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ABSTRACT

Australian placename studies have focused on documenting toponymic histories and issues of concern mainly for placename taxonomy and etymology. Language-external factors such as geographical and environmental conditions have not been of great interest to Australian toponymists. This article assesses the role of geographical and environmental constriction of island places on their toponymy. It considers whether or not island locations breed 'insular toponymies' or placename histories inaccessible and not readily accessible to outsider researchers. The case studies are Norfolk Island, South Pacific, and Dudley Peninsula, South Australia, two island environments within political Australia. The results demonstrate that the degree of insularity of the toponymies of the two island environments is driven more by geographical and social factors than linguistic elements. The results put forward several ways in which geographers, linguists, historians, toponymists, and Australian studies scholars could work together and collaborate to better understand Australian island places.

On Australian islands

> It is important to recognize that islands and continents are but names we give to different parts of one interconnected world. Islands and mainlands derive their meaning from their relationship to one another, a relationship that has changed dramatically over time. (Gillis 2004, 3)

Islands have been given little specific attention by toponymists. The physical segregation, distinctness, and isolation of islands from continental environments provide researchers with germane micro case studies applicable across disciplines. This article suggests ways in which (Australian) geographers and linguists could better understand place by examining the potential of toponyms as proper names as relevant to geography and linguistics. I consider the significance to Australian geography of several Australian island toponymies (processes of placenaming). The analyses should be of specific interest to geographers, linguists, and toponymists, and to historians and Australian studies scholars in general.

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It is essential to outline the potential effectiveness of applying linguistic principles to geography. There are presently two principal fields relating geography to the study of language and linguistics. The first is the geography of languages or geolinguistics, which generally takes its starting point in geography and deals with the distribution through history of languages in space; the second, linguistic geography, which deals with the study of regional variations of speech forms, is also called dialect geography. My position is concerned more directly with the first rather than the second: By specifically considering toponyms, I deal with the geographical inhabitation and distribution of space by languages and how people manage geographical spaces through naming places.

One of the tasks for a practitioner of the geography and linguistics of (island) toponymy is to demonstrate whether the remoteness and uniqueness of (Australian) islands is somehow reflected in the insularity and insider nature of any individual island's toponymy. Is there such a thing as an insular toponymy as opposed to islands being workshop-sites or convenient sandboxes for testing toponymic development? I consider these issues as a means to reconcile the isolated and insular nature of island geographies and methods and theory attributable to the linguistics of island toponymics or islotoponomastics. The aim of this article is to compare the respective insularity in and of the toponymies of the two island environments and assess whether any differences are driven by geographical, socio-cultural, and linguistic elements or any combination of these three.

Beyond preliminary considerations by Mühlhäusler and Stratford (1999, 231) with specific reference to Norfolk Island, geographers and linguists in Australia have not specifically posed the study of the linguistics of Australia's islands as an area requiring its own separate investigation. This oversight could be because the linguistics specific to islands has already been covered in detail by other broader linguistic studies; because islands do not provide a unique field setting methodologically or theoretically distinct from any other mainland or continental linguistic work; or because researching island situations is too tricky, difficult, or is unlikely to provide useful data to social science. Measures of islandness, isolation, difference, and their relationship to geographical remoteness are problematic and difficult to pin down.

One of the apparent contrasts when considering the differential of a linguistics, ethnography, and geography of Australian islands as opposed to mainland environments is that both islanders and non-islanders perceive islands as different and unique and island people see themselves as different from outsiders and mainlanders (Nash 2015; see Péron 2004 first for research relating to the French Channel Islands, and second for work on the concept of islandness as a form of being generated by the (al)lure of the island).

The focus is on two island case studies of non-Australian Aboriginal language toponymy. While focusing on two island environments within Australia, I assert several novel claims germane to colonial Australian island toponymy. These claims may be relevant to Australian indigenous toponymy and the linguistics of Australian islands and islands anywhere. These perspectives provide the methodological and theoretical basis upon which further scholarship can proceed into the intrinsic worth of geographical and linguistic knowledge, the nature of island and non-island toponymies, policy and the power of naming, and methodological cross-fertilisation of disciplines.[1]

Three edited volumes comprise the recent Australian historical toponymy canon: Hercus, Hodges, and Simpson (2002), Koch and Hercus (2009), and Clark, Hercus, and

Kostanski (2014).[2] The majority of chapters in these editions are historical and cover colonial toponymy and European perceptions of indigenous toponymy. They deal with factual presentations of toponymic history and facts without focusing on the theoretical import of these toponymies and how the toponyms actually work in the world. Such research tends to be of little help in a detailed scientific consideration of toponymy where the focus is on striving to decipher what toponyms actually mean culturally and the descriptions they provide about languages and people.

Simpson's (2001) analysis of hypocoristics and diminutive forms in Australian toponyms, e.g. *Adders* or *A-Town* for *Adelaide*, Burridge's (2004) comments on abbreviated insider toponyms in Australia, e.g. *Oz* for *Australia*, and Kearney and Bradley's (2009) study of toponyms and emotional geographies emphasise the need to situate toponyms within the thoughts and physical worlds of the people who use them. Other studies in Australia suggest there is a strong cultural, political, and social relationship involving toponymy, language change, and ways of viewing, knowing and interacting with the world (see, for example, Harvey 1999). Kostanski's (2009) work highlights the interplay of various colonial and indigenous toponymic ideologies on the toponymic and linguistic map of Australia. For example, the ecology of language metaphor (Haugen 1972), and its application to Australian (indigenous) toponymy (Hodges 2007), advocates the advantageous use of measuring dynamic connections between language and the social and natural environment.

