

# Island Placenames and Insular Toponymies

JOSHUA NASH

*University of New England, Australia*

Islands as distinct research sites have been given little specific attention by toponymists. The physical segregation, distinctness, and isolation of islands from continental environments may provide linguists and onomasticians with significant micro case studies for examining the role of toponyms as proper names. This article outlines the possibility of how the cultural and ecological nature of the toponymy of (small) island situations contributes to a place's onomasticon. It is claimed the principal difference which distinguishes island people from non-island people is island people's self-perceived difference. It is speculated this difference and awareness can be observed and demonstrated in island toponymies, both through distinction based on belonging to an island-specific language group and through knowledge and use of locally peculiar eponymous toponyms. The argument concludes by suggesting that a description of a place and culture based in the self-perceived awareness of the holders of island placenames history and knowledge — an island's toponymic ethnography — is an apt descriptor for future work into islotoponomastics.

**KEYWORDS** island studies, island toponymy, island toponomastics, Norfolk, taxonomy, toponymic ethnography

An island, if it is big enough, is no better than a continent. It has to be really quite small, before it feels like an island. (Lawrence, 1986: 1)

## Entering islands

This paper explores how people perceive the place they inhabit and how people perceive the way they name the place they inhabit. The result offers two suggestions germane to (Australian island) toponomastics: (1) the relevance and possibility of island toponymy — islotoponomastics, and (2) a new toponym taxonomy based on two island case studies in Australia — Norfolk Island (South Pacific) and Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island (South Australia).<sup>1</sup> Through considering a proposal of

“a study of islands on their own terms” (McCall, 1994: 1), this proposed taxonomy, which is applicable to the toponymy of small island environments, is arrived at through speculative means. In conclusion, this polemical piece uses the concept of *island toponymy*, a possible new area of methodological and theoretical concern for toponymy, onomastics, and island studies, as a partial description of an island location’s toponymic ethnography.

Although islands as distinct research locales have not been given much attention by toponymists, placenames within a region’s toponomastics have received some ad hoc consideration. Coates (2009) used this term when referring to the naming *of* and not necessarily *on* islands. Other descriptive studies about placenaming on islands have appeared (e.g. Coates, 1991 [Hayling Island, UK]; Hudson and Higman, 2009 [Jamaica]; Rjabchikov, 1996 [Easter Island]; Gifford, 1923 [Tonga]), most contributing little to our knowledge of how toponyms operate more generally. While Basso (1996), Gaffin (1993), and Myers (1986) focus on the cultural and ecological relationships between names, culture, people, and place, they do not center on the structural features of the toponyms they analyze, and what toponym grammar explains about the cultures they deal with. Although this point was not necessarily their topic of focus, and can thus be excused, these earlier descriptions are not exhaustive enough to provide an adequate characterization of what toponyms are and how they relate to contextual linguistic and cultural features.

In order to demonstrate the relationship between linguistics, toponyms, and wider cultural and ecological contexts the term *toponymic ethnography* is proposed, and is defined as a method which considers both the linguistic structure and cultural significance of toponyms as an element of writing, describing, and understanding linguistic, cultural, and ecological relationships between people and place. In this treatment, island toponymy and toponymic ethnography are coupled, leading to the proposed taxonomy and providing suggestions upon which a systematic analysis of these (island) toponyms and (insular) toponymies can be conducted.

## Nissology, linguistics, and island toponymy: Towards an isotoponomastics

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)

It is necessary to explicate how a discussion of insularity, island placenaming, and insular toponymies is related to onomastics and to studies of the lexicon in general. As a subset of proper names, toponyms fall well into the study of naming on islands, or what can be termed, isotoponomastics. Along with biotic and personal names, toponyms comprise a significant component of an environment’s lexicon and onomasticon. It appears *prima facie* island environments themselves do not provide any marked difference in linguistic behavior compared to non-island environments. Linguists and toponymists in Australia and elsewhere have not posed the study of Australia’s islands as a distinct area of investigation. This could be because linguistic research specific to islands has already been covered in detail by other broader

linguistic studies. Although scholars present islands as efficacious for understanding and measuring language in isolation and the effects of isolation on language change (e.g. Schreier, 2009), toponymy and the role placenames play in the folk lexicons of island people seem to have been largely neglected.

