The influence of Edward Young's St Kitts Creole in Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island toponyms[1]

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Edward Young, the midshipman who sided with Fletcher Christian during the Mutiny on the *Bounty*, which took place in 1789, was an English and St Kitts Creole speaker. The influence of Young's Kittitian lexicon and grammar toponyms (placenames) in the Pitcairn Island language – Pitcairn – exists in features such as the use of articles and possessive constructions. Pitcairn was moved to Norfolk Island sixty-six years after the settling of Pitcairn Island in 1790 by the mutineers and their Polynesian counterparts. While Kittitian *for* 'for, of' and Kittitian-derived articles *ha/ah* only occur in a few documented placenames in Pitcairn, the *fer* and *ar/dar* elements of possessive constructions in placenames in Norfolk, the Norfolk Island language still spoken today by the descendants of the Pitcairners, are more common than in Pitcairn placenames. It is argued that the use of the *for/fer* possessive construction and article forms are key social deictic markers of identity and distinctiveness, especially in Norfolk placenames. Their usage delineates Pitcairn blood heritage and ancestry (Norfolk: *comefrom*) as either Pitcairner or non-Pitcairner, and has been expanded in and adapted to the new social and natural environment of Norfolk Island. The analysis draws on primary Norfolk placename data and compares it to secondary Pitcairn data.

1 Of islands and individuals

The recently published *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (*APiCS*) volume, in parallel with historical surveys, focuses on the cartographic representation of 130 features from seventy-six of the world's contact languages. It seems worthwhile to focus attention on two of these features, namely the variation and function of possession and possessive markers, and article grammar. The forms I analyse are toponyms in Pitcairn and Norfolk, the languages of Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island respectively.[2]

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[1] I thank Philip Baker for comments on an earlier draft and Ian Hancock for comments on a more recent version. Emil Mittag provided editorial assistance.

[2] Although the glossonyms 'Pitkern' and 'Norf'k' are common in modern linguistics, I prefer the language names 'Pitcairn' and 'Norfolk'. I use these names when referring to the languages and the full 'Pitcairn Island' and 'Norfolk Island' when referring to the respective islands. Pitcairn and Norfolk have been historically grouped together based on the assumption that they are the same language. The most used glossonyms applied to these combined languages are 'Pitcairn-Norfolk' and 'Pitkern-Norf'k'. Because little comparative work has ever been conducted to ascertain whether Pitcairn and Norfolk are the same language or not, I avoid grouping them together linguistically and refrain from using any compounded glossonym.

Norfolk stems from the language which emerged on Pitcairn Island from 1790 in a small community comprised of Polynesian and English speakers after the Mutiny on the *Bounty* took place in what is modern-day Polynesia in 1789. The *Bounty*'s mission was to collect and transport breadfruit from Tahiti to the Caribbean to feed slaves on Britain's burgeoning plantations. 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 which has undergone changes due to its transplantation to a new environment. Several families migrated back to Pitcairn Island in 1859 and 1864. Since this time, Pitcairn and Norfolk have existed ostensibly as two similar yet distinct varieties of a language with a common heritage.

Small island languages have been of interest to linguists and creolists because of their ability to illustrate how language change can be measured in controlled circumstances. Such languages are significant because establishing the influences of single individuals in the development and change of languages is unprecedented. Pitcairn and Norfolk provide several examples and these can be isolated in order to learn more about the languages. Here I focus on two features present in Pitcairn and Norfolk toponym grammar, namely the *for* (Pitcairn) (1) and *fer* (Norfolk) (2) construction, and *ha/ah* (Pitcairn) (3) and *ar/dar* (Norfolk) (4) article usage:

(1) Hole   for   Matt-'s
     hole   for   Matt-POSS
     'Matt's Fishing Hole'

(2) Dar   Stone   fer   Lindsay-'s
     DET   stone   for   Lindsay-POSS
     'Lindsay's Rock'

(3) Ha   Crack   Stone
     DET   crack   stone
     'The Crack Stone'

(4) Ar   Pine   fer   Robinson-'s
     DET   pine   for   Robinson-POSS
     'Robinson's Pine'

These features have in all likelihood arisen from the presence of St Kitts Creole, a language of the Leeward Islands spoken by *Bounty* midshipman Edward Young, who sided with Fletcher Christian during and after the mutiny. Other examples illustrating the range of these constructions in non-toponym forms are the Pitcairn phrase (5) and and the Norfolk phrase (6) or (7), where the generic noun is not obligatory.