There is nothing especially new in an amalgamation of geography, linguistics, and toponymy. McDavid (1958) draws our attention to the study of toponymics in the field of linguistic geography, and Radding and Western (2010) alert us regarding the significance of placenames and their non-arbitrary connection to place, people, and language. Other more critical applications of historical geography consider (re)naming in politically contentious locations such as Israel (e.g. Azaryahu and Golan 2001), the politics and geography of writing critical toponymies in politically contested spaces (e.g. Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu 2010), and the role of political power relationships in commemorative toponymic geographies (e.g. Tretter 2011). Much of this toponymic research is conducted by geographers and focuses primarily on the historical and political geographies and toponymies of oftentimes contested landscapes. A linguistic turn on toponymic geographies in general should be welcomed, specifically the geography of unofficial and scarcely documented toponymies.

In dealing with islands and remoteness it is essential to consider the particular condition of insularity and isolation in connection to the nature, establishment, and specificness of toponymic geographies. Where Schreier (2003, 2009), Montgomery (2000), and Keiser (2009) have argued for the role of insularity in the development or adoption of certain linguistic features both by individuals and small groups in island dialects and metaphorical speech islands, I have speculated about relationships involving islands, insularity, and the insiderness of placenaming and the creation of insular identities which potentially inhibit outsiders accessing insider-island-insular place-knowledge (Nash 2015). My use of the words and concepts 'insular' and 'insularity' is not in any way intended to be pejorative or to imply negative overtones about island people and places. The application of insular-insularity to island environments is practical and heuristic; insularity as an idea allows an effective coupling relating the geography and linguistics of islands with how cultural processes in these places actually function.

The sites

I analyse and compare the toponymy of two islands environments: Norfolk Island, in the South Pacific (or more precisely South-western Pacific), and Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island, South Australia (Figure 1). The Norfolk Island Archipelago consists of three islands: Norfolk Island, Nepean Island, and Phillip Island. I deal with the Norfolk Island Archipelago as a singular island entity as well as treating its three islands separately. Dudley Peninsula is the eastern peninsula of Kangaroo Island, Australia's third largest island. These locations are remote, isolated, and rural. They have recent European place-naming histories, which comprise essential elements in the linguistic history of the respective locations. Building on similar small-scale geography, place, and toponymy work by Dominy (2001) in the New Zealand highlands and Gaffin's (1996) work in the Faeroe Islands I argue that such micro case studies provide a brief yet representative description and snapshot of the overall processes common in the English and English-derived colonial and post-colonial toponymic history in many parts of Australia.

Norfolk Island is an external Territory of Australia in the South Pacific (29°02′ S × 167°57′ E) with a permanent population of about 2000. Around half of this population are descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers who were moved from Pitcairn Island to Norfolk Island in 1856. The islands in the archipelago run from north to south. Norfolk Island (35 km^2) is the largest, and two smaller uninhabited islands are Nepean Island (1 km^2) and Phillip Island (5 km^2). The archipelago is approximately 1700 km from Sydney and 1100 km from Auckland. Norfolk Island's cultural history can be divided into four main periods:
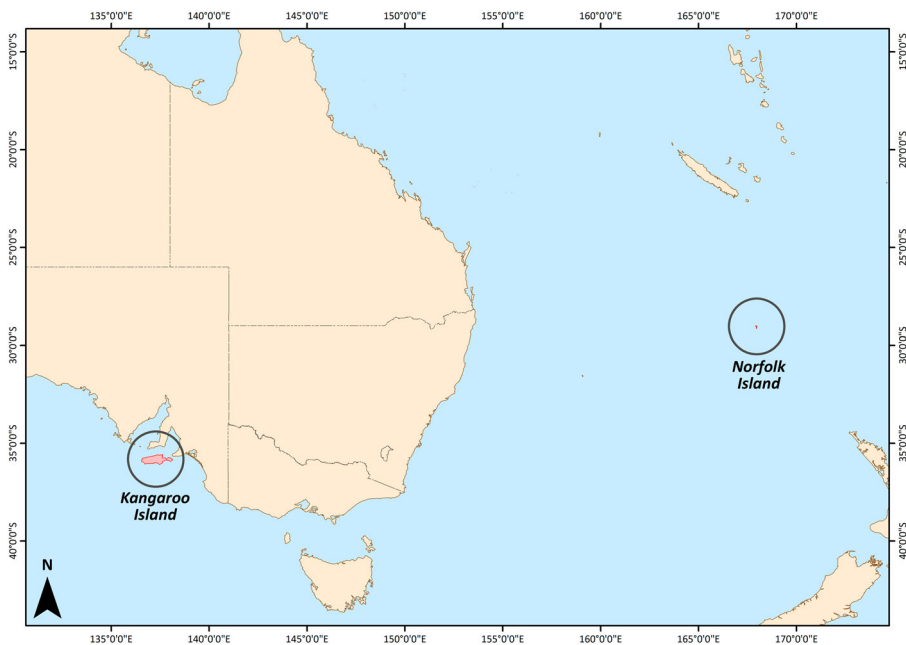

Figure 1. Location map.

