

EXPERT REPORT ON THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF NORFOLK ISLANDER ETHNICITY, CULTURE AND THE NORF'K LANGUAGE (NORFOLK ISLAND - SOUTH PACIFIC)

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Executive Summary:

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Norfolk Island is Ethnically, Culturally and Linguistically Distinct from Australia.

Ethnicity, culture and language of the Anglo-Polynesian-West-Indian Pitcairn descendants came into being on Pitcairn Island in 1790 and were taken by the Pitcairners to Norfolk Island in 1856 where it continued to develop, without Australian input, until the 20th century. Intermarriages with mainland Australians and Australian assimilation policies have not significantly weakened the distinctiveness of the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent. The literature surveyed as well as field-notes, taken over 21 years, confirm:

- The Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn ancestry remain a genetic isolate;
- Anthropometric research suggests significant physiological differences between Norfolk Islanders and Anglo-Australians;
- The Norfolk Islanders are distinct from mainland Australians with regard to all parameters that define Ethnicity: homeland, shared ancestry, cultural narrative and cultural core values;
- Norfolk Islanders subscribe to a separate Anglo-Polynesian rather than Australian identity. This was strengthened after the Great Depression when Norfolk Island migrants joined the Polynesian Club in Sydney. Norfolk Island has been a member of a number of Pacific cultural organizations. The Pitcairn homeland and the Pitkern-Norf'k language play a central role in defining the identity of Norfolk Islanders;
- The material culture of the Norfolk Islanders combines Tahitian, West Indian and British influences with a large amount of adaptation as well as later influences from American whalers and the High Anglican Melanesian Mission. Importantly, cultural forms that bear resemblance to Australian cultural forms (kites, surfing, pie cooking) can be shown to have come from other sources.
- The intangible culture of the Norfolk Islanders exhibits numerous differences with that of the Australian mainland, particularly in their musical styles, Traditional Ecological Knowledge and spirituality;
- The Nurf'k language is neither directly related to English nor mutually intelligible. It is technically characterized as an Anglo-Polynesian-St. Kitts Creole language. Its core grammar is typologically different from English.
- The semantic and pragmatic properties of the Nurf'k language are more Polynesian than English. Polynesian pragmatics is carried over into the variety of English used by Norfolk Islanders.

The culture of the Pitcairner descendants has remained distinct, viable and dynamic and is passed on to future generations in a number of ways:

- Preservation of material culture in collections and museums
- Preservation of intangible culture through written or visual records
- Maintenance by consciously living the culture
- Revival by devising strategic means of enhancing transmission
- Adaptation of older culture to new conditions

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1 Background

1.1 Assimilation Policies

The recent dissolution by the Australian Government of the Norfolk Island Legislative Assembly was justified by both economic arguments and by another argument, which has a long history: that of mainstreaming, assimilating or normalising Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders, Cocos Island Malays, Queensland Kanakas and Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent. The notion that the Norfolk Islanders are ethnically and culturally akin¹ to the population of mainland Australia is relatively recent. It goes back to the 1970s when Australia argued with the UN that Norfolk Island was not a non-self-governing external territory but part of Australia.

“... Examined by the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence in 1975. The Committee had reached firm conclusions on United Nations involvement with Norfolk. The population of about 1,900 is ethnically and culturally akin to that of the mainland, its economic and social links are with Australia, and there is complete freedom of access between the mainland and Norfolk Island...” (Hoare, 1983: 33)

As a recent report

(www.aph.gov.au/.../House_of_Representativeshouse_committee_ncet/norfolkgov_report_chapter2.pdf (p. 9) puts it:) (p.9) puts it:

“However, despite claims by some in the community that Norfolk Island is ethnically and culturally distinct from Australia, and that Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent are indigenous and Norfolk Island is their ‘homeland’, this is not borne out by the historical record.”

It is not clear what historical records the Committee’s document has made use of, as the records examined here suggest otherwise.

It is suggested by the Committee that the wish for the preservation of the traditions of the Pitcairn-Island descendants should be respected:

“The Committee respects the strong desire of many Norfolk Islanders to preserve the traditions of the Pitcairn Island descendants such as their language, burial traditions, mutual self-help, family gatherings, community picnics and special holidays. The rural lifestyle of the broader Norfolk Island community is also one worth preserving and the source of much of the Island’s attraction to visitors. But none of these are central to the conduct of government, nor the operation of good governance principles. Norfolk Island’s history and cultural heritage are highly valued as part of Australia’s national and

¹ There are two meanings to the term

akin. 1 : related by blood : descended from a common ancestor or prototype. 2 : essentially similar, related, or compatible . Modern genetics can establish shared ancestry. The notion of similarity, by contrast, is a difficult one to apply in a similarly objective fashion. Ultimately, it is those who have the power who can lay down the meaning of *akin*.

multicultural heritage. In this respect, Australia's national interest and responsibility is also served by ensuring these aspects of Norfolk Island life are maintained" (ibidem).

The traditions singled out here are the ones that are most clearly visible to outsiders. They represent only a part of a much larger integrated system of cultural beliefs, traditions and practices. Selective protection of some traditions ignores the interdependency of all components of culture and may not prevent this system from collapse.

Attempts to normalise culturally distinct minority groups in many parts of the world have frequently been accompanied by considerable economic and human costs and have often remained unsuccessful. Past assimilation policies, like missionary work, were often well-intended but equally often resulted in non-intended problems and collateral damage. For instance, the deliberate assimilation policies that led to the decline and loss of numerous Aboriginal languages and knowledge-systems are now deplored by Australian Government agencies, who continue to spend millions of dollars to repair the damage. The effects of deliberate assimilation policies directed towards the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent remain to be fully understood. Whereas only about 10% of the Aboriginal people of Australia still speak their ancestral language, a much greater proportion continues to speak Norfolk: The Department of Regional Affairs Regional Development and Local Government's Norfolk Island Basic Community Profile 2011 reports that 49% of all households speak English only, whilst in 45% of households Norfolk is also spoken.

Assimilation policies and practices are remembered, and form an important topic in the discourses of minority groups. They are referred to as 'cultural and linguistic genocide' (linguicide) by Aboriginal Australians and parts of the Norfolk Islander community. A root cause of the persisting failure of Australian Government policies (such as 'closing the gap') targeting Aboriginal people, Torres Strait Islanders, Kanakas or Norfolk Islanders has been the wide-spread lack of linguistic and cultural knowledge among the bureaucrats that administer them. They fail to recognise the central role of culture and language in managing specific social and natural ecologies and they fail to address the crucial question how the populations targeted by assimilation and normalisation practices actually want to live.

Given the multiple roots of the Pitcairners in British, West- Indian and Polynesian culture, theirs could be an important role in cross-cultural communication. This was indeed recognized by Captain Sir Thomas Staines, who visited Pitcairn 1814s and commented:

"I cannot, however, refrain from offering my opinion that it is well worthy the attention of our laudable religious societies, especially that for propagating the Christian religion; the whole of the inhabitants speaking the Otahtian tongue as well as English."

The Melanesian mission that was located on Norfolk Island between 1867 and 1920 employed Norfolk Islanders in their mission work, and a number of Norfolk Island individuals have worked in Pacific territories over the years. There never were Australian policies utilizing the special cultural resources of the Norfolk Islanders. Professor Richard Herr and Dr Andrew Bergin in their report "Our Near and Abroad – Australia and Pacific Islands' regionalism" have argued that that "Norfolk Islanders of Polynesian ancestry can serve as a bridge from Australia into the region." This view was also supported by the former Australian CPA (Council of Pacific Arts) Regional Secretary who visited in 2012, who recognized the opportunity to use Norfolk Island as a bridge between the Australian and Pacific Regions of the CPA; and Australia and the Pacific more broadly.

"Norfolk's place in the Pacific includes membership of the South Pacific Games Council and the Pacific Arts Council. Norfolk Island was admitted as a member of the South Pacific Games Council in 1979. Since 1981 the region has also run the South Pacific Mini Games (today called the Pacific Mini Games) and in December 2001 Norfolk Island successfully hosted the VI South Pacific Mini Games with 18 countries / territories participating in the 10 sport programme, with over 800 athletes and officials attending.

The Festival of Pacific Arts is a travelling festival hosted every four years by a different country in Oceania. It was conceived by the Secretary of the Pacific Community as a means to stem erosion of traditional cultural practices by sharing and exchanging culture at each festival. Norfolk Island, which was first represented at the Pacific Arts Festival at its third Festival held in Papua New Guinea in 1980, also has a seat on the Pacific Arts Council.”