(5) Ah   pile   fer   Young-'s
     DET   pile   for   Young-POSS
     'The pile of Young's' (the Young family, the Young pile [lot, clan, group])

(6) dar   thing fer dems
    DET   thing for 3PL
    'The thing of theirs'[3]

(7) dar   fer dems
    DET for 3PL
    'The thing of theirs'

In toponyms, *fer* 'for, of' (spelling variants *for*, *fa*, *fe*) serves a possessive function and is generally combined with what I label the double possessive placename form: *Ar/Dar*/Ø [GENERIC NOUN] *fer/for* [PROPER NOUN] *-'s*. Here I consider whether the article *ar*/*dar* has come primarily from St Kitts Creole. As an alternative and less likely hypothesis, I assess the possibility that *ar*/*dar* forms in Norfolk toponyms are derived from any number of English dialects spoken by the other *Bounty* mutineers and the Polynesian varieties spoken by the Polynesian women.

In a similar way to English toponyms, Pitcairn and Norfolk toponyms can take determiners. A major component of these languages' determiner grammar in toponyms is the distinction between demonstratives and articles. There are two Pitcairn article forms – *ha* and *ah* – and two Norfolk article forms – *ar* and *dar* – which can loosely be termed indefinite and definite articles, respectively. These same forms are similarly used as demonstratives equivalent to English 'this' and 'that'.[4]

Apart from the variation in the use of *ar* and *dar* in Norfolk toponyms, which are summarised in the phonological rule for toponyms which are prepositional phrases: *dar* → *ar*/C __, e.g. (8a) not (8b), there appears to be no consistent pattern for when *ha* or *ah* or *ar* or *dar* are used.

(8) (a) Down ar   Cabbage
        down DET/DEM cabbage
        'Down at the Cabbage'
    (b) *Down dar Cabbage

Apart from a context following a consonant, all *ar* and *dar* forms are interchangeable, e.g.

(9) Dar/Ar Coop
    DET   Coop
    'The Coop'

(10) Dar/Ar Cabbage
     DET   cabbage
     'The Cabbage'

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[3] The Norfolk expression *dar thing fer dems* is defined by Norfolk Islander Beryl Nobbs-Palmer (1986: 53) as 'quoting so & so', where *dems* is any person. It expresses the customary behaviour and tendencies in what a specific person does. For example, if a person named John was known for not catering sufficiently when inviting people to his house, the verb of which in Norfolk is 'to snell somebody', one could say *dar thing fer John's he snell ucklan* ('it's customary [as everyone knows] for John to cater insufficiently when he has company, so that people leave his house hungry'). Another way of using this form would be *he do semes dar fer John's* ('he does just like John does, i.e caters for people insufficiently').

[4] Norfolk also has the alternate demonstrative forms *diffy* (this way) and *daffy* (that way).

(11) Dar/Ar Pine   fer   Robinsons
     DET   pine for   Robinsons
     'Robinson's Pine'

The *ar/dar* distinction can be used for emphasis and specificity, i.e. the specific (12) in contrast to the non-specific or general (13):

(12) <u>Dar</u>   Cord
     DEM   cord
     'That Cord'

(13) Ar   Cord
     DET   Cord
     'The Cord'

It is necessary to consider the influence from Polynesian varieties on possession in Pitcairn and Norfolk. At face value, Tahitian possession is similar. There is a difference between whether the possession occurs with a noun or a pronoun. With pronouns, the possessive occurs before the noun being possessed, e.g.

(14) ta'u   uri
     my.POSS   dog
     'my dog'

With common nouns, the possessive follows, e.g.

(15) te   ama'a   o   te   raau
     DET   branch POSS   DET   tree
     'the tree's branch'

(16) te   apoo   o   te   'iore
     DET   hole   POSS   DET   rat
     'the rat's hole'

Pitcairn and Norfolk do not require the same degree of stringency when distinguishing between pronominal or nominal possession. Although (17) is more common than (18) or (19), both the pronominal and nominal forms are acceptable.