(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 convict settlement from 1825 to 1855. Notorious names from this period include Barney Duffys, commemorating the convict who, as legend has it, lived seven years in a tree stump on the west coast of Norfolk Island, and Bloody Bridge, the purported site of the massacre of an overseer by convicts who walled his body into the bridge, later being discovered when the blood of the slain man seeped through the stonework.

(3) The relocation in 1856 of the entire population of Pitcairn Island to Norfolk Island. There are many colourful names from this period, many of which are in Norfolk, the Norfolk Island language,[3] such as Stone fer George and Isaac's (George and Isaac's Stone), Ar Pool fer Helen's (Helen's Pool), and Dar Coop (The [Chicken] Coop).

(4) The Melanesian Mission headquarters and school were stationed on Norfolk Island from 1867 to 1920. The Mission used the Melanesian language Mota as its scholastic language. The Mota name for Norfolk Island is Novo Kailana. Other Mota place-names associated with the Melanesian Mission toponyms are Alalang Paen (Under the Pines), The Kerapai (The Big Tree), Geare Pere (place of big or scarred rocks), and Valis we Poa (Big Grass).

These four periods with one significant addition—the modern era—constitute Norfolk Island's historical tapestry. The modern era, spanning from 1942 to the present, follows the creation of the airstrip during the Second World War, which heralded the development of a tourism economy. Tourism has had a significant effect on both English and Norfolk language toponymy.

Norfolk stems from the contact language which emerged on Pitcairn Island from 1790 in a small community comprised of Polynesian and English speakers. All the Pitcairn Islanders were moved to Norfolk Island in 1856. This marks the beginning of Norfolk as a form of the language of Pitcairn Island which has undergone changes due to its transplantation to a new environment. Both English and Norfolk are official languages of Norfolk Island.[4]

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 km^2, with only one settlement. 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.

Apart from the scant documentation given in Tindale and Maegraith (1928), there are no detailed written records of the Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri occupants 2000 years ago, or records of toponyms on Dudley Peninsula prior to European arrival. Dudley Peninsula was a part of 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 cases, who named them. The principles of place-naming attributed to Norfolk Island (35 km^2) can also be applied to Dudley Peninsula (650 km^2).

Methods and techniques

The Norfolk Island data were collected on three field trips on Norfolk Island between 2008 and 2009 (see Figure 2—Norfolk Island Archipelago). The collection techniques involved a number of informal interviews with members of the Norfolk Island community namely Pitcairn Island descendants, long-term residents, and other official staff, including Norfolk Island Museum staff. For the Phillip Island study, most of the data were collected from an archive documenting the 1989 community consultation and involved public comment held at the Norfolk Island National Park headquarters on Mission Road, Norfolk Island. The files and received letters record the consultation process that the Norfolk

Figure 2. The Norfolk Island Archipelago. Source: the author 2016.

Island Government, the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service (ANPWS), and the Norfolk Island community undertook during the gazetting of Phillip Island as a part of the Norfolk Island National Park, and the letters received. Two field trips to Dudley Peninsula (one each in 2009 and 2010) were required to collect the data to undertake the comparative analysis. I was based around Penneshaw, the main settlement on Dudley Peninsula. Research involved informal interviews with the members of the community over 65 years of age. My main interest in Dudley Peninsula toponymy was the existence of a well-established but undocumented corpus of unofficial toponyms not listed on maps.
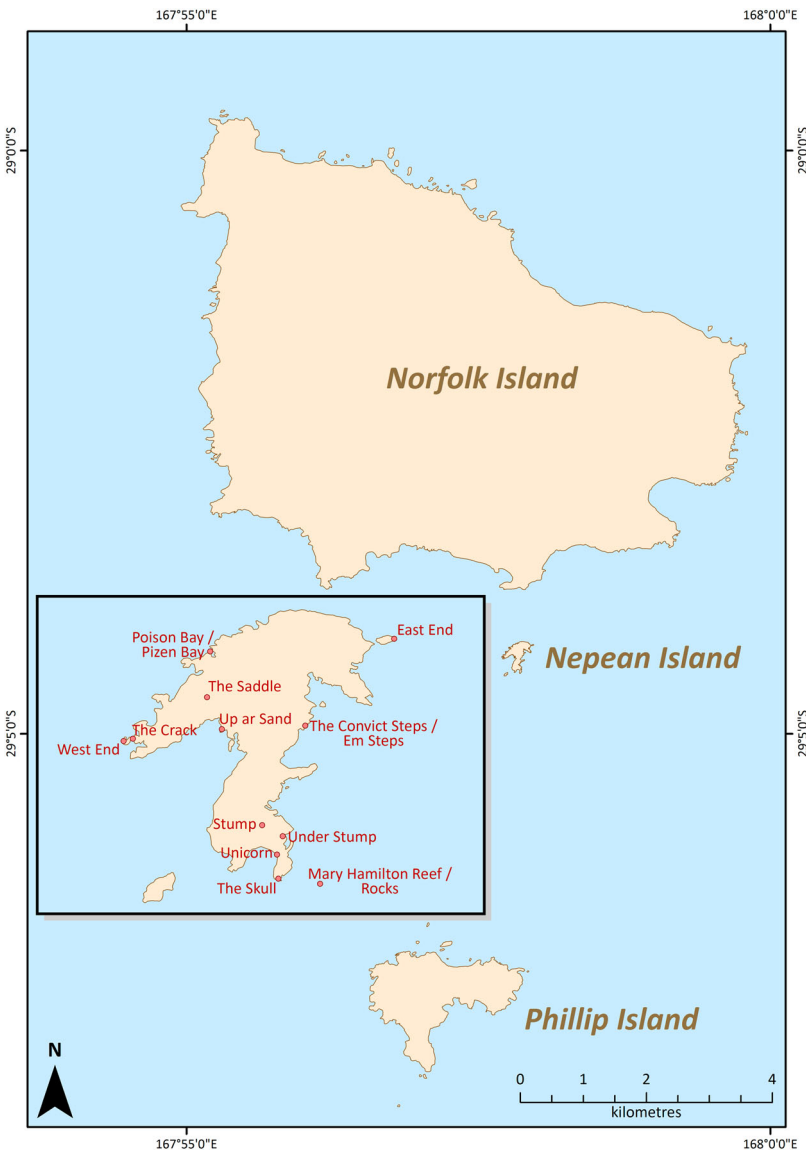