(Robin Adams. The Commonwealth of Australia and Norfolk Island: Bridging the Divide. 2014, *The Parliamentarian*, Issue Two: Norfolk Island)

Subsequent Australian administrations have demonstrated little interest in the potential bridging role Norfolk Islanders could play. In the case of Norfolk Island, assimilation policies constituted a major policy shift from the previous British policy of isolating the Pitcairn Islanders from outside influences. This original policy is referred to as ‘experiment’.

2 The Isolation Experiment

What made the Pitcairners agree to a move to Norfolk Island remains a matter of ongoing research. The belief at the time was that Norfolk Island was a gift from Queen Victoria for their sole use and that they could continue to live according to their own laws. This belief together with the belief that the document read to the Pitcairners continues to be held by many contemporary Norfolk Islanders

The Pitcairners understood the position of the Anglican Melanesian Mission regarding their role on Norfolk Island and their wish to overcome the bad memories of the penal settlements was shared by them.

“Bishop Selwyn, who had designated Norfolk ‘the Ocean Hell’ when he visited it in convict says, now wrote: ‘I doubt not, that eventually the presence of the Pitcairn people will render it what nature intended it to be- an earthly paradise’.” (Clarke, 2007: 147)

However, the Pitcairners did not realise that their actions were strictly monitored and that their way of life could be changed if they did not live up to expectations. They were under the impression that upon their transfer to Norfolk Island they would remain a separate and isolated community and were not aware that this arrangement was a social experiment that could be terminated by the colonial authorities.

British Experiments on Norfolk Island - ANU Press <http://www.press.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/ch01.pdf>

Additional details of this experiment can be found in O’Collins (2002: 1-18) and Nobbs (2006: 47-49).

In 1854 the Pitcairn Islanders were informed by the British Consul for the Society Islands that ‘it is not intended to allow any other class of settlers to reside or occupy land on the Island [i.e.Norfolk]’ (cited from Belcher: 344 - 345). The instructions given by Sir William Denison, Governor of New South Wales, to Mr Gregory, the Navy agent on board the Morayshire, include (quoted from O’Collins 2006: 4-5, where further details can be found):

“You will accompany this report with any suggestion which you may think calculated to facilitate the working of this experiment about to be made, or which may tend to the happiness and prosperity of the very interesting people who are the subject of this experiment.”

The Secretary of State (1855-58), Sir Henry Labouchere, in a letter to Denison wrote in January 1856 (Nobbs 2006: 48):

“It will be proper to refuse to sell or grant lands in this small island to any other than the race (sic!) by which it is now to be inhabited and to hold out as little encouragement as possible to the domestication there of any other races until the present experiment be fully tried.”

The Pitcairn Islanders were left in the dark, though some of them probably realized what was happening to them. This, rather than homesickness, may explain why several Pitcairner families returned to Pitcairn Island after a few years.

“It was perhaps well for the little community that they were not more inquisitive and suspicious; for had they been so, they would probably never have consented to leave their original home. They would have decidedly refused to be made the subjects of what the Governor now admitted was 'only an experiment' and however fatherly his intentions might have been, would have objected to be treated as 'The Experiment':

The settlement of the Pitcairners on Norfolk Island in 1856 by the British Parliament was referred to by politicians of the time as 'The Experiment'.

In that romantic era of Queen Victoria, a great interest was taken by the British in the fate of the Pitcairners - a brand new race that had lived isolated for so long, yet was sophisticated and devoutly Christian.

It was the aim of Queen Victoria in granting Norfolk to the Pitcairners that the race remain isolated and the effect of this isolation from the surrounding world be studied. Thus, Her Majesty instructed the Governor that he preserve and maintain the laws and usages of the Pitcairn people. The Pitcairners were to be allowed to continue their self-government, compulsory education and universal suffrage in the same way as they had done on Pitcairn Island.

For 40 years the Pitcairners ran their affairs with minimal interference from the outside world. However, they were happy to welcome those who wanted to live with them on Norfolk. This did not sit well with those who had devised 'the experiment'; reasons were sought to strip the Pitcairners of their authority. The official stance of the British Parliament was that the Pitcairners were not handling their affairs with 'proper loyalty and respect', and against the wishes of the Norfolk Islanders, the Government of New Zealand, and the head of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, the island was stripped of self-government and its administration placed under the authority of the Colony of New South Wales. John Adams expresses it, 'like a lot of boys.' Nothing, however, was now left but to succumb" (Belcher, 1980: 345).

The inability of the Pitcairners to run their own affairs was stated, in rather unflattering terms, by the Australian commissioner Hunt in 1914, the year Australia was given the authority to administer Norfolk Island:

“It was thought that the people could be left to work out their own destiny, but the settlement was not a great success. In 1884, twenty-eight years after they had taken possession, the Governor of New South Wales paid them a visit, and he found that they had considerably deteriorated. As a result of injudicious marriages, they had been on the decline physically, and even more noticeably in the mental direction. The people were, instead of the pious folk who had been written about in such glowing terms, hypocritical and deceptive, and had very few good qualities to commend them. Cultivation had been very slovenly, stock had been allowed to run to seed, and the people had not shown themselves worthy of the benefits which had been conferred upon them.” (Hunt, 1914: 26)

The present generation of Norfolk Islanders are well aware of their having been brought to Norfolk Island as an experiment. The following Website summarises this experiment from the perspective of contemporary Norfolk Islanders:

<http://www.pitcairners.org/experiment.html> (accessed Feb 14th 2015).

The history of Norfolk Islanders subsequent to the perceived failure of the experiment is characterised by increased intervention from Australia and the loss of rights and powers once granted to the Pitcairn descendants. This report will not address such moral issues but limit itself to documenting the distinctive socio-cultural and linguistic properties of the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent.

3 Physical anthropology, genetics and Norfolk islander ethnicity

3.1 General remarks

The term ethnicity is applied to groups of people who share certain racial, cultural, religious, linguistic or other salient traits. In this section I shall be concerned with those properties identified by early observers as indicative of a distinct 'race' and, more recent writings of biological and physical anthropology and modern genetics as 'distinctive traits, phenotype or genotype'.

3.2 Earlier observations and research findings

The genealogy of the descendants of the Mutiny of the Bounty has been thoroughly documented by Lareau (1995-other downloadable editions also exist). Additional resources can be found at the Norfolk Island History and Genealogy Centre (www.swvic.org/norfolk_island.htm) and the Pitcairn Islands Study Center (<http://library.puc.edu/pitcairn/studycenter/index.shtml>).

There are numerous comments on the distinct physical properties of the Pitcairn and Norfolk Islanders, dating back to the first contact with outsiders in 1808. There also exist a number of medical papers, summarised by Källgård (1996). He surveys the reports of numerous visitors and resident doctors that suggest that the Pitcairners were unusually healthy, with the exception of teeth problems. 'Dental problems persist' (p.148), though to what extent these are genetic or related to life-style (e.g. chewing sugar cane) has not been settled. Shapiro (1936 : 206) also reserves judgement:

"The Pitcairn Islanders are dental unfortunates. Not one adult woman out of sixty examined had a complete set of teeth, and nineteen had all the teeth missing. Thirty-seven, or roughly 61 percent, had lost ten or more teeth. The men are somewhat better off. I actually found five men out of sixty who had full dentures. Eight had become edentulous and thirty-one, or about 52 per cent, had lost ten or more teeth. It is difficult to account for this dental condition. The diet appears to be adequate, although no investigation of the chemistry of the food was undertaken. The same situation prevails on Norfolk where more meat and fish are consumed. It is true that the English have notoriously bad teeth which may be an important factor in the shocking dental degeneracy on Pitcairn. Its English origin is supported by the case of Edward Young, one of the mutineers, who had already lost his incisor teeth at the age of twenty-four. Since the incisors are ordinarily among the most resistant teeth, Young's loss suggests either fistcuffs or a congenital defect. If the latter hypothesis is true, it is not difficult to see that the close inbreeding practised on Pitcairn might spread and intensify the defect among all the population." (Shapiro, 1936: 206)

A more recent survey is given by Barton (2003). Dental problems may have resulted in an unusual property of the Pitkern-Norf'k language, i.e. the loss or replacement of consonants with a dental point of articulation.