(17) myse   house
     my.POSS   house
     'my house'

(18) dar   house   fer   me
     DET   house   for   1SG
     'my house'

(19) dar   house   fer   mine,
     DET   house   for   mine.POSS
     'my house'

This fact negates the *prima facie* assertion that the Pitcairn and Norfolk double possessive placename form has resulted directly from Tahitian and that there may be other influences. In the Caribbean, the ARTICLE/Ø + NOUN + *fer/for/fe* + NOUN/PRONOUN is currently only found in Suriname. Only Jamaican and its offshoot Belizean have pre-pronominal possessives with *for* 'fe', as in (20) and (21):

(20) fe-me   house
      for-1SG   house
      'my house'

(21) dat   house   a   fe-me[5]
      DET   house   POSS   for-1SG
      'my house'

Examples of these forms are the Norfolk name in (22) and the Pitcairn name in (23):

(22) Dar   Side   fer   Yeaman-'s
      DET   side   for   Yeaman-POSS
      literally 'The Place of [Eddie] Yeaman's' means 'Eddie Yeaman's [Fishing] Place'

(23) Hole   fer   Eddie-'s
      hole   for   Eddie-POSS
      'Eddie's [Fishing] Hole'

By analysing two small island toponymic situations whose grammatical stocks are similar, the degree of grammatical and possibly lexical change in a relatively stable element of the lexicon, i.e. toponyms, can be observed. For example, the Pitcairn (24) appears as less grammatically complex than (25):

(24) Side   fer   Murray-'s
      side   for   Murray-POSS
      'Murray's Place'

(25) Ar   Side   fer   Honey-'s
      DET   side   for   Honey-POSS
      'The Honey's Place'

I assess whether there has been any significant change between the respective lexis and grammar of Pitcairn toponyms and Norfolk toponyms, and what extralinguistic factors have effected these changes.

2   Historical background

First, some historical background is required. Baker & Mühlhäusler (2013) have provided sufficient historical context for the linguistic relevance of Edward Young to discussions of Pitcairn and Norfolk, so I restrict my presentation to the relationship between Young's St Kitts Creole language heritage and the features of toponymic grammar on the two islands I consider. Young's date of birth was around 1766. He was the only *Bounty* mutineer born on the Caribbean island of St Kitts. He sided with the main mutineer Fletcher Christian and died on Pitcairn Island in 1800. By this stage, Young's contribution as one of the major influences on the language, and particularly on the lexicon of the children's language, was quite entrenched in Pitcairn (Baker & Mühlhäusler 2013). While Hancock (forthcoming) remains sceptical as to the extent

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[5] I thank Ian Hancock for suggestions here.

of the Kittitian influence through Young in Pitcairn and Norfolk, despite the evidence of over fifty lexical items which Baker & Mühlhäusler argue are in all likelihood Kittitian,[6] what has not been analysed explicitly is the potential of there existing any conceivable lexical and grammatical influence of Edward Young's Kittitian language in Pitcairn and Norfolk placenames.

In a similar fashion to Baker & Mühlhäusler's (2013) study of Young's lexical contributions to Pitcairn and Norfolk, there is a need to assess the influence of several grammatical elements which may also be attributable to Young and his St Kitts linguistic heritage. More so, as Baker & Mühlhäusler (2013: 173) submit: 'Yet, almost 50 years later, only limited progress has been made towards identifying what these [English-derived Caribbean Creole] features might be (e.g., Hancock 1971; Baker and Huber 2001).' Because Young was the only Caribbean linguistic exponent on Pitcairn Island who could have introduced certain words, I venture he also introduced grammatical features. My analysis contributes to the large pending task of comparing Pitcairn and Norfolk, languages which remain ill understood and under documented. Comparing the grammar of placename constructions in Pitcairn and Norfolk is crucial for this comparative work.