Figure 3. Nepean Island within the Norfolk Island Archipelago. Source: the author 2016.

Two small islands—Nepean Island (Figures 3 and 4) and Phillip Island (Figures 5 and 6)—within the Norfolk Island Archipelago are my Norfolk Island foci, and the microtoponymic examination of a single family property on Dudley Peninsula illustrates how micro worlds are enlarged through the medium of toponymy and its associated insiderness, islandness, and social bounding.[5] Processes of unofficial *vs* official naming, indigenous *vs* colonial naming, and, in the Norfolk examples, English naming *vs* naming in the Norfolk language are presented. The effectiveness of documenting and analysing the placenaming of the contact languages spoken within Australia is considered. I suggest that although current toponymic theory does not evince any markedness in the toponymic

Figure 4. Nepean Island land-based toponyms. Source: the author 2016.
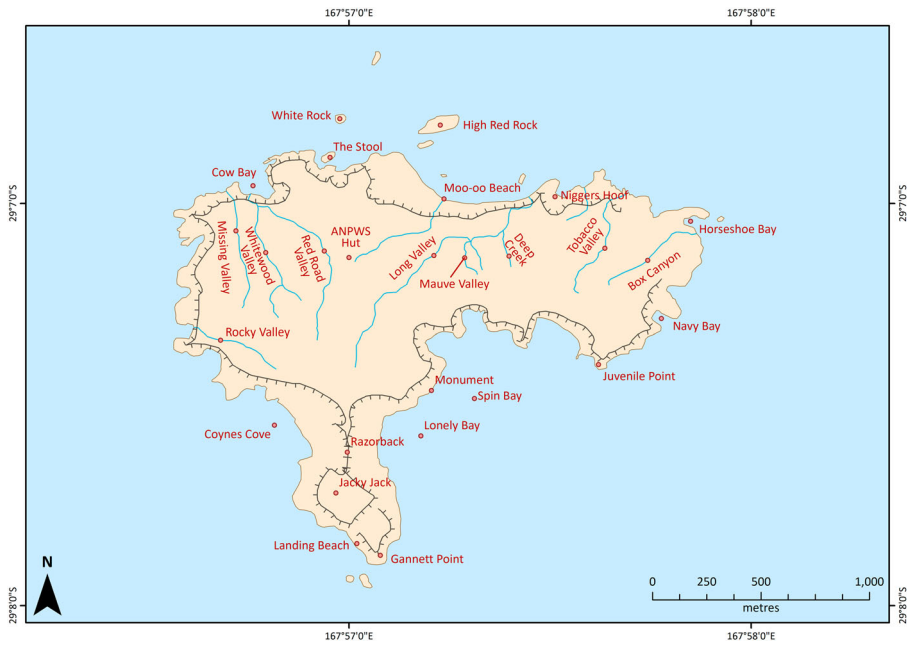
Figure 5. Coyne's Map of Phillip Island. Source: Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service (1989, 8).

Figure 6. Combined toponymic map of Phillip Island. Source: Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service (1989, 8); Nash (2013).

landscape of islands as compared to any other isolated mainland or continental environment, islands strongly solidify the uniqueness of undertaking geographically focused toponymic research in isolated locations as well as demonstrate that isolation does possibly breed change. I suggest other Australian Territories such as Christmas Island and the Cocos and Keeling Islands as reasonable explanatory examples of island toponymy within the political confines of Australia.

Small islands and Nepean Island

Nepean Island is a small uninhabited island approximately 0.8 km south of Norfolk Island's administrative centre, Kingston (Figure 2). I question whether Nepean is a microcosm of naming behaviour for the rest of the Norfolk Island macrocosm. For its size, Nepean Island contains a large number of toponyms. It is possible that the uninhabited nature of Nepean Island may have resulted in fewer commemorative anthroponymic toponyms, a situation unlike naming patterns in the rest of the archipelago where there are many anthroponyms. Nepean Island offers a study of naming a small 'no-man's land' as compared to naming the larger occupied land of Norfolk Island.