Thus, interdental voiced and voiceless fricatives (English [th] as in 'the' or 'thumb') are substituted by [d] (*dem* from *them*) and [t] (*tief* from *thief* as in *dem tief en dem togues* 'thieves and rogues') or, in a few instances by [h] (*hummy*, *himmee* from 'thou and me,' *hargo* from 'there goes'). Given that the longest surviving male (Adam Smith) was a Cockney, the absence of a [v] or [f] replacement for [th] is significant. The labiodental sound [v] is almost categorically replaced by a bilabial [w] in Norf'k (*walley* 'valley'; *weckles/wettles* 'food'/'victuals').

A first detailed report of the physical appearance of the Pitcairners was provided by Beechy, who stayed on Pitcairn for about three weeks in 1825:

On his first visit to the ship Adams was accompanied by the island's 'young men, ten in number, were tall, robust and healthy, with good-natured countenances, which would anywhere have procured them a friendly reception'. These young men averaged 5 feet 10 inches, with a range of 5 feet 9 inches to the tallest who just exceeded 6 feet. According to his judgement 'their features are regular and well-looking, without being handsome'. Although none of the Polynesian men fathered a child, the Polynesian genes were predominant in the shape of nose and lips, eyes were mainly brown, all hair was black and only one exception, and facial hair was very spare by European standards (Lummis 1997: 117).

Thomas Stewart, an ex-convict, who remained on Norfolk Island as a caretaker in preparation of the arrival of the Pitcairn Islanders in 1856 comments on their physical appearance as follows:

For although we got up to the anchorage before noon, yet the *Morayshire* did not arrive until 5 p.m. when they tried to get some of the women on shore in on of our boats, but the surf was too heavy. A boats crew of the Pitcairn Islanders came on board. All the romantic ideas, which several of the officers had nourished since leaving Sydney vanished at once. They appeared at first sights, very like the half cast Feejee men we meet at Ovalau, but without their energy and much dirtier, than ever I saw a half cast[e] boats crew. It seemed so curious to hear them talking English and some of us could hardly from talking Feejee to them, (Chambers & Hoare, 1992:197).

Stewart also comments on the men's distinct style of walking:

The manner of walking was, I should say, peculiar to Pitcairn and put me in mind of old school days, and, I should say, was rather too affectionate for any other place. (Chambers & Hoare 1992:201).

Other early accounts of the Pitcairners on Norfolk Island emphasise the physical distinctiveness of the arrivals:

The men are darker than Italians; as dark as some of the lighter coloured Maories occasionally, but no shade of black, - it is more of the bright copper colour. The women are scarcely distinguishable from English women, and most of the young women are nice looking. They seem to marry early,- about twenty years old for the men, and eighteen for the women- and there are but eight or nine surnames in the island. They seem a fine healthy race of people in all respects. (*Letter from Bishop Patteson, July 5th 1856.* In Belcher, 1980: 300.)

Mrs Selwyn, wife of Bishop Selwyn of the Melanesian Mission observed:

No children can be more pleasing than these, in that they often have but one garment, and are barefoot, and sit upon their heels. They so often remind me of the Maories that it is a continual surprise to find them so ready to answer and so respectful. But then they have advantages unknown obedient, and are corrected when they do wrong, and are kept in subjection to their elders. They are chiefly pale, dark-eyed little mortals, though some have more of the English type about them. (in Belcher, 1870: 303 – 304)

Several writers use the term 'Natives' when referring to the Pitcairn Islanders and their descendants, for instance:

"One thing on a Sunday all the adults wear shoes and stockings. However, I was living on shore this time 4 days together, and 10 days during the rest of the time we remained off Norfolk Island, the last 8 days entirely with the natives, so I have a good chance of forming an opinion of them." (Chambers & Hoare, 1992: 200)

In the introduction to Rosalind Young's *Story of Pitcairn Island (1884)*, E.H. Gates (p vi): comments on the physical appearance of the Pitcairners as follows:

"The people who inhabit this little Eden are half-castes, their dark features and black hair plainly betraying their Tahitian blood, though some of them have quite light complexion and blue eyes."

Apart from the physical appearance of the Islanders, comments about their mental state become more frequent from the 1880s onward. For instance, the visiting Bishop Montgomery (1904) in the introduction to chapter 3 expressed the view:

"Those who know anything about half-cast races can easily draw up a fairly correct list of virtues and vices inherent in a race of such mixed blood as this, and it is not incumbent upon me to attempt the task here. It is sufficient to say that it would be difficult to find anywhere a more pleasant, laughter-loving, hospitable people than the Norfolk Islanders of this day. There can be no doubt, however, and I think the thoughtful among them realize it, that the effect of constant intermarriage within so small a community has had a serious effect already in deterioration of the race, physically and mentally. It is a matter which calls for immediate attention in a sympathetic and liberal-minded spirit."

<http://anglicanhistory.org/aus/melanesia/montgomery1904/01.html>

Comments on the distinct physical appearance of the Norfolk Islanders continue to the present. The sisters Laura and Bertha Murrell spent 18 month on Norfolk Island (June 1914 to March 1916. Bertha's diary (Quintal ed., 2001:24) contains the following description:

"Everywhere the 'tar brush' strongly in evidence. Considering that it is 128 years since the Bounty mutineers took their dusky Tahitian wives, it is marvellous that the colour still persists in individual cases in families, one member fair as possible, another distinctly Tahitian, then again there has been, in the last generation, several marriages with half cast Maoris and one, if not more, with an American Negro, these several types are distinctly reproduced."

A.J.Marshall in *Walkabout* June 1st (1935: 30) refers to the Norfolk Islanders as 'tough and bronzed and fairly dark'.

Implicit in a significant number of such statements were racial theories regarding the ill effects of miscegenation and inbreeding. The observations prior to Shapiro's research on phenotypical properties of the Pitcairn descendants in the 1920s lack scientific rigour. This did not prevent earlier work from being highly influential and the numerous unsubstantiated remarks on the mental decline of the population were used to determine the success or failure of the Norfolk Island 'experiment'. As Nobbs (2006: 122-123) has argued.

"It was unfortunate for the islanders that Loftus was accompanied by JJ Spruson,² the Assistant Registrar of Copyright in New South Wales, who the following year in Sydney published a slim work entitled *Norfolk Island*. Although the book was marred by glaring errors of fact and interpretation it proved reasonably popular and could have only lowered the standing of the islanders in the eyes of its readers for Spruson wrote that, "Of the Pitcairn immigrants there are only thirteen of the original names extant, the oldest individuals being Mr Buffett, aged 87. Pastor Nobbs, aged 85. The Pitcairn families are said to be declining in physique as well as morally- to be losing their energy, which was never very great- and to be in want of guiding spirits to regulate their affairs. They are without a doubt too closely allied by intermarriage to thrive. Therefore nothing can save the stock from utter deterioration but the free admixture of new blood."

² Spruson, J.J., *'Norfolk Island: outline of its history from 1788 to 1884'*, Sydney: Government Printer, 1885: 43.

Similar reports on the Norfolk Islanders were prepared in a number of commissioned reports (discussed by Nobbs, 2006: 139 - 142):

“It would be difficult to avoid concluding that many of the observations and statements by the Commission were motivated by racism. So, for example: ‘the moral condition of the island is not good, but it is perhaps not much, if at all worse than might be expected of any community similarly isolated, and being on one side of Tahitian descent’. And again, ‘the mental capacity of the children- the direct issue of members of the community- is not equal to that of the offspring of white men who have settled on the island and married women of the community’. However, when the internationally- noted anthropologist, Harry S Shapiro, subsequently visited the island and published his much acclaimed work *Descendants of the Mutineers of the Bounty* in 1929, the fallacy of the commissioners comments was once again prove.”

Harry L. Shapiro stayed on Norfolk Island for a five months research visit (September 1923 to March 1924). He published his findings in two papers (1927, 1929) and a book (1936), which incorporates his findings made during a ten day stay on Pitcairn Island in December 1934. In this section I shall present his biometric anthropological findings only. His findings on culture are presented below. Regarding inbreeding Shapiro (1927: x) comments:

“From necessity the islanders have inbred from the beginning, so that now after five or six generations, everyone is related to the rest of the community. In some cases the degree of blood relationship between husband and wife is extremely close. Yet there are no evidences of deterioration. On the contrary, the Norfolk Islanders are tall, muscular, and healthy. That inbreeding mysteriously produces degeneracy is now disproven by animal experimentation. Among the Norfolk Islanders we have another example that inbreeding in a sound stock is not attended by the traditional stigmata of degeneration.