Island people see themselves as different to non-islanders and outsiders. This self-perception is possibly the most important difference between island and continental peoples. It is reflected in the way islanders relate to and talk about the world, how they speak about their island, and how they name it.<sup>2</sup> A strong sense of self idiosyncratic to the particular place where they live is created (e.g. Gaffin, 1996). This heightened sense of difference and uniqueness is stronger on islands than in isolated places in non-island environments (Wylie and Margolin 1981). There is often little contact with outside forces for long periods of time. The isolation and seclusion of islands provide a keen sensation of cognitive and social isolation requiring a greater reliance on the sea and an increased need for community strength and solidarity. Like any isolated group of people, island people need toponyms and geographic knowledge. However, the sense of difference and inherent resource scarcity make this need more prominent in small island locations. It is speculated this difference and awareness can be observed and demonstrated in island toponymies, both through distinction based on belonging to an island-specific language group and through knowledge and use of locally peculiar eponymous toponyms. These key points will be developed empirically throughout this paper.

Islands provide situations where extraneous factors are reduced. Toponymy starkly accentuates some of the cultural and ecological requirements that islanders need to be able to describe adequately in order to manage the environment in which they live:

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

Notions of “islandness,” isolation, difference, and their relationship to geographical remoteness are problematic and difficult to measure. When considering the linguistic and ethnographic dimensions of islands as opposed to mainland or continental environments, it is necessary to remember that both islanders and non-islanders perceive islands as different and unique, and island people see themselves as different to non-islanders (Péron, 2004). A realizable and measurable linguistic and onomastic yardstick of this construction of difference is the placenames islanders use to describe their landscape and link themselves to their land. *How is the remoteness and uniqueness of islands demonstrated and communicated in a place’s toponymy?* While the broader implications of this question go beyond the scope of this paper, the taxonomy derived from this toponymic study of islands postulates that island toponymy *is* possibly a different type of toponymy to other types of toponymy.

There are at least two manifestations in the case studies of self-perceived senses of difference which can be directly related to island placenaming: the use of Norfolk, the Norfolk Island language, in Norfolk toponyms by the Pitcairn descendants (“the Norfolk Islanders” and “the Islanders”) and the use of specific family name

(eponymous) placenames by both the Norfolk Island community (i.e. the surnames of *Adams, Buffett, Christian, Evans, McCoy, Nobbs, Quintal*, and *Young* which were introduced to Norfolk after the arrival of the Pitcairners in 1856) and the Dudley Peninsula community (i.e., the surnames of the original European colonial settlers on Dudley Peninsula of *Bates, Buick, Lashmar, Neaves, Willson*, and *Trethewey*). These linguistic indicators of self-perceived difference are evident in the fact that Norfolk Islanders know and believe their language, which is used in toponymy, is different and distinct and that it “belongs” to Norfolk Island and nowhere else in mainland Australia. Both Norfolk and Dudley communities invest a large amount of importance in the role of eponymous family name toponyms, which are self-perceived as belonging only to the respective island environments and *nowhere else*, e.g., *John Adams Road, Fletcher Christian Apartments*, and *George Hunn Nobbs Road* on Norfolk and *Lashmar Lagoon, Bates Creek*, and *Willson River Road* on Dudley.

In order to make sense of the claim that isolated island environments are more sensitive to outside influence, environmental mismanagement, and cultural change — here measurable as toponymic modification — McCall (1994: 2–8) proposes eight characteristics for the “study of islands on their own terms.” He labels this study *nissology*. The word derives from the Greek *nisos* “island” and *-logia* “the study of.” McCall affirms that islands *are* different to non-islands. These claims are summarized and problematized in terms of the paper’s claims about island toponymy and isotoponomastics. The theoretical implications arising from a discussion of McCall’s island specific characteristics as regards toponymy lead to a testable and falsifiable taxonomy for dividing any corpus of (small) island toponyms.