For its size, Nepean Island has a large number of toponyms and is an important element in the Norfolk Island landscape. The 200 Norfolk Island pines that used to cover Nepean Island were cleared long before the Pitcairners arrived in 1856, and the physical makeup of the island bears scars from the first two penal settlements, particularly the Second Settlement (1825–55), when sandstone quarrying resulted in the well-known area and placename, The Convict Steps, or Em Steps in Norfolk, on the eastern side of the island. Nepean Island has a large population of seabirds, and the Norfolk Island community uses the island for other activities such as fishing, camping, and collecting Whale Bird eggs. Aside from research into the natural history of Nepean Island (see references to Nepean Island in Endersby 2003), management plans for the inclusion of Nepean as a public reserve (Norfolk Island Parks and Forestry Service 2003), a small sketchy map in Coleman (1991, 4), and a few comments on Nepean Island toponyms in a rambler's (hiker's) guide to Norfolk Island (Hoare 1994), there has never been a comprehensive toponymic survey of this uninhabited island.

Due to its tidal patterns and the east–west rip on the northern part of the island, Nepean Island is difficult to access. Apart from occasional natural history research, for example, the tracking of Masked Boobies, gathering of Whale Bird eggs 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 Island to Kingston, the first major settled area on the island, during the Second Settlement. Other toponyms on Nepean Island known mainly to fishers and campers are The Crack, Saddle, Unicorn, and Stump. Other than a few well-known names—The Convict Steps, West End, East End, and The Crack—most of Nepean Island's more esoteric placenames are not known outside of the social circles who use them.

The eponymous placename doublet Mary Hamilton Reef/Mary Hamilton Rocks remembers the reef and rocks where the steam liner *Mary Hamilton* went aground in the early 1900s. It is also the name of a diving site in the same area, along with other nearby diving sites Blues Cathedral and Black Coral; the doublet Poison Bay/Pizen Bay on Nepean Island's north coast is either named after the 'poison wind' which comes

from the north-east across Norfolk Island during inclement weather, which burns out crops, or because of the local 'poison weed' which may have been found on Nepean Island. Pizen Bay is a suspected secondary name attributed to a man by the name Pizen who supposedly used to fish here; located between The Stump and The Skull, Unicorn is another landscape feature which has been described as looking like a unicorn; the Norfolk name Up ar Sand (English: up on the sand) is the only sandy area of significant size on Nepean Island. Although Nepean Island has a small yet prominent place in Norfolk Island's physical and cultural geography, the knowledge of these lesser-known toponyms is possessed by those who know and who use the Nepean Island landscape, either from the sea or on land.

The grammatical forms and other linguistic patterns of Nepean Island toponyms are not distinctly different from those on the rest of the Norfolk Island Archipelago. Norfolk and English names are used, there are descriptive and commemorative place-names, and there are toponym doublets. Although close to larger Norfolk Island geographically, and while there are no obviously aberrant linguistic patterns, Nepean Island toponymy exists as significantly insular from the rest of Norfolk Island toponymy: it had previously never been documented, it is not as available socially as other more common Norfolk names through available maps, and accessing these names relies heavily on dealing with knowledgeable informants, who have intimate knowledge of Nepean Island geography.

As a microcosm, Nepean Island toponymy illustrates an incomplete version of Norfolk Island toponymy; Nepean Island and Norfolk Island are different, most strikingly in terms of how human habitation is represented in placenaming. Nepean Island's offering of a study of naming a small 'no-man's land' as compared to the naming of the larger 'occupied land' of Norfolk Island reveals significant differences.

The microtoponymy of Nepean Island, an island uninhabitable due to the lack of running water and shelter, provides insight into what tools humans use to utilise, understand, and describe a small and yet well-visited and historically significant geographical area. As regards Nepean Island's insularity, the uninhabited nature of the island may have resulted in fewer commemorative anthroponymic toponyms, a situation unlike naming patterns in the rest of the archipelago.

A clash of toponymies on Phillip Island

In this section I advance a claim using Phillip Island toponyms in both English and Norfolk focusing on whether the language used in a group of toponyms affects their insularity. Building on the Nepean Island data, I use the Phillip Island data to present localised and distinct processes of mapping in an even more isolated and insular cultural and linguistic milieu than Nepean Island. I outline the case of conflict between names from the two pre-1856 settlements and the post-1856 period of the resettlement of the Pitcairners on Norfolk Island. This has produced two distinct layers of placenames—Norfolk toponyms and English toponyms—and has created tensions among contemporary residents as to whether pre- or post-1856 placenames, many of which are Norfolk, are 'more authentic', and therefore more highly valued by the community.

The *toponymic hierarchy*, i.e. an implicit or explicit mode of hierarchically prioritising sets of toponyms based on their linguistic and cultural origin, which developed in the small

island microtoponymic study, exposes how language as toponyms and toponyms as language can be managed. Priorities, values, and even different groups of people favour sometimes incompatible sets of names and thus affect how 'indigenous' and insular these names may be. The placenaming, cartography, and community consultation which took place during the rabbit eradication programme and the proclamation of Phillip Island as a part of the Norfolk Island National Park during the late 1980s starkly depict how several toponymic ideas have been at odds with each other and how their coming together, conflict, or clash has resulted in different placename maps. Clashing can blur the meaning of names; blurred meanings heighten insularity and lessen the transparency of names.