Although it is feasible the *fer* forms in Pitcairn toponyms may have come from any of the other varieties of English spoken by the other *Bounty* mutineers, e.g. William McCoy's Ross-shire Scottish or Matthew Quintal's Cornish, a more likely explanation is the influence of Young's St Kitts Creole. I assess the interaction between grammatical features and the use of these features in toponyms as key social deictic markers of identity and individuality in placenames. Their usage delineates heritage and ancestry or *comefrom* as either Pitcairner or non-Pitcairner, and has thus been expanded in and adapted to the new social and natural environment of Norfolk Island.

The Pitcairn *for* and *ha/ah* (indefinite/definite article) forms are derived from a corpus of more than 400 Pitcairn names from a comprehensive list of Pitcairn Island toponyms published in Ross & Moverley (1964: 170–88), coupled with Evans' (2005) unpublished placename map of Pitcairn. These Pitcairn *for* toponyms are compared to Norfolk *fer* and *ar/dar* forms taken from a longitudinal study of Norfolk toponymy (these names are compiled in Nash 2013, with several *ar/dar* and *fer* forms documented from Edgecombe 1991: 102). The *ha/ah* and *ar/dar* elements are attributable to Young. By analysing *fer/for* and *ha/ah – ar/dar* forms, I assess whether an aspect of the 'toponymic worldview' the Pitcairners brought with them, as seen through analysing two grammatical features from one Kittitian speaker, remained stable on Norfolk Island or not.

In Bruyn & Shrimpton's (1999: 421) word index to literary gentleman Samuel Augustus Mathews' St Kitts texts, among other meanings, *daw* (meaning 1) is defined

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[6] Some explanation is required here in order not to misrepresent Hancock. In his review, Hancock claims the Kittitian lexicon, which Baker & Mühlhäusler treat as being principally Kittitian, is not exclusively Kittitian. He argues and gives evidence for the existence of this lexis in other contemporarenous contact languages and even in regional British English, e.g. *reach* for 'arrive', *mawga/morga* for 'thin'.

as '"*that*, the", demonstr. adj., article'. Other meanings are 'it is', 'that's' and 'at', with other functions being an aspectual marker indicating ongoing or habitual action and the nominal copula 'be'. I posit that *ha* (/hɑː/)/ *ah* (/ɑːh/) Pitcairn forms and *ar* (/ɑː/)/ *dar* (/dɑː/) Norfolk forms in placenames are derived from meaning 1: *ha*/*ah* and *ar*/*dar* are demonstratives, articles. The loss of the voiced interdental fricative – [ð] – in the ancestral varieties of English, which influenced Pitcairn, and two of the differential products in Pitcairn and Norfolk – [h] and [d] respectively – is a case of stopping, i.e. where a homorganic stop substitutes a fricative. Glottal substitution could possibly account for the change from [d] in *dar* to [h] in *ha* in Pitcairn articles, while initial consonant loss accounts for [h] to [ɑː] in *ah* in Pitcairn articles and [d] in *dar* to [ɑː] in *ar* in Norfolk articles. All of these processes are common enough in language simplification, which took place during the genesis of Pitcairn as a distinct contact language. *Ha* and *ah* and *ar* and *dar*, while phonologically dissimilar, serve similar functions within toponym constructions. *Daw* appears as an orthographic variant of *dar*.

Kittitian *foo* (meaning 1) (Bruyn & Shrimpton 1999: 423) is defined as '*for*, of, to'. It is attested commonly as a non-finite complementiser in constructions like (26) and (27):

(26) foo   lib
      for   live
      'to live'

(27) foo   hit-um
      for   hit-TRS.3SG
      'to hit him'

and with a pronominal possessive to form constructions like (28) and (29):

(28) foo   me
      for   1SG
      'for me, mine'

(29) foo   he
      for   3SG
      'for him, his'

Examples taken from written St Kitts Creole texts of Samuel Augustus Mathews from the late 1700s and early 1800s, the written form of the variety contemporaenous with the spoken of Edward Young, are:

(30) all   dish   yaw   foo   me   von
      all   this   here for   me   one
      'all this here for me one' (Baker *et al.* 1998: 19 [121])[7,8]

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[7] The numbers in square brackets refer to the line numbers allocated by Baker *et al.* in their arrangement and annotation of Mathews' eleven texts. The translations are reproduced as in the original.