The first claim states that the question of land borders for islands is normally clearer than for continental situations. However, continental or coastal environments may also provide such clear demarcations. Even if it were so, it is not clear as to how this claim is a distinctly defining characteristic of islands. Like island peoples, people in non-island coastal locations also employ onshore and offshore fishing ground names within their fishing toponomasticon. The difference between land borders in island and continental environments is not a convincing argument for the distinctness of island toponymy.

McCall’s second claim is that sea resources are crucial to islands and island states. This assertion could have a marked effect on how island peoples perceive their own environment in terms of available sea-based resources. It then follows this self-perception could influence how island people perceive themselves in terms of the outside world and the methods through which they name their world. For example, fishing ground names can reveal crucial information about where certain varieties of fish are caught and when. *Snook Patch* and *Snapper Point* report what fish are caught on and offshore on Kangaroo Island; *Offie Bank* is where *offie* “trevally” south of Norfolk Island (an external territory of Australia in the South Pacific) are caught and *10 O’Clock Bank* tells Norfolk fishers when the fish start biting (Nash, 2013: 71). Still, such naming behavior and coastal toponomastic cultural capital are also used by coastal peoples in continental environments, so this claim is not overly convincing.

Thirdly, McCall claims islands strategically have a tendency to be claimed by continental states. Because the manageable size of small islands enables these environments

to act as ideal field laboratories (Jackson, 2004), islands can mirror ideas, perspectives, and worldviews from other large places (Ronström, 2009). Norfolk Island toponyms, especially geographical names and house names, provide a window into the relationship between Norfolk and the Australian mainland. No toponyms on Norfolk Island are named after Australian dignitaries, an onomastic (non-)representation of the ill feeling of Norfolk Islanders towards the local continental colonial power. Instead, house names tend to describe the natural landscape (*Whispering Pines* and *Ternwood*, a wooded area where many terns nest) and instate Norfolk within the onomastic and linguistic landscape with names like *Hettae* “voilà,” *Hassette!!* “here it is,” and *Truly Auwas* “truly ours.” Hence McCall’s third claim is not sufficiently convincing in light of Norfolk house name toponymy.

The fourth claim states that the perception of scarcity of land is mirrored in the scarcity of terrestrial resources. McCall’s point is reasonable, but the concept of “perception of scarcity” is problematic, especially when islands are attached politically, for example, to a continental power such as Australia. There are two issues at stake: the inherent scarcity of island resources and the importation of resources, which are by definition mostly scarce. These can both result in changes to the toponomastics of island locations: small islands tend to be low information societies where, like physical resources, there may also exist a hoarding of linguistic and toponymic facilities — a “perception of toponymic scarcity.” Possessing knowledge of placenames can be powerful custody in localized, small island communities. Where outsiders to such community spaces may be perceived as threats virtually by default, insiders are potentially even more dangerous because of their ability to manipulate the social networks of which they are a part (see Nash, 2013: 122). Despite these realities, it is not clear how island locations are adequately distinct from isolated mainland locations.

McCall’s fifth claim is that islands are bounded entities whose boundaries differ significantly from continental environments. This is not necessarily true. Peninsulas, coastal environments, and metaphorical islands (e.g. isolated linguistic communities in urban areas) can be just as bounded and isolated as island situations. As a result of this uncertainty, it is not clear how island placenaming and peninsula placenaming differ in their isolatedness and specificity. This leads directly to McCall’s sixth claim that there is a sense of limitation stemming from islands being bounded entities. This limitation is not necessarily physical, rather it has social and cultural manifestations linked specifically to that ecology; small size and scale are perceived as a sense of limitation only when the small size is not understood. This claim feeds back into McCall’s fourth claim regarding scarcity of resources. It is another contributing factor to the need of islanders in small island environments to retain, and even keep secret, local toponymic knowledge as a type of “toponymic hamstering” or hoarding of placename information.