Approximately 3 nautical miles (6 km) south of Norfolk Island, 5 km^2 Phillip Island is a significant element in the Norfolk cultural and linguistic landscape. Insider toponyms are linked to the Norfolk Islanders and Norfolk Island and do not commonly appear on official maps. However, in the community these names exist on the top of the toponymic hierarchy—Coynes Cove holds less weight than Dar Tomato; Red Road Valley was named by a non-Norfolk Islander and thus holds less importance than First West End Valley. Phillip Island placenames designate, delineate, and demarcate clear boundaries in the history of the language on the rest of the Norfolk Island Archipelago: Norfolk names only exist in names endowed after the Pitcairners arrived in 1856; English names occur both before and after 1856.

The Phillip Island data show overwhelmingly that the community believe the 'original' Norfolk names given by Norfolk Islanders are the 'authentic' names, although there are several extant names on Phillip Island which pre-date 1856. I believe that the English names—either the pre-1856 names or those of the ANPWS—are as reliable and accurate toponymic descriptors and locators as any Norfolk names. This tension illustrates that in the presence of any other toponyms, Norfolk names are deemed to be the only set of authentic names which can be taken seriously; other non-Norfolk names must always exist lower on the toponymic hierarchy than Norfolk names.

Although the current placenames (Figure 6), those used mainly by the Norfolk Islanders, have been published previously (Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service 1989, 8), the former names on Coyne's Map (Figure 5), commented on by the Norfolk Island community and eventually changed, served a practical and functional purpose during the rabbit eradication programme. They provided utilitarian pointers for workers to locate themselves and find their way around the island. I believe the names on Coyne's Map were created because no one on Norfolk Island—of Pitcairn descent or not—told the ANPWS staff what the names were in the places they were working. What is significant is how and why these names have come to be changed and what this represents for the Norfolk Island community's opinion on toponymy, notions of uniqueness, and the process of name changing in a situation that could be labelled 'quasi-indigenous'; while Norfolk names are lesser known, more difficult to access, and are more insular, they are considered the original names by both Norfolk and non-Norfolk speakers within the Norfolk Island community. Simultaneously there is another level of what seemingly exists as less authoritative geographical nomenclature in the form of English names. This makes explicit the toponymic hierarchy, with Norfolk names being prioritised over English names.

The Pitcairners were not the first arrivals on Norfolk Island. There was an agricultural settlement followed by a penal settlement prior to the Pitcairners' arrival, which presented the new arrivals with a significant, albeit colonial and even foreign, placenaming legacy. The spelling of the name of the island is itself a peculiarity. The two spelling variations of 'Phillip Island' and 'Philip Island' demonstrate the tenuous nature of language discussions on Norfolk Island.

Even just looking at the name of the island we can see how names can clash—different spellings tell different stories; people want their own names deposited in the landscape; placenames matter. Three names derived from the archive tell how Norfolk names on Phillip Island, one which also uses Norfolk article grammar ('dar' for 'the'), exist at the top of the Norfolk Island toponymic hierarchy (Table 1).

One of the most knowledgeable people I interviewed on Norfolk Island, a person who had done a lot of fishing on and around Phillip Island, used the name 'Baeccer Valley' instead of what most islanders would consider to be the authentic or 'original' name, 'Valley on Top Niggers Hoof'. Even the label 'original' is problematic when describing indigeneity on Norfolk Island because the Pitcairners were not the first people to inhabit the island. Having Pitcairn blood heritage—*come from*—does not imply any essential ability to understand the workings of Norfolk Island better than any other individual. As regards toponymy, I believe knowledge comes through experience and contact with place, language, names, and people, not through a preconceived idea that linguistic or cultural affiliation predetermines an individual's aptitude to accessing and using toponymic knowledge. Table 2 lists other more esoteric and generally undocumented placenames on Phillip Island.

Phillip Island toponyms clash within the differing ideas of what is highlighted in language and place relationships on Norfolk Island. I dispute the veto given to Norfolk names and even how they necessarily represent the only authentic perspective of place-naming on the Norfolk Island Archipelago. Older convict names are not as valued or considered as accurate as younger Norfolk names by the Norfolk Island community when there is a question of authority. This has led me to suggest the role of social allegiances as applied to names and language is more important than truths and facts about the history of names. When there is a choice, Norfolk Island placenames are somehow considered more important and significant in Norfolk Island society than non-Norfolk names. Because English and Norfolk toponyms are included as nationally gazetted

Table 1. Local placenames on Phillip Island selected for their ability to illustrate insularity (Norfolk Island National Park file: NINP/029, 1989), quoted in Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service (1989); *Phillip Island Revised Draft Plan of Management*, Australian National Parks & Wildlife Service (1990, 124–128)

Name	History
(1) Dar Tomato	The bay, the beach and steep slopes on the western side of Phillip Island. Wild tomatoes grow half way up on the steep slope/cliff. Chopie Evans climbed up the cliff to the tomatoes and left his hat there to prove he had made the climb. Was referred to as Coynes Cove during the rabbit eradication programme after Peter Coyne who worked for the ANPWS on the programme
(2) Valley on Top Niggers Hoof	Was referred to as Tobacco (Baeccer) Valley during the rabbit eradication programme
(3) Second West End Valley	Was referred to as Whitewood Valley (after the few relict Whitewood trees) during the rabbit eradication programme