[8] In their brief commentary, Baker *et al.* (1998: 19) add: '121 seems to mean "all of this is mine". The possessive construction *for* + pronoun is typical of Jamaican but also occurs in Mathews' Text 5.' In their explanation of line 150, text 5, when referring to the expression *you mosser*, Baker *et al.* (1998: 25) write: 'The text shows no formal distinction between personal pronouns and possessive specifiers except for the variable use of *foo*…'

(31) poo   crataw   aw   daw   mek   shiff   foo   lib   dish   haud   time
     poor creature I   ASP   make   shift   for   live   this   hard   time
     'I am a poor creature making shift to live these hard times, Master'
     (Baker *et al.* 1998: 22 [144])[9]

(32) but dat   time so de   pickney   kum   daw   no   bin   foo   he
     but that time so the piccaninny   come [it-is] no   been for   he
     'but when the child was born, it wasn't his' (Baker *et al.* 1998: 41 [278/279])

(33) Dat   time so cockroach mek   dance he no brom
     that time so cockroach make   dance he no belong
     foo hax fow   foo kam   da
     for ask fowl   come there
     'When cockroaches make a dance they never invite fowls'
     (Baker *et al.* 1998: 42 [282/283])[10]

Foo as the non-finite complementiser as in (34) is similar to Pitcairn (35) and Norfolk (36), and the pronominal possessive form (37) is similar to the Norfolk (38).

(34) foo lib
     for live
     'to live'

(35) wasing for do?
     what   for do
     'what to do?'

(36) wathing fer do?
     what   for do
     'what to do?'

(37) foo me   one
     for 1SG   one
     'for me one'

(38) hettae one   table fer me
     here   DET   table for 1SG
     'here's my table'

As regards the phonology of *foo* and the resultant *for*/*fer* in Pitcairn and Norfolk, it appears the final *-r* is likely to have resulted directly from the [r] in rhotic inputs in the Englishes present during the initial development of Pitcairn. For example, the Scottish varieties spoken by mutineers John Mills and William McCoy and the Cornish English of Matthew Quintal was strongly rhotic in the late 1700s. It is worth mentioning Baker *et al.*'s (1998: 23) description of the phonology of *foo*:

> Compare Jamaican *fi* and *fo* <*for* (C&L:176) [Cassidy & Le Page (1967) 1980]. However, Mathews' spelling probably represents [fu]; cf Haitian *pou* < French *pour*. The latter

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[9] The verbal form *mek shiff* is cognate with 'make shift' from older varieties of English and means 'to manage with effort'.

[10] In a footnote after line 283 Baker *et al.* compare the English translation of Mathews' 1822 Kittitian proverb to the Modern Kittitian *cockroach ain't have no call in fowl business* (quoting Whittaker 1990). They note the proverb is also found in Antigua (Murphy 1991: 10) and Trinidad (Winer 1993: 244).

Table 1. For *toponym forms (derived from Evans 2005)*

Pitcairn name	English translation
Hole for Eddie's	Eddie's (Fishing) Hole
Hole for Matt's	Matt's (Fishing) Hole
Road for Cookie's[11]	Cookie's Road
Side for George	George's Place
Side for Isaac's	Isaac's Place
Side for Parkin's	Parkin's Place

Table 2. Ha *toponym forms (derived from Evans 2005)*

Pitcairn name	English translation
Down Ha Pot	Down at the Pot
Ha Crack Stone	The Crack Stone
Ha/Ah Cut	The Cut
Ha Point	The Point
Ha Tower	The Tower
Or Ha C'nut	Over at the Coconut
Spread Ha Powder	Spread the Gun Powder
Up in Ha Coconut	Up in the Coconut

might explain the [u] vowel if we suppose that creolized French was present in St Kitts at some point.

The data I present below suggest this benefactive pronominal possessive in Pitcairn and Norfolk toponyms is derived from St Kitts forms as expressed by Mathews.

3   The Pitcairn Island data

Table 1 lists alphabetically all the *for* toponym forms and in table 2 all *ha*[12] forms are listed alphabetically.