The seventh claim is that in small places, and more so in small island places, social relations are highly particular. Ethnic and kin relations are more pronounced in small isolated situations, whether they be islands or remote continental areas. McCall seems to have confused size with scale. It is not clear how islands produce more pronounced ethnic and kin relations, unless, of course, McCall is confusing the relationship between metaphorical and literal islands. The two island case studies, Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula, are both distinct in the sense they evince

personal manifestations of exclusive connection and allegiance to islander group(s) based on family lineage, place of birth, and toponymic knowledge and attachment to the place where islanders know and grow.

Finally, McCall claims that migration is a major preoccupation of islands, either as emigration or immigration. Due to limited land area of some islands, especially small islands, periodic emigration is required. Populations can expand but land sizes cannot. The perspective taken in this paper concurs strongly with this point. This movement of populations has a significant effect on the transgenerational transmission of the knowledge of (island) toponyms and whether or not such knowledge is retained by individuals and preserved by communities. However, at the same time, emigration and immigration are often a major part of continental life, so there is not necessarily much contention here.

After submitting McCall's assertions to a treatment employing toponymy as a method to distinguish "islandness" from "non-islandness," the reader should remain unconvinced and even skeptical as to whether islands are notably distinct from mainlands vis-à-vis their toponymy. The remainder of the paper focuses on whether the possibility of island toponymy can be reconciled by employing a novel taxonomy to categorise placename data from Nash (2013: 133–295). This taxonomy can be applied to both island toponymy and to the general onomastics of islands. As such, it aims to substantiate that one key element of how islands clearly *are* different from mainlands is in how island people self-perceive their toponymy as being different from mainland toponymies.

## Taxonomy

The taxonomy (Figure 1) arose out of conducting long-term toponymic research in both field locations. Because the taxonomy was developed in island environments, it is claimed that other islands may be effective in providing a replicable and appropriate taxonomy for categorizing toponymic data.

It is important to focus on the ability of this taxonomy to emphasize the self-perceived difference the two island populations express through their toponymy rather than on the technical precision of the taxonomy. As such, whether the taxon "topographical name" may also comprise lakes, creeks, and bays is not important because this is not the function the taxonomy serves. That said, this taxonomy is satisfactory because it adequately categorizes the collected data from Nash (2013) into taxa which can be analyzed grammatically as well as enabling an analysis of a toponym's cultural import. This cultural aspect comprises an integral element of a(n island) location's toponymic ethnography.

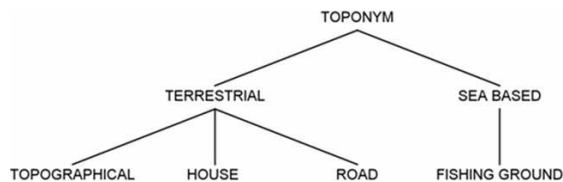


FIGURE 1 Toponym taxonomy for island toponymy  
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## Topographical names

Topographical names are the most generic classification within toponymy. Here they describe terrestrial features that are not house names or road names, e.g., *Pop Rock* on Norfolk and *Hoppys Block* on Dudley Peninsula. Lakes, playgrounds, sports grounds, public spaces, hills, and peninsulas all come under this category. Topographical names can also inspire fishing ground names, e.g., *Ar Pine fer Robinsons* is both a topographical name and a fishing ground name on Norfolk Island.<sup>3</sup> Like all toponyms, topographical names can either be transparent, where their meaning and history are known, or opaque, where the history, meaning and etymology are not initially apparent (Radding and Western, 2010). The descriptive nature and power of topographical names means they are often the most transparent and definable level of documented toponyms.

On Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula, topographical names exist physically and culturally isolated behind locked gates, fences, and cattle grids. Like any other location, topographical names on islands can be insular — they are not available to outsider scrutiny. Still, there is a distinction between island and mainland names: idiosyncratic Norfolk topographical names are used by the Islanders which accentuate and solidify a sense of island apartness and even social and linguistic disparity from continental Australia. Norfolk names like *Side Ar Whale Es* “Place The Whale Is,” *Down Side Monty Drown* “Down Where Monty Drowned,” *Parloo Park* “Lovers Lane,” literally “Masturbation Park,” *Gudda Bridge* “Fuck Bridge,” and *Side Saff Fly Pass* “Place Surf Flies Past” do little to help the Norfolk speakers align themselves toponymically with mainland Australian placenaming norms. Such names are distancing, unofficial, and known to few people. The Norfolk elements are stark signifiers of (island) linguistic allegiance against Australian ideals. Along with the use of culturally distinct Norfolk and Dudley family names in topographical names already mentioned (further examples are *Buffetts Pole* for Norfolk and *Neaves Gully* on Dudley), self-perceived toponymic distinction by these two groups of islanders is maintained strongly through this taxon of the taxonomy.