Table 2. Esoteric and previously undocumented placenames for Phillip Island obtained through interviews

(1) South Peninsula	The name given in the convict days to what is now known as Garnet Point on the extreme southern tip of Phillip Island (garnet is the Norfolk name for Gannet birds)
(2) South Rock	The most southerly point on the Norfolk Island Archipelago
(3) Foul Water	A name dating from convict times (pre-1856) just off Garnet Point
(4) Collins Bay	The name was given in the convict days to what is now known as Dar Moo-oo ('moo-oo' is Norfolk for the native flax used in plaiting and weaving)
(5) The Brothers/Twin Brothers	Convict name of two rocks which some claim have been erroneously named Sail Rock

Source: the author 2016.

names (e.g. Australian Surveying & Land Information Group 1992), their inadvertent recognition by the Australian government is significant. Perhaps this *clash of toponymies* or toponymic conflict on Phillip Island is representative of a much larger clash between language, officialness of names, and the need for legislation and more comprehensive documentation of Australia's other lesser-known minority languages. As such, this clash is in parallel a clash of the incumbent insularities of placenames which co-exist within the several islands of the Norfolk Island Archipelago. Phillip Island toponyms may be more insular than Nepean Island names. Still, it appears there is more which drives insularity and insiderness than language and linguistic form. Geographical isolation and its concomitant cultural closeting combined may be more powerful predictors of placename insularity and accessibility.

These two case studies within the larger field of Norfolk Island toponymy put forward several theoretical statements based in methodological processes. The data show that insularity is less linguistically driven than being socially and geographically focused. That is, where the documented English and English-based (Norfolk) island toponyms do not demonstrate much aberrance grammatically from the Norfolk and English spoken on the island. What these name do show is that they are socially guarded and obscure, because they are geographically remote; they are thus difficult to access. The isolation and insularity of these names appear to be driven more by cultural and geographical demands rather than linguistic requirements. Let me now turn to the Dudley Peninsula example for comparison.

Vernon, Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island

Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island, a 40-minute ferry ride from mainland Australia, is an ideal comparative island toponymy environment because, like Norfolk, it has a small, rural, agricultural population. However, it provides a key difference: it is physically and culturally closer to mainland Australia than Norfolk Island. This is observed as a potential difference in the insularity of the two toponymies, and forms a testable hypothesis: Norfolk toponymy is more insular and less accessible to outsider purview than most of Dudley toponymy. I assess this claim by analysing the toponymy of a small private landholding

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). Vernon farm is a property used primarily for producing grain and grazing sheep located on the northern coast of Dudley Peninsula. From its highest point there are magnificent views towards

mainland South Australia. Vernon's island-like nature within an island setting (Dudley Peninsula) on a larger island (Kangaroo Island) constructs a large world in a small place.

The Vernon microtoponymic study illustrates how a set of linguistic artefacts is expanded and applied to a specific social and ecological environment; Vernon names create islands within islands through the naming of places. A map of Vernon depicts several of these processes (Plate 1).

There are no grammatical anomalies in Vernon property names that are not illustrated in other English Dudley forms. Vernon toponyms offer the possibility of analysing toponymic processes in a confined geographical space. The names that evolve tend to be historically relevant to a select few, and they are linked directly to family- and work-related uses. Considered boring by several Dudley Peninsula residents, these names become part of family sociolects inherited across generations, even when their meanings or histories are forgotten.

Looking initially at the location of names on the Vernon map, there is a reasonable spread across the property. This suggests not only the importance of the role that toponyms play as orientational artefacts, but as embedded linguistic relics and ephemera, loaded with meaning and encoded situationally and temporally in family memory. These names then become a part of the family's speech and, to a lesser extent, a part of the insider community sociolect spoken by a select number of families who know Vernon. Names closer to the eastern boundary (e.g. The Spring Paddock, Bald Hill) may be known to the owners of the adjacent property.

It is unlikely that names located centrally on the Vernon property (e.g. The Mill Paddock, The Waterhole Paddock) would be known to anyone outside the family, who has lived on this property, and those who have worked the land. There would be no need for other people to know these names. Land boundaries are not only physical;
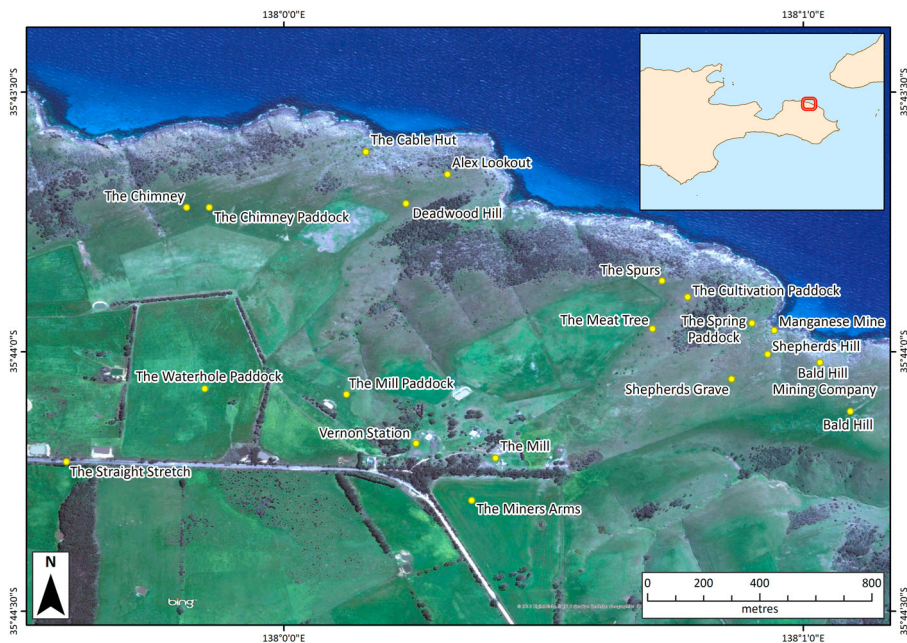