There is a distinct absence of articles *ha*/*ah* at the beginning of toponyms in table 1, as in (39a), not (39b):

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[11] On Evans' (2005) map, *Road for Cookie's* is plotted offshore. *Road* or *roadstead* is often used in offshore placenames for partly sheltered stretches of water near the shore in which ships can ride at anchor. Ross (1958: 336) writes '*Big Sully's Road* is not a road; it is a dangerous ledge along a sea-cliff where Sally, the wife of the mutineer Quintal, was killed when gathering sea-birds' eggs.' Because it is located on the sheltered southern side of Pitcairn, in a similar pattern to *Big Sully's Road*, *Road for Cookie's* appears to be hydronym (name for a water feature).

[12] Although the names Evans lists use only the *ha* article form, the *ah* article form is present in other documented Pitcairn placenames with articles, e.g. *Ah Cut* (The Cut) (www.lareau.org/pitplace.html accessed 11 May 2009), *Ah Cask* (Evans 2005).

(39) (a)   Hole   for   Matt-'s
           hole   for   Matt-POSS
           'Matt's [Fishing] Hole
     (b)   *Ha/Ah Hole for Matt's

This contrasts with the large number of *Ar/Dar* [GENERIC NOUN] *fer* [PROPER NOUN] -*'s* forms in Norfolk names (see below). Of the more than 400 placenames attested by Ross & Moverley (1964: 170–88) and Evans (2005), five names use the *for* (*fer*) possessive benefactive construction. Where there are several English fishing placenames on Pitcairn, e.g. *Ron's Fishing Place*, *Old Man Fishing Place* and *Soldier Fishing Ground*, the form Ø [GENERIC NOUN] *for* [PROPER NOUN] -*'s* is distinctively non-English and most likely illustrates contact-induced alteration from the English possessive to the more complex Pitcairn possessive.[13]

The *ha* toponym forms in table 2 are similar to how articles operate in English toponyms, e.g. 'The Cut' substitutes the Pitcairn definite article *ha* to form *Ha Cut*. While the syntax of Pitcairn or English names adhering to the form [ARTICLE] [COMMON (COMPOUND) NOUN], as in examples (40)–(47), is the same, the cultural implications of choosing between using a Pitcairn or an English article in placenames is significant.

(40) (Down) Ha   Pot
     down   DET   pot
     '(Down) The Pot'

(41) Ha   Crack   Stone
     DET   crack   stone
     'The Crack Stone'

(42) Ha   Cut
     DET   cut
     'The Cut'

(43) Ha   Point
     DET   point
     'The Point'

(44) Ha   Tower
     DET   tower
     'The Tower'

(45) (Or)   Ha   C'nut
     (or)   DET   coconut
     '(Or) [Over] The   Coconut'

(46) (Spread) Ha   Powder
     (spread) DET   powder
     '(Spread) The Powder'

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[13] The name *Side for George* (with no possessive) appears as an aberrancy not only to the system I am explicating but to Pitcairn toponyms in general. Rather than being a deviation from the system, I suspect that *Side for George's* (with possessive) was not documented by Evans in his unpublished documentation work of Pitcairn/Pitcairn toponyms. *Side fer George* is most likely a mistake or a misprint.

(47) (Up in) Ha   Coconut[14]
    (up in) DET   coconut
    '(Up in) The Coconut'

The use of a Pitcairn article implies that a toponym is a Pitcairn toponym. Based on Bruyn & Shrimpton's (1999: 421) evidence that *daw* is of St Kitts origin, there is the strong likelihood that *ha/ah* is derived from *daw*, hence the use of Pitcairn *ha/ah* toponym forms is likely to be St Kitts derived. The distinction between the two Pitcairn article forms *ha/ah*, like the Norfolk *ar/dar*, is determined pragmatically rather than being influenced by the Englishes spoken by any of the *Bounty* mutineers. For example, (48), with *ah* as definite article with no emphasis, and (49) differ in the amount of emphasis and specificity applied to the noun phrase in the toponym.