## Fishing ground names

Fishing ground names can be classed as hydronyms, names for water features. Like the possibility for expanding the scope of what encompasses a topographical name, this taxon could include reefs, channels, straits and other (generally ocean-based) hydronyms. Again, this is not the priority in describing this taxon. Fishing ground names, or fishing “shot names” (Blair, 2006), are ephemeral. The offshore location of these “no places” that become “places” through naming can be lost when terrestrial markers, such as trees, are altered or removed. Names can also disappear if fish movement and congregation patterns change due to factors such as sea current change and overfishing. Because of their transient nature, fishing ground names are susceptible to being lost or forgotten if not recorded.

It is not much use taking bearings if they are not accurately recorded for future reference. The human memory for such details is fickle and the eye is easily deceived. [...] It is asking a lot to try to carry details of 4 points in the mind for each fishing point that

may be worked. It is imperative that they be recorded, and it is a good idea to mark them on an Admiralty chart in similar manner to that used in our sketch. (Hardy, 1974: 227)

Many of these areas are shallow reefs and underwater crevices that have been found over time through trial and error, e.g., the Norfolk names *Shallow Water*, named after underwater reef features, and *No Trouble*, named such because one has no trouble catching fish there. Fishing ground names are of great interest to this toponym taxonomy and (island) toponymy because of this ephemerality, their (linguistic and cultural) connection to land through offshore marks, the unofficial and insider nature of the processes by which they are named and handed down, and because they are so easily lost and forgotten.

Knowledge of Norf'k fishing ground names, those names which contain Norf'k lexemes, is perhaps one of the strongest markers of insider toponymic ownership within the Norfolk Islander community. These names not only isolate the knowers from outsider Australian toponymic concern, they are a microworld of placenaming within an already insular Norfolk society. Norf'k names like *Ar Bank fer Pili Hanis*, *Dar fer Yeamans*, and *Up ar Sand* are not only obscure and isolating in their toponymic form, their locations are guarded by the loss of memory because nobody can remember where these places actually are. Modern tracking systems, sonar, GPS, and the removal of trees and other landmarks used in locating grounds have rendered a lot of the spatial information and much of the sociohistorical import of the names obsolete. Researchers studying the anthropology of fishing ground names have commented on the reluctance of fishermen to give away their most valuable spots and names:

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

The Norf'k used in fishing grounds persists as some of the most anomalous in Norfolk toponymy; names like *Ar Yes*, *Ar House fer Ma Nobbys*, *Out orn ar Melky Tree*, and *Down ar Graveyard* incorporate local knowledge and fixed spatial grammar into toponyms, which exist and persist within an insular physical and cultural landscape. This separation, islandness, and parochiality distinguishes an island sense of (toponymic) self felt by Norf'k speaking fishers markedly from any sense of connectedness through toponymy to the Australian mainland. This degree of complexity in the linguistics and onomastics of fishing ground names is not as prevalent in Dudley toponymy, most obviously because the only language used is English.

## House names

House names are a highly personal and potentially unofficial realm of the toponymic landscape of a place. While other buildings such as government buildings and gaols may also come under this category, this is not critical to the argument presented here involving insularity and employing an appropriate taxonomy to assess degrees of insularity and islanderness founded in toponymy. The practice of naming houses can give a unique window into the past of a specific place because house names are especially resilient entities that continue to exist even after people have passed away. Creating a house name on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula is often as simple as putting up



a sign. Humor, sarcasm, and irony as well as descriptive and environmental aspects are employed in house names more than in any other taxon. This personal approach to naming demonstrates dramatically the relationship between official, map-focused toponymy and colloquial, ad lib, and spontaneous naming practices.