Vital statistics reveal some interesting physiological facts in the hybrids. In the second generation the average number of children per family was 9.1. This average is greater than in any other generation. In the same generation the average age at marriage was 16.8 years for the women and 20.9 for the men. In later generations these ages increased. This high point in fertility exceeds the fecundity even of the Rehobother Bastards studied by Fischer.

Although there have been several additions of Europeans to the Norfolk community, their influence has been relatively slight. One can only hope that this fascinating group may be allowed to maintain its identity and continuity”

Shapiro concentrated his observations on visible physical properties including

- **Skin colour**

“Pitcairn men are somewhat lighter in hair color than the women. The males have 68.5 per cent with black hair, 29.6 per cent with dark brown, and 1.9 per cent with light brown. The females fall into the same categories, but with 78.6 per cent having black hair, 19.6 per cent dark brown and 1.8 per cent light brown. One adult individual had blonde hair, but unfortunately he was not available for inclusion in this series. A number of the children were fair-haired, but since we are dealing only with mature subjects they must be omitted, for hair color being correlated with age darkens on maturity. Evidently the factors producing blonde hair are present among the Pitcairn Islanders but their heritage from Tahiti, where the hair is predominantly black, is sufficiently prepotent to prevent any widespread appearance of bloneness.” (Shapiro, 1968: 201)

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- **Eye colour**

“Remembering that the Tahitians are 100 per cent brown, let us examine the distribution of eye color among the Pitcairn Islanders.”

Shapiro (1968: 202-203) provides the following table:

	Light	Intermediate	Brown
Pitcairn men	6.45	64.51	29.03
Pitcairn women	4.84	37.09	58.06

This compares with Anglo-American males, who have 23% light, 60% intermediate and 17% brown eye colour (p. 202) and 20% light, 60% intermediate and 20% brown among women.

- **Thickness of lips**

“For the thickness of the lips, likewise, no adequate English data exist. The Tahitians series of males provides only 1 per cent with thin lips, 88.0 per cent with medium, and 11.0 per cent with thick. The Pitcairn men equal and even surpass their Tahitian relatives in the number having thick lips- 15.7 per cent. And at the same time 43 per cent of the Pitcairn men show having thin lips, a percentage far in excess of Tahitian. It is obvious, therefore, that in lip thickness the contributions of both stocks are well represented and neither dominates. However, a contributory factor to the refinement of the lip demands mentiogeneneral loss of teeth so prevalent among Pitcairn islanders has caused, by the removal of the supporting structure, the lips to collapse with a consequent appearance of a greater thinness than they might otherwise manifest.”(Shapiro, 1968: 205)

Shapiro (1926) summarises his findings about the Norfolk Islanders in the following terms:

“To the anthropologist, the chief interest of the descendants of the mutineers of the “Bounty” lies in the fact that here is an example of race mixture between two contrasted races. In studying race mixture it is always discouraging when one attempts to define the ancestry precisely. Where the mixture has been long continued, it is frequently hopeless to obtain satisfactory genealogies. The Norfolk Islanders, however, have kept records of marriages and births, so that I have been able to make for all the islanders genealogical tables which go back to the original cross, and in that way determine the proportions of Tahitian and English in the population. There is somewhat more English “blood” in the present generation. In studying the qualitative characters such as eye color, skin color, and hair form and color, one finds among these hybrids evidence of genetic behavior along Mendelian lines. The typical phenomena of dominance and segregation have taken place. In a small proportion the recessive traits such as blue eyes, blond hair, and fair complexion, are combined in one individual. On the other hand, one finds, according to expectation, a number of individuals who are strikingly Tahitian in appearance. On the whole, Tahitian and English characters form a mosaic, the totality of which in some tends toward the English and, in others toward the Tahitian.



NORFOLK TYPES

These individuals belong to the fourth and fifth generations from the original English-Tahitian cross. English as well as Tahitian characters reappear in these types.



Note the strong Northern European appearance of the girl at the lower left. The woman at the lower right represents the Tahitian type.

Photos by H. L. Shapiro

Heterosis or hybrid vigor, which is frequently observed in the first generation after the original cross, is well illustrated in the stature of the Norfolk Islanders. Early records indicate that the hybrids in the first generation were considerably taller than either Tahitian or English. Although this excessive stature has diminished among the Norfolk Islanders, it is still greater than that of the parent stocks."

Shapiro (1968: 207) presents a subjective rating of the physical appearance of his subjects:

	Males	Females
Strongly English	12	6
Moderately English	8	5
Slightly English	13	8
Intermediate	11	14
Slightly Tahitian	3	13
Moderately Tahitian	3	5
Strongly Tahitian	0	2

Shapiro (ibidem) notes an unexpected lack of the increased variability usually found with racial mixture. Standard deviations from the average are lower than those of the English and Tahitians. He suggests that the “inbreeding which has occurred among the Pitcairn Islanders has led to a greater homogeneity than exists in most mixed groups.” (ibidem).

In summary, Shapiro’s studies confirm:

- The absence of negative effects of inbreeding and racial mixture
- A distinct Pitcairner phenotype that differs in many details from both Tahitian and Anglo-European appearance

Research inspired by Nazi ideologies of race (Rogner 1940) provides few details to contradict Shapiro’s findings other than loaded terms such as ‘deterioration’ and he associates the putative simplicity of the Pitkern and Norf’k language with a decline of their speakers’ mental powers: “The deviancy of the language goes hand in hand with the decline of mental powers.” (Rogner, 1940: 51 - my translation)

4 Recent Genetic Work

4.1 General Remarks

The Norfolk Island community has participated in a number of studies investigating the genetic determinants of disease given that a large proportion of the population have common genetic heritage as descendants of The Bounty mutineers and from Polynesian islanders. Many of the studies have been undertaken through Griffith University and have documented that:

“The proportion of Polynesian ancestry in the present-day individuals was found to significantly influence total triglycerides, body mass index, systolic blood pressure and diastolic blood pressure. For various cholesterol traits, the influence of ancestry was less marked but overall the direction of effect for all CVD-related traits was consistent with Polynesian ancestry conferring greater CVD risk.” (*Department of Infrastructure and Regional Development: Norfolk Island Health Service Plan October 2015, p 21*).

Current genetic research strongly supports the thesis that the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent, are a distinct genetic isolate: ‘The complete Norfolk Island pedigree includes 6537 individuals and 11 meiotic generations,’ (Matovinovic, 2011: 1). This gene pool is of particular interest to genetic researchers as:

- Its origins are recent;
- The genealogy of the Pitcairn Island descendants is very well documented;

- The genetic homogeneity of the Islanders has remained strong
- The susceptibility of the Islanders to certain diseases (e.g.migraine, cardio-vascular diseases, myopia) differs from that of other populations, thus affording medical researchers valuable insights into the genetic makeup that underpins such susceptibility as well as the possibility of finding cures.

There is a growing body of literature, much of it readily accessible on the Internet. I have identified a sample of recent work and will present details for accessing them as well as summaries of some of the findings:

4.2 Metabolic and Renal Disorders

A Phenomic **Scan** of the Norfolk Island Genetic Isolate Identifies a Major Pleiotropic Effect Locus Associated with Metabolic and Renal Disorder Markers. (Benton et al., 2015)

“Multiphenotype genome-wide association studies (GWAS) may reveal pleiotropic genes, which would remain undetected using single phenotype analyses. Analysis of large pedigrees offers the added advantage of more accurately assessing trait heritability, which can help prioritise genetically influenced phenotypes for GWAS analysis. In this study we performed a principal component analysis (PCA), heritability (h^2) estimation and pedigree-based GWAS of 37 cardiovascular disease -related phenotypes in 330 related individuals forming a large pedigree from the Norfolk Island genetic isolate. PCA revealed 13 components explaining >75% of the total variance. Nine components yielded statistically significant h^2 values ranging from 0.22 to 0.54 ($P < 0.05$). The most heritable component was loaded with 7 phenotypic measures reflecting metabolic and renal dysfunction. A GWAS of this composite phenotype revealed statistically significant associations for 3 adjacent SNPs on chromosome 1p22.2 ($P < 1 \times 10^{-8}$). These SNPs form a 42kb haplotype block and explain 11% of the genetic variance for this renal function phenotype. Replication analysis of the tagging SNP (rs1396315) in an independent US cohort supports the association ($P = 0.000011$). Blood transcript analysis showed 35 genes were associated with rs1396315 ($P < 0.05$). Gene set enrichment analysis of these genes revealed the most enriched pathway was purine metabolism ($P = 0.0015$). Overall, our findings provide convincing evidence for a major pleiotropic effect locus on chromosome 1p22.2 influencing risk of renal dysfunction via purine metabolism pathways in the Norfolk Island population. Further studies are now warranted to interrogate the functional relevance of this locus in terms of renal pathology and cardiovascular disease risk.”

