eponymous names have been recorded, because English surnames were usually used in spite of the fact that these names were not historically associated with Norfolk, e.g. Clayton's Wreck, Reid's Folly. The use of descriptive names, on the other hand, gives more cultural economy and tourism value to diving sites because they can be associated with imagined pictures of the Norfolk seascape in connection to the already known (terrestrial) Norfolk toponymic environment. This is an element of the 'tourism as pilgrimage' and 'sacralization through naming' approach we argue.

The descriptive names that describe the seascape itself provided imagined snapshots of the physical environment, which relate the sites to objects that can be seen in daily life on Norfolk, and could potentially be more easily remembered by tourists. For instance, the site The Arch was so named because there was a 'large arch leading through a submerged reef platform' (Table 1, entry 5); The Gutters was named so because it 'rises steeply from the

bottom to within 6 m of the surface' (Table 1, entry 10); 'it is a deep cut and when you enter, the walls tower over you.' These names provide tourists a space of imagination which potentially combines their real experiences at the site with their memories of the seascape that might have been distorted by the names. Like Straughan's (2010) 'touched by water' during the diving experience, divers may experience being 'touched by names' or 'touched by language.'

Descriptive names that were transferred from the surrounding landscape on the island brought the environmental and cultural values associated with the landscape names to the diving sites. For instance, Two Chimney Rock was named after the landscape where there were two trees that looked like chimneys; 100 Acre Wall was named after the area in the south west of the island called One Hundred Acres. These names provide tourists a linkage between what they saw on the island and what they saw in the sea; while diving site names and the experience of scuba diving in these areas may not provide anything special and memorable of themselves, through the link with pre-existing Norfolk topographical names, these diving sites have become linguistically part of the island; the cultural and historical values carried by the landscape names have been transferred to the diving sites. The cultural analysis below expands the cultural and historical backgrounds of several names based on the above semantic patterns.

The use of incidental naming was seen in two cases. Reid's Folly was named after 'the folly of trying to dive here at anything but slack tide,' because the place was described as being whipped by current at a rate of knots. The incident increases the cultural potential of the name because of the humorous or ironic event at the site, which may not bear any cultural significance to tourists but may be of interest to Norfolk's history of anecdotes associated with the diving industry. Ship's Anchor, where the supply ships to Norfolk anchor, one of which is believed to be from Captain Cook's fleet which circumnavigated Norfolk in 1774, demonstrates how names and history across toponym classes, i.e. transferral from a topographical name to a diving site name, attribute salience to and through the name and a re-interpretation and re-contextualization of the purported history of the place and its name.

Cultural analysis

The three names we analyze in this section are (1) Puppy's Point, (2) Reid's Folly, and (3) Tai-Tai. We chose these names because the first shows the stark transferral of a Norfolk topographic name to a diving site name almost through geographical proximity and metonymy (closeness is sameness), the second demonstrates how outsiders are remembered and localized in processes of insider naming, and the third expresses not only the idiosyncratic use of Norfolk but also how an event and more specifically an adjective describing this event can become place-naming history and cultural commodity. Throughout our argument we develop our theoretical statement of 'linguistic sacralization' through tourism pilgrimage as an instance of linguistic and environmental pilgrimage.

Puppy's Point

There are several possible histories and explanations for the topographical name Puppy's Point:

- (1) it is claimed that it was named after 'Pappy' Quintal who once owned the land and fished off the point regularly (this seems the most likely history), i.e. the name is eponymous; (2) this

story is unlikely but some say that one of the rocks on the cliff below Puppy's Point looks like a puppy, i.e. the name is 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, i.e. Puppy's Point is an incidental name. (adapted from Nash, 2011: 167)

These three histories of Puppy's Point cross semantic boundaries and create ambiguity in the interpretation of what Puppy's Point means historically. It is difficult to analyze a name like Puppy's Point grammatically in order to gauge its formal and semantic significance because its structural features do not lend themselves well to analysis. Their formal structure is asyntactic; structures have become solidified over time through usage and by becoming integral parts of the toponymic lexicon of Norfolk Island.

What is not ambiguous, however, is how the meaning and location of Puppy's Point, which emphasizes the pilgrimage activity associated with traveling to this place through its name, has been transferred to an underwater location. Regardless of what part of the placename history associated with Puppy's Point is considered, diving at Puppy's Point is a tourism action highlighting a culturally laden and well-known and well-appreciated form of 'toponymic attachment' (cf. Kostanski 2009) on Norfolk through language, viz., place-naming knowledge. While seeing Puppy's Point as part of 'terrestrial tourism as pilgrimage' experience on the island is a 'must see' and picnicking there is a 'must do,' diving at Puppy's Point is a liminal experience, an amalgam of the 'must see' and 'must do;' the experience is poised between the secular, in terms of the natural makeup of the place, and the sacred, by considering Straughan's (2010) 'touched by water' as a means of expressing the meditative nature of scuba diving on the 'place-naming as pilgrimage' as 'pilgrimage as place-naming' journey. The coining of the diving site name made the name Puppy's Point as relevant on land as it is in the sea; language is in landscape and landscape is in language.

Reid's Folly

The folly of diving at this site during 'anything but a slack tide' (Table 1, entry 8) was discovered during the dive of an outsider to Norfolk, Michael Reid. The irony of this 'folly' is that the dive is excellent, a humorous play on the need for the timing to be right in order to enter into this site and thus the import of the name. There is no placename remembering Reid, and few if any other than the diving operators who named the site would know who he was. However, travel to and movement through Reid's Folly involves a movement toward an esoteric element in Norfolk's toponymic culture; that many do not remember Reid is not important to how locals and diving tourists travel to and through this place. What is significant are the ways by which names form and animate landscapes, and solidify cultural heritage. Reid is now gone, but we can partake in the same feelings and excitement with which Reid may have felt when this 'secular' place was 'sacralized' through a pilgrimage of place-naming and place-creation.