(48) we   gwen up   <u>ah</u>   cocnut
    1PL   go   up   DET coconut
    'we're going up to the coconut plantation'

(49) we   gwen up   <u>ha</u>   cocnut
    1PL   go   up   DET coconut
    'we're going up to the [specific] coconut plantation'

4   The Norfolk Island data

There is a large number of Norfolk toponyms that use *fer* (English: *of*, *for*; Norfolk variants: *fa*, *fe*). This form is used both in toponyms, e.g. (50), and when describing other nouns, e.g. (51):

(50) Ar   House fer Ma Nobby-'s
    DET   house for Ma Nobby-POSS
    'Ma Nobby's House'(literally 'the house for Ma Nobby's')

(51) dar   hat fer myse   father-'s
    DET   hat for my.POSS   father-POSS
    'my father's hat'

These forms have their origin on Pitcairn Island, although their use appears to be more common on Norfolk Island. The Pitcairn toponyms in (52) and (53) have both been elicited (Gathercole 1964: 13), as have (54) and (55) (Götesson 2012).

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[14] I have placed spatial prepositions which have been lexicalised in Pitcairn toponyms in brackets. While some toponyms correspond to the absolute spatial reference centre of Adamstown, which is 'down', e.g. down town (down in Adamstown), these prepositions – *down*, *or* (*over*) and *up* – describe topographical and relative spatial orientation, i.e. *Ha Pot* is topographically *down* and *Ha Coconut* is *up*. The appearance of 'spread' as a verbal form in a toponym illustrates how unlike English forms Pitcairn names can be. Verbal systems are extremely uncommon in English toponyms, especially colonial toponyms.

Table 3. *Norfolk* fer *toponym forms (compiled by the author from fieldwork on Norfolk Island between 2007 and 2009 with additions from map published in Edgecombe 1991: 102)*

Norfolk name	English translation
Stone fer George and Isaac's (no article)	George and Isaac's Rock
Ar House fer Ma Nobby's (with article)	Ma Nobby's House
Dar Stone fer Lindsay's	Lindsay's Rock
Ar Side fer Iye's (fishing ground name)	Iye's (Fishing) Place
Dar Side fer Murray's (fishing ground name)	Murray's Place
Dar Pool fer Helen's	Helen's Pool
Dar fer Yeaman's (fishing ground name using surname)	Yeaman's (Fishing) Place
Ar Pine fer Robinson's (land feature)	Robinson's Pine
Ar Side fer Doddos's (fishing ground name)	Doddos's (Fishing) Place
Ar Side fer Honey's (house, residence)	Honey's Place
Ar Side fer Beera's (house, residence)	Beera's Place

(52) Hole   fer   Matt-'s
      hole   for   Matt-POSS
      'Matt's [Fishing] Hole'

(53) Fred's   Hole
      Fred-POSS   hole
      'Fred's [Fishing] Hole'

(54) Side   for   Parkins'
      side   for   Parkins-POSS
      'Parkins' Place'

(55) Ron's   Fishing   Place
      Ron-POSS   fishing   place
      'Ron's Fishing Place'

The choice of either *Ar/Dar* [GENERIC] *fer* [PROPER NOUN] -*'s* or the English possessive form [PROPER NOUN] -*'s* [GENERIC] in isolation is unpredictable.

Table 3 lists examples of Norfolk *fer* toponym forms. While these are the documented Norfolk names using the form *Ar/Dar* [GENERIC] *fer* [PROPER NOUN] -*'s*, the pattern is productive for many other toponyms, especially fishing ground names (see Nash 2014). For example, the toponyms *Alfred's, Reuben's, Bill's, Gooty's* and *Frankie's* are all productive in the following forms:

(56) Dar   [Side]   fer   Alfred-'s
      DET   [side]   for   Alfred-POSS
      'Alfred's Place'

(57) Dar   [Side]   fer   Reuben-'s
      DET   [side]   for   Reuben-POSS
      'Reuben's Place'

This *Ar/Dar* [GENERIC] [PROPER NOUN] -*'s* form corresponds with other Norfolk benefactive forms like:

(58) here's one   table   fer   me
     here's DET   table   for   1SG
     'here's my table'[15]

Comparing the Pitcairn form (59) with Norfolk (60), there appears to have been a significant degree of syntactic expansion in Norfolk in forms which attribute benefaction to people in possessive (genitive) constructions and toponyms.