Benton M.C., Lea R.A., Macartney-Coxson D., Hanna M, Eccles D.A., Carless M.A., Chambers G.K., Bellis C., Goring H.H., Curran J.E., Harper J.L., Gibson G., Blangero J., Griffiths L.R.-PLoSGenet. 2015 Oct 16;11(10):e1005593. doi: 10.1371/journal.pgen.1005593. eCollection 2015 Oct. PMID: 26474483 Select item 22666411 2.

4.3 Migraine

Larisa M. Haupt, Jac Charlesworth, Elizabeth Matovinovic, John Blangero, Lyn R. Griffiths *Heritability and genome-wide linkage analysis of migraine in the genetic isolate of Norfolk Island.*
<http://neurogenetics.qimrberghofer.edu.au/papers/Cox2011Gene.pdf>

“Migraine is a common and debilitating neurovascular disorder with a complex envirogenomic aetiology. Numerous studies have demonstrated a preponderance of women affected with migraine and previous pedigree linkage studies in our laboratory have identified susceptibility loci on chromosome Xq24-Xq28. In this study we have used the genetic isolate of Norfolk Island to further analyse the X chromosome for migraine susceptibility loci. An association approach was employed to analyse 14,124 SNPs spanning the entire X chromosome. Genotype data from 288 individuals comprising a large core-pedigree, of which 76 were affected with migraine, were analysed. Although no SNP reached chromosome-wide significance (empirical $\alpha = 1 \times 10^{-5}$) ranking by P-value revealed two primary clusters of SNPs in the top 25. A 10 SNP cluster represents a novel migraine susceptibility locus at Xq12 whilst a 11 SNP cluster represents a previously identified migraine susceptibility locus at Xq27.

The strongest association at Xq12 was seen for rs599958 (OR = 1.75, P = 8.92×10^{-4}), whilst at Xq27 the strongest association was for rs6525667 (OR = 1.53, P = 1.65×10^{-4}). Further analysis of SNPs at these loci was performed in 5,122 migraineurs from the Women's Genome Health Study and provided additional evidence for association at the novel Xq12 locus (P<0.05). Overall, this study provides evidence for a novel migraine susceptibility locus on Xq12. The strongest effect SNP (rs102834, joint P = 1.63×10^{-5}) is located within the 5'UTR of the HEPH gene, which is involved in iron homeostasis in the brain and may represent a novel pathway for involvement in migraine pathogenesis.

Maher B.H., Lea R.A., Benton M., Cox H.C., Bellis C., Carless M., Dyer T.D., Curran J., Charlesworth J.C., Buring J.E., Kurth T., Chasman D.I., Ridker P.M., Schürks M., Blangero J., Griffiths L.R.
PLoS One. 2012; 7(5):e37903. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0037903. Epub 2012, May 29.

4.4 Gender Biased Admixture

Biometric research carried out by Shapiro strongly suggested that a number of physical traits were significantly influenced by gender. This is confirmed by recent genetic research carried out by Benton and collaborators in 'Mutiny on the Bounty':

The genetic history of Norfolk Island reveals extreme gender-biased admixture'

"The Pacific Oceania region was one of the last regions of the world to be settled via human migration. Here we outline a settlement of this region that has given rise to a uniquely admixed population. The current Norfolk Island population has arisen from a small number of founders with mixed Caucasian and Polynesian ancestry, descendants of a famous historical event. The 'Mutiny on the Bounty' has been told in history books, songs and the big screen, but recently this story can be portrayed through comprehensive molecular genetics. Written history details betrayal and murder leading to the founding of Pitcairn Island by European mutineers and the Polynesian women who left Tahiti with them. Investigation of detailed genealogical records supports historical accounts.

Findings

Using genetics, we show distinct maternal Polynesian mitochondrial lineages in the present day population, as well as a European centric Y-chromosome phylogeny. These results comprehensively characterise the unique gender-biased admixture of this genetic isolate and further support the historical records relating to Norfolk Island.

Conclusions

Our results significantly refine previous population genetic studies investigating Polynesian versus Caucasian diversity in the Norfolk Island population and add information that is beneficial to future disease and gene mapping studies."

[http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4558825/Miles C. Benton, Shani Stuart, Claire Bellis, Donia Macartney-Coxson, David Eccles, Joanne E. Curran, Geoff Chambers, John Blangero, Rod A. Lea, and Lyn R. Griffiths](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4558825/Miles%20C.%20Benton,%20Shani%20Stuart,%20Claire%20Bellis,%20Donia%20Macartney-Coxson,%20David%20Eccles,%20Joanne%20E.%20Curran,%20Geoff%20Chambers,%20John%20Blangero,%20Rod%20A.%20Lea,%20and%20Lyn%20R.%20Griffiths). Published online 2015 Sep 3: [10.1186/s13323-015-0028-9](https://doi.org/10.1186/s13323-015-0028-9)

4.5 Cardiovascular Disease

Cox (2011) carried out an in-depth study of this condition. The abstract is not downloadable but can be seen on screen. It contains the following passages on "the genetic basis to complex disease in this unique population":

"Norfolk Island is a young, South Pacific population isolate whose origins are intertwined with the Fate of Her Majesty's Armed Ship, the *Bounty*.

Of the 600 participants 377 are related through a complex 11-generation pedigree with unbroken lineage to the Bounty mutineer founders. Demographic investigations indicate that the Norfolk Island community is a high risk gene isolate for cardiovascular disease (CVD).

Genomic analysis methods identified several CVD susceptibility loci and migraine candidate genes in the Norfolk Island mutineer pedigree.”

Genomic Analysis of Complex Disease in the Norfolk Island Bounty Mutineer Descendants (sic): https://www120.secure.griffith.edu.au/rch/file/9c47bae1-5298-289d-c977-1584a6ee6fab/1/Cox_2011_01Abstract.pdf Ph.D. (Thesis Texas Biomedical Research Institute, San Antonio).

A complementary study is *Use of the isolated Norfolk Island population for cardiovascular disease risk trait genetic analysis* (Bellis et al, 2009): https://www120.secure.griffith.edu.au/rch/file/0e72bbad-feb0-c2bf-54d7-fef9adf7f5e3/1/Bellis_2009_01Abstract.pdf

4.6 Combined Genetic Factors

A Linkage Disequilibrium Analysis of the Norfolk Island population was carried out by Bellis et al. (2006). They summarize their findings as follows:

“Norfolk Island is a genetic isolate, possessing unique population characteristics that could be utilised for complex disease gene localisation. Our intention was to evaluate the extent and strength of linkage disequilibrium (LD) in the Norfolk isolate by investigating markers within Xq13.3 and the NOS2A gene encoding the inducible nitric oxide synthase (iNOS). A total of six micro satellite markers spanning approximately 11- Mb were assessed on chromosome Xq13.3 in a group of 56 males from Norfolk Island.

Additionally, three single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) localising to the NOS2A gene were analysed in a subset of the complex Norfolk pedigree. With the exception of two of the marker pairs, one of which is the most distantly spaced markers, all the Xq13.3 marker pairs were found to be in significant LD indicating that LD extends up to 9.5-11.5Mb in the Norfolk Island population. Also, all SNPs studied showed significant LD in both Norfolk Islanders and Australian Caucasians, with two of the marker pairs in complete LD in the Norfolk population only. The Norfolk Island study population possesses a unique set of characteristics including founder effect, geographical isolation, exhaustive genealogical information and phenotypic data of use to cardiovascular disease (CVD) risk traits. With LD extending up to 9.5-11Mb, the Norfolk isolate should be a powerful resource for the localisation of complex disease genes.” (C. Bellis, R.A. Lea1, D. Burgner, M. Ovcarić, S.C. Heath, J. Blangero and L.R. Griffiths).