The driving feature of “island toponymic othering” — that which distinguishes an island culturally and toponymically from a mainland — which Norfolk Islanders employ in naming their houses, is the use of Norf’k. Names like *Auwas Hoem* “Our Home,” *Auwas Paradise Roof*, *Dar Shed* “The Shed,” *Hassette!!*, *Hettae*, *Kaa Sii da Roof* “Can’t See the Roof,” and *Kettle se Boil* “the Kettle’s Boiled,” all demarcate difference; those who name their houses using Norf’k are making strong allegiance-based statements delineating Norfolk and mainland Australia, and Norfolk Islanders and non-Norfolk Islanders within the Norfolk community. It is even taboo for non-Islanders to use Norf’k in their house names because this insider language is not socially and linguistically considered theirs.

The eight Islander surnames are numerous in Norfolk house names: from *Ma Adams’s* to *Chood Buffett’s* to *Ot Christian’s* to *Evansville* to *Olive Young’s*, such names specify and pose Islander identity as special and different. A similar process occurs on Dudley Peninsula: *Bruce Bates’s House* is on *Bates’s Hill*, and many of the Trethewey and Willson family members have named their houses using their surnames in the Snob Hill area at the eastern end of Hog Bay in Penneshaw, the main settlement on the peninsula. These unofficial names and processes render islandness within localized monikers; they represent regional (island and insular) spatial inscription in brief yet strong toponomastic statements.

## Road names

*Road name* is the generic term used to refer to roads, streets, easements, and lanes. It could even include airstrips or any other type of access course. The majority of roads, alleys, easements, and lanes on Norfolk Island and Dudley Peninsula are named. On Norfolk Island roads, alleys, and lanes are Crown land and require official recognition in accordance with legislation prior to the erection of signage. This differs significantly from the process of erecting house and hotel signage which can be carried out in a much less official fashion. There are, however, diverse examples of unofficial naming of official Norfolk roads in colloquial use, both involving Norf’k and Islander surnames. Norf’k road names like *Ama Ula Lane* “Clumsy Lane,” *Bun Pine Alley* “Burnt Pine Alley,” and *Yorlor Lane* (*yorlor* or *yollo* “a slab of pumice stone brought from Tahiti and Pitcairn used to grate vegetables for baking”) are recent inclusions into Norfolk toponymy and embody the contemporary renaissance of Norf’k culture and language. The other two Norf’k road names are *House Road* and *Store Road*. These are recognized as Norf’k names because they were first coined by the Norfolk Islanders, and are generally only used by Norf’k speakers. Although these names contain English lexemes, they are pronounced using Norf’k pronunciation, i.e. [hæʊz r3:d], *House Road* and [stɔ: r3:d] *Store Road*.

In addition to these road names, the 2008 naming of previously unnamed road as *Tevarua Lane* in honour of Tevarua, a Tahitian woman who arrived on Pitcairn with the *Bounty* mutineers, concretized a symbolic re-enactment and re-evaluation of

the previous obscuring of female and Tahitian elements in the history of the Pitcairn Islanders and Norfolk Islanders. Tevarua died around 1799 on Pitcairn and was the consort of midshipman Matthew Quintal. The officializing of *Tevarua Lane* as an iconic road name symbolizes an acceptance within the community of the Norfolk Islanders' Tahitian heritage and renaissance through the medium of toponymy in a condensed linguistic form. *Tevarua Lane* emerges as a concrete entity; it symbolizes both a process of linking of Norfolk's ancestral (island) connection to Tahiti and a toponymic distancing from Australian political power.

Again, along with road names like *David Buffett Road*, *William Evans Lane*, *Johnstone Nobbs Lane*, and *Christine McCoy Lane*, Dudley road names exhibit the power naming has in creating and maintaining island-like toponymic boundaries distinct from mainland Australia, e.g., *Neaves Gully Road*, *Lashmar Lane*, and *Willson River Road*.