The use of a possessive *-s* attributes a degree of ownership of Reid's Folly to the 'forgotten' Reid. The insularity of Norfolk's linguistic heritage and toponymic history (Nash, 2011) poses the placename lexicon as somewhat impenetrable. However, what the spontaneity of the instance of the naming and creation of the place and name-space of Reid's Folly shows is how through piercing the conservatism of an insider community's 'toponymic guard,' Reid is simultaneously remembered (in a name) at the same time as being forgotten (not remembered within the community); Reid's 'grammatical' and linguistic ownership through the possessive *-s* operationalizes and generates the place where the memory of Reid lives on – hidden, submerged, yet in a memory- and meaning-laden way. This

construction implies linguistic awareness through naming. It also depicts how awareness of the place and pilgrimage through tourism (the act of diving) witnesses a nexus of language and environment interaction which we term ‘linguistic environmental management.’ Reid’s Folly is not only a name melded into the depths of the Pacific near the shore of Norfolk – it is a ‘lifeworld’ which is ‘interanimated’ (cf. Ingold, 2000) and inhabited.

Tai-Tai

It is rare for adjectives collocated without generic or specific nouns to be productive as English placenames. Reduplicated adjectival forms not coupled to any type of noun are also uncommon in Norfolk placenames (Nash, 2011). Tai-Tai, or literally ‘boring,’ was far from boring to the tour operator who named the site Tai-Tai when a Norfolk speaker came up after diving there (off the south eastern tip of Nepean) and opined the dive site was boring. Although the tour operator understands Norfolk but does not speak Norfolk as a native, the name stuck. The use of this expression and the creation of a name instead of the English equivalent possibly connect the name and the event of its naming to a typical Norfolk emotion of disinterest or understatement, usually coupled with humor.

The abstraction of Tai-Tai from language to form an element of ‘langscaping’ (cf. Shohamy & Gorter, 2009), ‘linguascaping’ (cf. Thurlow & Jaworski, 2010), and reification into the natural environment precludes the name from merely being unclaimed ‘Pacific’ cultural and linguistic space (cf. Crocombe, 1991). The influence of Norfolk in place-naming as an emblematic linguistic artifact in Norfolk tourism (Mühlhäusler & Nash, forthcoming) embraces the appreciation of Norfolk’s Polynesian linguistic and cultural connection. Tai-Tai’s existence and presence in Norfolk topographical and linguistic landscape engages with and links to a Pacific past (positive) and saga (negative), which involves placenames and people. The Norfolk diving industry is connected not only through diving site names but also to Pitcairn and the rest of the Pacific through reference to the *Bounty* in the name *Bounty Divers*. Tourism to Norfolk and participation in diving is then, in part, participation in the solidification of Norfolk’s presence in the toponymic landscape and the role Norfolk plays in establishing and maintaining ecological links to Norfolk’s topography and that of the rest of the Pacific. Diving as pilgrimage is far from ‘tai-tai’ – it is a conscious movement (pilgrimage) toward names which are laden with meaning; this movement or conscious tourism (pilgrimage) is both linguistic and ecological. Names and places arrived at and made sacred through the action of naming and diving embrace a ‘retreat to nature’ (Lea, 2008) and these can again be packaged as part of the tourism experience. Such a packaging implies the process of ‘place-naming as a pilgrimage function’ and the role names such as Tai-Tai play as ‘experiential linguistic environmental management tools;’ they are instruments of perception, devices which can be used to gain further knowledge and experience of the place where they exist and the esoteric nature of their existence and linguistic commodities.

Exiting the water

The analyses of Norfolk diving site names and their connection to Norfolk’s linguistic, cultural, and environmental contexts demonstrate how names have become identified, solidified, and ‘created’ not only as toponyms but as elements of cultural and tourism equity, which can be debated through their knowing and usage. Although few people know where these places are and the circumstances associated with their naming, these places are still locations people ‘travel’ to, a method of ‘toponymic pilgrimage’ or movement to

a place through knowing and being privy to names, events, and place-space. Through the knowing of and movement within e.g. Gurret Wellout or The Arch, underwater dive-scapes are attributed their significance to Norfolk tourism and to Norfolk toponymy. The analyses showed several methods of how ‘toponymic transference’ has occurred through the naming of diving sites and how this transference is also a type of historical, geographical, and cultural emplacement seen through the light of an unofficial toponymic taxon.

This article has put forward the analysis of diving sites as an area of research not only for toponymists and linguists but also for scholars interested in the nature of island tourism, particularly in the Pacific, and the relationship between environmental, cultural, and linguistic interaction through tourism. The method utilized a less traditional way of looking at Norfolk toponyms; they give insight into the cultural and linguistic workings of the people and how a new business venture – diving operations – is linked culturally to the island and its people through the names it uses and the names people gave and possibly remembered. Diving site naming is not only a utilitarian method of making sense of the underwater landscape of Norfolk, i.e. naming and claiming and making sense of a new environment, but also as a culturally weighty activity linked with Norfolk’s past, in terms of older terrestrial names, in light of the current influence of tourism.

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Note

1. One local operator, who taught more than 400 local people to dive over the last three decades, claims some of the younger generation who learned to dive during the 1980s and 1990s would remember the names and whereabouts of at least some of the most well-known sites.

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