Genomics Research Centre School of Medical Science Griffith University Gold Coast:
http://www98.griffith.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/handle/10072/22878/50206_1.pdf?sequence=1

Heritability and genome-wide linkage of complex diseases in the Norfolk Island population isolate:

4.7 Myopia research

A thesis written by Matovinovic (2012) focuses on heritability and genome-wide linkage analyses of cardiovascular disease and three eye diseases: pterygia, glaucoma and myopia in the Norfolk Island population isolate.

https://www120.secure.griffith.edu.au/rch/file/30ee06ce-d297-b76b-c354-403c3a040807/1/Matovinovic_2012_02Thesis.pdf PhD Thesis, Griffith University, Queensland. 2011.

Island Descendants Of 1789 Bounty Mutineers May Hold Genetic Clues To Myopia:
<http://www.medicaldaily.com/island-descendants-1789-bounty-mutineers-may-hold-genetic-clues-myopia-241474>

“Over the past five years, Professor David Mackey from the Lions Eye Institute in Perth and his research team studied the eyes of people on Norfolk Island, where 50 percent of the population can trace their

ancestry back to nine Bounty sailors who settled at Pitcairn Island after the mutiny in the 18th century and later moved to Norfolk Island.

The study, published in the journal *Investigational Ophthalmology and Visual Science* consisted of 1,275 permanent residents on Norfolk Island over the age of 15 years old.

Mackey and his team found that while most Norfolk Island residents had about the same rates of myopia as the Australian population at about 16 percent, the rate of short-sightedness among the descendants of the nine Bounty sailors and their Polynesian wives was half of the Australian population.

‘One component of the study has found the prevalence of myopia (near-sightedness) on Norfolk Island is lower than on mainland Australia,’ Mackey said, according to AFP. But there was a two-fold higher prevalence of myopia in people without Pitcairn ancestry.” (Hannah C. Cox, Rod A. Lea, Claire Bellis, Dale R. Nyholt, Thomas D. Dyer).

5 Ethnicity

5.1 Definitions of Ethnicity

There are a number of definitions of ethnicity, discussed in Hutchinson & Smith (1996), including

- According to Max Weber (1996) “ethnic groups are those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonisation or migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists” (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:35).
- According to Horowitz (1985: 52) “Ethnicity is based on a myth of collective ancestry, which usually carries with it traits believed to be innate. Some notion of ascription, however diluted, and affinity deriving from it are inseparable from the concept of ethnicity.” According to Anthony Smith, an ethnic group is, ‘a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity,’ (Hutchinson and Smith 1996:6).
- According to Anthony Smith, Emeritus, Professor of Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics. an *ethnic* group is, ‘a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity.’ (Hutchinson and Smith 1996:6).

An additional criterion is that of ‘core cultural values’, a concept developed by (Smolicz, 1981: 75 – 90) in the context of ethnic migrant communities in Australia.

There appears to be little doubt that all the components that make up the concept of ‘distinct ethnicity’ are met by the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent and that their ethnicity significantly differs from that of other Pacific and Australian communities.

5.2 Components of Ethnicity

5.2.1 Common ancestry

As shown in the previous section the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent constitute a distinct genetic isolate. The Norfolk Islanders are descended from six 18th Century British sailors (one of them of St Kitts creole origin) involved in the mutiny on the Bounty and six of their Polynesian consorts. The genealogy of the Pitcairn descendants has been extensively documented and is well known to them. Non-residents descendants who can prove their Pitcairn ancestry are considered members of the community. Common ancestry is expressed by the term *kumfrum* ‘come from, Pitcairn lineage’ in the Norfolk language.

The ethnic group was referred to as 'Pitcairners' for a considerable time after their resettlement on Norfolk Island. They are now referred to as 'Norfolkers', 'Nuffka', 'Norfolk Islanders' or 'Pitcairn(er) descendants'.

The Pitcairn descendants on Norfolk Island can still be identified by their family names of Christian, Adams, Buffett, Nobbs, McCoy, Quintal and Evans (the surname Young is only found on Pitcairn Island) or by being recognized as belonging to one of these families.

5.2.2 Homeland

The community resident on Pitcairn Island was resettled on Norfolk Island in 1856. Pitcairn Island is regarded by the Pitcairn descendants as their homeland. Letter writing and visits continued for the entire history of the two islands. The strong connections with Pitcairn Island are reinforced by an increasing number of mutual visits and meetings at Pacific cultural events, shared cultural activities such as reviving tapa making, email correspondence and Skype links and the presence of Pitcairn souvenirs in many Norfolk Islander homes. Meralda Warren, a leading figure in the maintenance of cultural traditions on Pitcairn Island has visited Norfolk Island to help maintain shared forms of material culture there. She also participated in the making of *Ucklun's Norf'k-words as a memory of the past* (Mühlhäusler et al., 2012).

When the Pitcairn Islanders relocated to Norfolk Island "They took with them every possible thing which might make Norfolk Island a home; they stowed away on the Morayshire 'every kind of worldly possession and every plant they thought useful or were regretful of leaving behind-things which might make their new homes and the new landscape around them look a little more like home,'" (Rachel Borg *There's no place like home*, Norfolk Online e-News undated 2012).

Up to 1943, when the last Pitcairn-born Islander died (Marianne Selina Buffett, aged 83), there were always Islanders for whom Pitcairn literally was home, though about one third of them were five years old or younger when they landed on Norfolk and would not have remembered much of their place of birth. That Pitcairn remained home can be seen from words such as *hoem naenwi*, 'dreamfish', *hoem-rauti*, 'cordyline pine' and *hoem-owl*, 'long-tailed cuckoo', *hoem-umn* 'stone-oven', which were named thus because they resembled life forms and cultural forms of Pitcairn Island.

Much has been written about the metaphorical significance of *up* and *down*, since Lakoff and Johnson (1980) first identified it as a core metaphor. Generally speaking, *up* is better, more desirable, or more important. The following conversation between a Pitcairn Islander and a Norfolk Islander, recorded by Flint in the late 1950s illustrates that Pitcairn continued to be referred to as *up* while Norfolk Island is *down* a long time after the last original Pitcairner on Norfolk Island had passed on.

I come from Pitcairn.

I tell ye wha', you same as one o'dem fellers back dere. I tell ye, yawly is ugly men!

*Ah, but we es big 'un; we use-er carry about er whale boat. Yawly nough' use er do dah **down here!***

We do'min' enough er do dah now!

*Er – wuthing ju use er do **down here?***

Work fer de Gov'men'. Wuthing you use er do?

*I use er – eh – I use er look after dem **up yenner** when dem get in trouble – you know – either, tell er dem how to catch er flog, let dem off!*

You se kin'o'Chief Magistrate?

*Ah, dem call et daffy **up yenner**. 'Course, dey now get no money. Er – now – er wuthing yawly use er do on ea Islan'?*

5.2.3 Shared historical memories (Shared narrative)

As Hayward (2006: 224) has noted the Bounty Saga is part of Norfolk Island's "living culture", as opposed to once that simply represents "an ossified image of the past" (UNESCO, 2002). In many ways the tension between these two options (and operations) of heritage typified much modern Norfolk and Pitcairn culture.

Fundamental to any notion of Pitcairn identity, and to the identity of Norfolk's Pitcairn descended population, is the historical event of the *Bounty* mutiny and the settlement of Pitcairn by the mutineers and Tahitians. While this is a fixed reference point, its interpretation has varied and, as I asserted in Chapter 7, experiences a notable revival in the 1930s-1950s. As a result, the prominence of *Bounty* mythology in present-day public culture on Norfolk Island does not so much evidence an "ossified image of the past" as a refigured one that complements a set of socio-political argument and feelings that crystallised in the 1980s." (Hayward, 2006: 224)

The Norfolk Islanders are part of the world-famous *Bounty* Saga (cf. Clarke, 1986). There is a vast literature on the *Bounty* Saga discussed, for instance, by Sellick (1978) and at least some of the 2000+ titles are found in most Islander households on Norfolk Island, including that of Nordhoff and Hall (1932) with an estimated readership of 25 million (Hayward, 2006 : 90). The internet has made most resources accessible, especially the extensive collections of the Pitcairn Islands Study Centre of the Pacific Union College, California. The local Golden Orb bookshop in Burnt Pine and the Museum bookshop in Kingston both offer numerous titles dealing with the *Bounty* Saga. The Mutiny on the *Bounty* features in several well-known movies, which are still watched on Norfolk Island. The first screening of Lloyd's *Mutiny on the Bounty* took place on Norfolk Island in 1938 (See Hayward, 2006: 91) and attracted considerable public interest. It helped bring the suppressed history of the Mutiny on the *Bounty* and the dysfunctional first years on Pitcairn into the open and, at the same time, reminded the Norfolk Islanders of their Tahitian connections.