Plate 1. Map of Vernon property. Source: the author 2016.

they are obstacles to intricate knowledge and history of land use in this specific place. They 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 exist in parallel to an equivalent ostracism, exclusion, and barring related to toponymy). Family land boundaries imply insularity.

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, that only very few people know such isolated and insular paddock names on Vernon Station does not in any way undermine the ability of these names to be located, mapped, and used. They provide a complex linguistic basis upon which generations have moved through and interrelated with the landscape in these places.

Accessing these insider-cum-insular 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 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, 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 yet real (toponymic) world that generally never gets recorded is contacted. The symbolic space of Vernon toponymy and its degree of accessibility to outsiders are contingent on the relative spatial and geographical location of these toponyms.

The unofficial status 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, for example, because there is no need. These names provide sentiment and an emotional connection to the land; The Cable Hut, for instance, 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 the Second World War 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 once stood with one gentleman and looked down towards the old rickety hut, which still stands.

The Vernon property's microtoponymy is a part reflecting 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.

Conclusion: does geographical isolation breed Island-like toponymic insularity?

Islanders perceive themselves as being different from non-islanders (Nash 2015). This distinct self-perception is expressed, among other things, in how they judge their onomastic

(name-based) relationships to the places they inhabit. An inductive approach has demonstrated that Nepean Island is a small, representative example of how a small environment can be used to ascertain how aspects of the rest of the larger island environment's toponymy operate. While insular, Nepean Island placenames are not as contentious, controversial, and illustrative of principles and commonalities across language, time and space as is the Phillip Island example. Phillip Island placenames are aggressively insular because of the insider aspect of the Norfolk which is used in several names, because they were difficult to access and document methodologically, and because they are not known outside a small group of fishers and people who use the island.

The insularity of these Norfolk placenames stands in contrast to the Dudley Peninsula Vernon study. Although Vernon names here are all English names, accessing the names and their actuality in memory and in place was even more closed than accessing Phillip Island and Nepean Island names. Where Vernon is private space named privately and which will most likely never have its toponyms officialised, Phillip Island and Nepean Island are public spaces which are named both privately and publicly, with several (Norfolk and English) names having reached official status. Although the use of the Norfolk language contributes to a degree of insularity within the Norfolk Island Archipelago, the insularity of (island) toponymies is less driven by language and more propelled by how these toponymies are accessed methodologically and where and how these toponymies are located geographically and socially; because is it socially closed and societally insular, Vernon is less available to outsider scope toponymically than Nepean Island and Phillip Island. The insularity of the Australian island toponymies outlined is more focused on their geography, how available they are to outsider access, and how we perceive them rather than how the language and grammar of toponyms interact with(in) toponymies: in the cases, the insularity of (island) toponymies is more geographical than linguistic.

Australian islands should be of interest to geographers generally. The toponymies of these locations could specifically provide sites of significant synthesis of and for geography and linguistics. Moreover, places of extreme isolation such as Norfolk Island and the social exclusion which can be realised through language contact between Norfolk and English makes such locations apposite for an amalgamation of disciplines of geography, linguistics, and history, with toponymy serving as a means for better understanding (Australian) place and, in particular, island places.

Because little work has focused on islands as unique areas of toponymic interest, there are more ripe pickings within Australia and its territories for geographers and linguists to extend the basis which has been presented here: the toponymies of Ashmore and Cartier Islands, Christmas Island (another language contact situation), Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Coral Sea Islands Territory, and Lord Howe Island remain largely undocumented. As administrative venues and critical geographical positions for political and legal Australia, it would be beneficial to our knowledge of Australian islands to continue researching the toponymies of these sites.

Notes

1. Because my argument is exploratory, I will not provide any contrastive data from mainland, continental, and what could be regarded as non-insular environments. While such analysis is

the subject of further investigation, the speculative and inductive thesis only requires examination of the particulars of my island case studies and their apparent and obvious insularities, not a comparison with non-island and non-insular toponymic situations.

2. Where the first two volumes in this series focus entirely on toponymy in Australia, the third volume has several chapters with an international focus on the documentation of toponymies in minority languages, languages spoken by a minority of the population of a territory.

3. Although the language name 'Norf'k' is common in modern linguistics, I prefer the name 'Norfolk'. I use 'Norfolk' when referring to the Norfolk Island language and the full 'Norfolk Island' when referring to the name of the island.

4. See Nash (2013) for more details on the role of Norfolk in placenaming.

5. Microtoponymy can be defined as names for small geographical features, the placenames of a specific local area, and unofficial placenames that few people know.

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