### Islands, insularity, and toponymic ethnography

The island toponymy taxonomy presented is a novel suggestion for future research involving working with the toponymy of and on islands and possibly toponymy in the island contact language situation (e.g., island pidgins and creoles). The taxonomy was purposefully simple: to accentuate how islanders' self-perception of their difference and distinctness from a mainland can be typified in terms of and through island people's toponymy. It was *not* necessarily meant to be exhaustive in dealing specifically with landscape features and how they should be divided and analyzed, which is often the concern of toponymists. The four data taxa illustrate a data categorization relevant to most (small) island situations. It offers a practical tool through which more exploratory work can be carried out into island toponymy and understanding relationships between (island) cultures and toponymic ethnographies — the writing of culture through its placenames.

In the same way McCall (1994: 6) argued nissological knowledge should be “multi-dimensional” incorporating “all *four* dimensions of the world in which we live,” namely height, width, depth, and time, island toponymy and even *nissological toponymy* should incorporate and be incorporated within the four dimensions of island worlds as a part of the wider study of the linguistics and toponymy of non-island worlds.

Islanders perceive themselves as being different from non-islanders. This distinct self-perception is expressed in how they judge their onomastic relationships to the place they inhabit. It has been speculated a four-taxon taxonomy is accurate and specific enough to pattern how islanders comprehend their island space in terms of topographical names, fishing ground names, house names, and road names. While any more detailed taxonomy could possibly have performed a similar or more precise function, it was postulated this four-taxon distribution was adequate to demonstrate how island notions of self, place, and identity can be represented and realized toponymically. The taxonomy performs two functions: it identifies one possible generic basis upon which more complex taxonomies relevant to (island) toponymic studies can proceed, and it has contributed at least in part to the writing of a toponymic ethnography of (island) cultures through examining how perceived senses of (island) self in relation to (island) toponymy are actually effectuated.

Through explicating this taxonomy, it has also been shown there exist varying degrees of self-perceived island(er)ness as distinct from non-island(er)ness or “mainlandness.” Norfolk Island toponymy, with its use of Norf’k, is deemed more insular because of the use of another language — Norf’k — than the wholly English toponymic situation on Dudley Peninsula. Like the (generally) monolingual state of self-perceived island difference on Dudley achieved through the specificity associated with colonial names such as *Bates*, *Lashmar*, *Trethewey*, and *Willson* used in place-naming in this part of Kangaroo Island, the diglossic toponymic situation on Norfolk Island and self-perceived island difference is strengthened through the cultural importance placed on family names like *Buffett*, *Christian*, *Nobbs*, and *Quintal*. The distinction between language-based and name-based values of self-perceived senses of islandness in relation to toponymy and indeed to other elements of the onomastic landscape is one aspect where future research into island toponymy and its relationship to the writing of toponymic ethnographies may lie.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The islands used as exemplars are small and have modestly sized and parochial populations. While the presented taxonomy is suitable for such small islands, it may not necessarily be applicable for islands the size of Sāmoa, Rarotonga, Grand Terre (New Caledonia), and Viti Levu (Fiji). It also must be noted that, while Dudley Peninsula is not a separate island, it is a part of a larger island, Kangaroo Island, Australia’s third largest island. It is island-like, has an insular society, and can be treated as an island environment. “Placename” and “toponym” and “placename” and “toponym” are used synonymically throughout.
- <sup>2</sup> This is not the place to provide details of the author’s long-term work and personal experience on island toponymy. This work has dealt with the relationship between subjective perceptions of island and self relations and their empirical manifestation in toponymy. The interested reader is referred to Nash (2013).
- <sup>3</sup> One of the triangulation marks for lining up the offshore fishing ground *Ar Pine fer Robinsons* “Robinsons Pine” uses the topographical name, marker, and location *Ar Pine fer Robinsons* as a bearing.

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## Notes on contributor

Joshua Nash loves islands. He is a post-doctoral fellow in linguistics at the University of New England, Armidale, Australia. His current research analyzes the toponymy of Pitcairn Island.

Correspondence to: Joshua Nash, Discipline of Linguistics, University of New England, Australia 2351. Email: [joshua.nash@une.edu.au](mailto:joshua.nash@une.edu.au)