The events of HMS *Bounty* are actively remembered in the form of street names (John Adams Road, Fletcher Christian Road, Edward Young Road, Matthew Quintal Road) and business names (*Bounty* Tours, *Bounty* Centre, *Bounty* Lodge, Fletcher Christian's Apartments, Bligh Court Bungalows) recalling the participants in the Mutiny on the *Bounty*. A monument featuring a model of the *Bounty* and a plaque inscribed with the names of the 194 original Pitcairn settlers occupies a prominent position in Burnt Pine. The events of the mutiny are regularly re-enacted at the Salty Theatre 'Mutiny on the *Bounty* Show'. Fletcher's Mutiny *Cyclorama* is a 360-degree panoramic painting depicting the *Bounty* mutiny and Norfolk Island history, which ranks among the top 10 tourism choices and is one of the best representations of the *Bounty* Saga from the Norfolk Islanders' perspective. There is a permanent Third Settlement display at the Norfolk Museum featuring the story of the *Bounty* Saga. As Ritzau (2006: 54-55) has observed the tourism industry "has led to prominence of the *Bounty* myth on the island. Never absent, is it now the dominating theme." It is noted, however, that the Norfolk Islanders' fascination with the *Bounty* Saga predates mass-tourism and that it is also strongly in evidence in domains other than the tourism domain.

The *Bounty* Saga features prominently in Norfolk language poetry , for instance Ena Ette Christian's (1986:38 - 53) epic poem *Norfolk I'en's Story* or Alice Buffett's 1997 poem *F'Baek t'biesiks III*, which is also available as a CD.

The *Bounty* Story in a more extensive form was written by the Pitcairn Islander Rosalind Young (1894), and by Albert Stanley Gazzard (1943) who came to Norfolk Island in 1917 and married Wilfreda Quintal.

Children are familiarised with the *Bounty* Saga at home and in the Norfolk Studies offered at the Norfolk Island Central School. There is a children's book written by Mary Lorraine Duke titled *Tale of Two Islands* (1991), which contains all the elements of the *Bounty* Saga. It reminds its young readers of the close connection between Pitcairn and Norfolk and also gives them insights, seen from an Islander's perspective, into the life of the Pitcairn descendants on Norfolk Island. The story of the Pitcairners is also featured at the local minigolf course and the adjacent *Walk in aa stick* 'Walk in the wild'.

The Pitcairn saga is featured in a number of series of commemorative stamps issued on Norfolk Island from 1990. A commemorative miniature sheet of stamps to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Mutiny on the *Bounty* was issued jointly with Pitcairn Island and the Isle of Man in 1989. Fletcher Christian's ancestors lived in the Isle of Man, Captain Bligh once was harbourmaster in Douglas and another *Bounty*

crew member, Peter Heywood, also originates from there. Norfolk Island has a cultural agreement with the Isle of Man and mutual visits in recent years have strengthened this historical connection.

The Pitcairners resettlement on Norfolk Island is seen as a continuation of the original saga and connected to the events on Pitcairn Island.

5.2.4 Details of the Narrative

A shared story is not an accurate historical account but a representation of the collective memory of a society and like all memories adapted and retold many times over. Inevitably, some events are omitted or down-played and others emphasised. Shared stories are never static but renegotiated as time moves on. Thus, both the brutality of the events in the first ten years of Pitcairn Island history have tended to be downplayed or remained untold in the past, as has the contribution of the Tahitian women. Both of these do now feature more prominently in the narrative.

The narrative internalised by the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent contains the following key episodes:

- The idyllic time the British crew of the *Bounty* experienced in Tahiti;
- The mutiny;
- The search for a new home;
- The violent first decade on Pitcairn Island;
- John Adam's conversion and the founding of a pious new society;
- Renewed contacts with the outside world;
- Dwindling resources and a disastrous relocation to Tahiti in 1831;
- The Englishman Archibald Hill's religious dictatorship;
- Relocation to Norfolk Island-a gift from Queen Victoria with the task of turning hell into paradise;
- Disappointment with the conditions on Norfolk Island and return of some families to Pitcairn;
- The establishment of the Melanesian Mission in 1867 against the wishes of the Pitcairners ;
- The erosion of traditional forms of governance after 1890;
- The removal of female suffrage in 1896;
- The eviction of the Pitcairners from their houses in Kingston in 1908;
- The destruction of Pine Avenue and the Tree-of-Knowledge to make way for an airstrip during World War II;
- The numerous episodes of a boom-and-bust economy : citrus processing, bananas, whaling, bean seed, kentia palm, tourism;
- The increase in outsiders leading to Pitcairn descendants becoming a minority on Norfolk Island.

These episodes are told and retold and re-enacted. As Low (2012 : 240) argues:

“Social beginnings, of the sort that the Pitcairners’ settlement represents, are consequently not separated from the present and located in an increasingly distant past. Rather, provided they are recollected and commemorated, they can continue to “infuse the present” (Schwartz 1982:395) in important ways. Settlement as a social beginning holds commemorative significance for Islanders beyond its role in supporting their claims of priority to subsequent settlers to the Island. As the letter I described at the beginning of this chapter illustrated, the Island elders’ claims to the Island as home were indeed supplemented by the historical detail of their ancestor’s precise date of arrival. However, the letter also contained an appeal – by reference to the Norfolk Island official seal – to the “great gift to the Pitcairn people”. It is largely this belief in a gift of territory from a distant monarch to the Pitcairn Islanders that establishes Islanders’ sense of a fundamentally different relationship to Norfolk Island.”

It is noted that the absence of an obligatory past-present distinction in the Norfolk language reinforces the blurring of past and present.

5.3 Core cultural values:

5.3.1 General Remarks

While most human societies share at least some core values, there can also be numerous differences. Norfolk Islanders and mainlanders from Australia and New Zealand have coexisted peacefully because of such shared values, but there are a number of distinct differences.

There is no definitive inventory of the core cultural values of either group and further research along the lines begun by Jodie Williams (draft MS given to author of report March 2016) is needed. The differences have been commented on by previous observers highlight the distinctive nature of Norfolk Islander society.

Among the core Australian values the following have been identified by different observers (e.g. <http://valueaustralia.com/Australian-values.htm>):

- Fair dinkum
- Fair go
- Love for freedom
- Mateship
- ANZAC spirit
- Egalitarianism
- Community spirit

5.3.2 Core Cultural Values of Norfolk Islanders

Norfolk Islanders, because of their distinct history, because they live on an isolated island and because they are a very small community unsurprisingly have a somewhat different value system. These differences are a matter of degree. The Norfolk Islanders do not lack ANZAC spirit and large proportions of the male population enlisted in both world Wars.³ However, they enlisted to serve the King or Queen and their participation in the wars is not necessarily interpreted as having created special bonds with Australia. Love for freedom implies Freedom from Something. Australia's political control of Norfolk Island is seen by many Norfolk Islanders as a threat to their Freedom. The core cultural values of Norfolk Islanders include:

- Knowing one's roots (kumfrum)
- Sharing food and community spirit
- Democracy and egalitarianism
- Love for freedom
- Love of Queen Victoria and the monarchy
- Spirituality
- Honouring the dead
- Speaking Norf'k

5.3.2.1 Knowing one's roots (kumfrum)

The ability of the Norfolk Islanders to trace back generations and clearly to identify common ancestors is expressed by the term *kumfrum*. Those who cannot identify common ancestors are said to have 'no *kumfrum*'.