(59) Side   for   Parkin-'s
     side   for   Parkin-POSS
     'Parkin's Place'

(60) Ar   Side   fer   Iye-'s
     DET   side   for   Iye-POSS
     'Iye's Place'

There appear to be two other attestations of this expansion: there are more recorded *Ar/Dar* [GENERIC] *fer* [PROPER NOUN] *-'s* form toponyms on Norfolk Island than on Pitcairn Island; there are more generic nouns which are attested in toponyms of this form in Norfolk than in Pitcairn toponyms (*side*, *pine*, *pool*, *house* and *stone* in Norfolk names, *hole*, *road* and *side* in Pitcairn).

5   Conclusion and future work

My hypothesis is that after the Pitcairners' language was transplanted to Norfolk Island, it developed and the toponomasticon expanded in different domains of usage. Because of the larger size of Norfolk Island, its more diverse landscape, and the more varied underwater reef topography on Norfolk Island compared to Pitcairn Island, which is a smaller island with a more homogeneous and steeper underwater and terrestrial geography, more fishing ground names developed and thus more names needed to be used and managed within the burgeoning Norfolk language and Norfolk toponomasticon post-1856.

Although there is a dearth of available data, the evidence at hand suggests there has been an expansion of the Pitcairn *for* and *ha*/ah forms to the more grammatically complex *fer* and *ar*/*dar* forms in Norfolk. In addition to the obvious lexical changes in placenames resulting from people describing different places, there appear to be two principal driving factors in the expansion of grammatical forms in toponyms on Norfolk. Because of the larger size and scale and more diverse Norfolk environment, more complex and specific grammatical forms were needed to describe and distinguish landscape features in what was to the Pitcairner arrivals a new and unknown landscape; because the population on Norfolk Island since the move from Pitcairn Island in 1856 has been much greater than any of the recorded population sizes on Pitcairn Island, one would expect to find a greater need to make finer distinctions regarding people, property and ownership. Benefaction in Pitcairn and Norfolk is one of the principal

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[15] Although the *Ar/Dar* [GENERIC] *fer* [PROPER NOUN] *-'s* construction does not exist in English toponyms, it does occur in constructions like *that chair of John's* or using pronouns, e.g. *that chair of yours*.

methods to make these distinctions. In addition, the use of *fer* and *ar*/*dar* toponym forms both in written descriptions, of which there are very few, and in speech, some of which I have documented during fieldwork with Norfolk Island fishers, is a key social deictic marker of identity and distinctiveness – its usage delineates heritage and ancestry (Norfolk: *comefrom*) as either Pitcairner or non-Pitcairner. It appears such forms have been expanded in and adapted to the new social and natural environment of Norfolk Island.

The appearance of the complex *ar*/*dar* and *fer* forms and their persistence in Norfolk toponyms suggest that the influence of St Kitts midshipman Edward Young should be accorded more emphasis than has been given hitherto. The St Kitts influence of Edward Young proposes that the inaccurate characterisation of Pitcairn and Norfolk as consisting of only English and Tahitian elements (e.g. Reinecke *et al.* 1975) is in need of revision. It is exciting for this study that the influence of a single linguistic socialiser on Pitcairn Island can be isolated to such a degree on Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island, in Pitcairn and Norfolk, and that Young's St Kitts influence on a small and developing speech community can be analysed within the domain of a word class such as toponyms. As Hancock (forthcoming: 2) tells us when referring to the historical study of the influence of Edward Young in Norfolk:

> its creole(like) characteristics too may be traceable to that same one man. If true, it would be a very interesting and possibly unique case of language transmission – but it must be considered with caution.

The fact that the *fer*/*for* form from St Kitts Creole is present in Pitcairn toponyms and continues in Norfolk toponyms indicates the grammatical resilience of this preposition. In order to assess the amount of language change in Pitcairn and Norfolk placenames and in other aspects of these languages more generally, there is an urgent need to conduct primary linguistic field research on Pitcairn Island as well as with the Pitcairn Island diaspora in New Zealand and Australia.

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