³ *Norfolk Island had the highest war enlistment per capita of any country. During WW1 the small an isolated group of Norfolk Islanders was down to less than 700 individuals, and although they banded together to account for the loss of their workforce and family members- life was exceedingly tough. They heard only sporadic news of their loved ones fighting overseas, and would never have imagined the horrors their men were experiencing upon Gallipoli's shores. Those Norfolk men that survived Gallipoli went on to fight in Belgium and France, with many islanders serving with the Second Australian Infantry Battalion up to the Armistice in 1918. When WW2 broke in 1939, again, many Norfolk Islanders responded to the call of service. Those who were married or too old became the Norfolk Island Infantry Detachment, ready to defend the island at home if necessary. Nine men were killed as a result of WW2, and one other in the Korean War that was fought from 1950-1953. Four Norfolk men had previously fought in the Boer War (1899-1902) in South Africa, though all survived."* (Grube , 2015: 31)

“Islanders trace their ancestry through genealogy, history books, oral histories and through their embodied performance of their relationships to first settlers on Bounty (Anniversary) Day. Norfolk Islanders often use the Norf’k word *kamfram* [come from] to denote connections to such ancestors. The term, generally meaning ‘origins’, also has multiple positive connotations of breeding, class, family pride, pedigree, genealogy or ancestry.³ As Buffett (1999:54) writes “*Orl aklan noe auwas kamfram*” [All Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn ancestry know who their first forebears were]⁴ Buffett writes further: “*Orlem Kreschen gat ‘Pi’kern blad el tries dems kamfram back t’them*” [All of the Christians have Pitcairn blood and will trace their *kamfram* back to them] (Buffett 1999:55). (Low 2012 : 154)

Members of the Pitcairn and Norfolk Island diaspora visiting Norfolk Island are often questioned about their Pitcairn credentials and are accepted into the community once they have demonstrated their *kumfrum*, which, among other things, entitles them to use the terms *ucklun* and *ouwa* when referring to themselves as part of a group of Norfolk Islanders. The fact that this concept is grammaticalized in the Norf’k language (Mühlhäusler 2012) demonstrates its cultural importance.

Many Australians by contrast have little sense or indeed interest in their lineage. The English pronoun ‘we’ can refer to any group, mixed or of same lineage

5.3.2.2 Sharing food and community spirit

In her interviews with Norfolk island residents Sexton (2003 : 30) comments that “the tradition of giving, in particular home-grown produce, is still strong today.” The writer’s own observations confirm this. One of Sexton’s informants emphasises that during his childhood “the island was without a sense of trespass, fruit was there for everyone .” (ibidem) Needy Islanders are still given food, firewood and financial support, at times anonymously. There are a number of houses set aside for those who have fallen on hard times.

Sharing food was a common practice on Pitcairn Island where the fish caught was distributed in fish-share-outs. On Norfolk Island, there is a long-standing tradition of sharing whalebird eggs collected on Philip Island and other small coastal islets among Island families. (Christian n.d : 11)

Hunt, who is a severe critic of the Norfolk Islanders, singles out their community spirit as their principal virtue:

“It is when trouble comes in times of sickness, or when death takes the breadwinner or deprives young children of a mother’s care, the islanders are seen at their best. Everything that can be done to alleviate suffering, to mitigate misfortune, is done, not perfunctorily or as a duty, but gladly and as a matter of course. Food and shelter, clothing and care are provided by relatives or by strangers, who compete with each other in their efforts to be of service. Burials are conducted entirely at the cost of the community.” (Hunt 1914 :29)

The importance of sharing and mutual support remains a very strong value among Norfolk Islanders, even those who live off island. Thus, many young people travel to the Australian mainland to study or work. Evans (2013: 52-53) has highlighted the importance of food sharing in maintaining their Norfolk Islander identity:

“The exchange of food is also a part of island culture that resonates both on the island and off. Before migrants leave Norfolk, friends or family members will pass on particular food items like Porpieh Jelly and Trumpeta specifically collected for them, so they are well stocked for when living away from home. Otherwise if for some reason migrants aren’t able to take back the food, it is entrusted to family members who will carry it to Australia for them as gifts. The significance of Porpieh Jelly is related to more than its taste, as there are long-standing traditional and communal practices around the collection of fruit and the making of jelly. Often a gathering of friends and family, particularly with young children will meet at Palm Glen, a large section of land in the National Parks reserved for the invasive species.

They would then proceed to collect containers or buckets worth of guavas which are then used in island deserts or made into the jelly. This is done annually and is a special activity which again related to the shared experiences that encapsulated many aspects of island life including the gathering, harvesting, cooking and eating of produce available to locals during the year.” (Evans, C. 2013: 52-53)

5.3.2.3 Democracy and egalitarianism

The system of governance that originates from Pitcairn Island is an intrinsic part of the Norfolk Islanders culture and a core cultural value.

Norfolk Islanders come from a tradition of equality and the idea of a class system with masters and servants is foreign to them. A visitor during WW 1 noted:

‘one of the girls who has been a worker here. They disdain the word servant on Norfolk Island (Bertha Murrell’s diary p. 34)

Egalitarianism, combined with the belief that the Pitcairners were resettled on Norfolk Island on the understanding that their unique laws and form of governance would be preserved, constitutes a reason for the Norfolk Islanders’ persisting resistance to accept forms of governance imposed from the outside:

“The Islanders have always insisted that one of the conditions on which they came to Norfolk was “the promise that they would be free to choose their Chief Magistrate and Councillors and conduct their affairs without interference”. (Loukakis, 1984: 54)

The Laws of Pitcairn were modified to accommodate the special conditions on Norfolk Island, but otherwise remained intact.

“His Excellency also framed a political constitution entitled “Laws and Regulations for Norfolk Island”, dated 14th October 1857. This famous document laid down numerous rules based on the Pitcairn Island Laws,” (Clune, F., 1986: 273)

In an interesting sidelight on these laws Denison writes:

“I left untouched the rule which gave to the women, as well as the men, a vote in the annual election to the Chief Magistrate. I should most certainly not have proposed even this small amount of petticoat government, had I not already found it in existence.” W. T. Denison, *Varieties of Vice-Regal Life*, i, 411. Quoted from Ross & Moverley, 1964: 106)

Political democracy dates back to 1838 when Pitcairn's first constitution was drafted:

“The dictatorship of Hill and increasing visits by American whalers brought the islanders to recognize their need for protection, and they prevailed upon Captain Elliott of H.M.S. *Fly* to draw up a brief constitution and a code of laws selected from those already in force. A magistrate (who must be native-born) was to be elected annually “*by the free votes of every native born on the island, male or female, who shall have attained the age of eighteen years; or of persons who shall have resided five years on the island*”. He was to be assisted by a Council of two members, one elected and one chosen by himself. Not only was this the first time female suffrage was written into a British constitution but it also incorporated compulsory schooling for the first time in any British legislation.” (<http://www.government.pn/Pitcairnshistory> (accessed 4 March 2016)

Ritzau (2006 : 16-17) notes that:

“This system, like the decision to all relocate to Tahiti in 1831 and Norfolk in 1856, was another example of communal decision making; a tradition of creating a particular and placed reality and rules of conduct; a community acting as one.”

The Pitcairn descendants' love of democracy and their opposition to taxes not imposed by their elected representatives was a continuing source of frictions with subsequent British and Australian administrations. Commenting on one such incident Nobbs (2006 : 142) concludes:

"Irritation gave way to justifiable protest when the content of the report became known. Not only did they come in for heavy criticism, but the introduction of taxes was proposed and Francis Mason Nobbs' name has been omitted as the next Chief Magistrate. The commissioners deplored what they saw as the 'pernicious doctrine of democracy' and maintained that 'It would be quite useless to attempt to permanently carry on the administration of law in the Island by the appointment of a member of the present Community as Governor Resident.'

5.3.2.4 Love of Queen Victoria and the Monarchy

The Pitcairn-descendants' documented affection for the monarchy is not incompatible with their equally well documented love of democracy. The Islander Rachel Borg (2012) comments:

"The Pitcairn and Norfolk communities have certainly had a longstanding love affair, bordering on the reverential, with our beloved Queen Victoria. To the Islanders she was a benign and benevolent monarch who offered a sympathetic ear and was unfailingly generous both in words and worldly gifts. The relationship they had with her was a very personal one. On more than one occasion she sent gifts of a special and specific nature to her loyal and adoring subjects on Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands. Subjects of the Realm who would in time mould themselves into a model community of humble piety and unfailing goodness which in turn would draw them worldly admiration."

The love for the Monarchy is at time commented on by visitors from Australia:

"On Norfolk island a portrait of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, surrounded by their children, has the status of a Russian icon. (Sun Herald, January 27, 1985 p. 98)

Queen Victoria's memory is kept alive by a Queen Victoria Scholarship, which was established by the elders of the Island to commemorate the Queen's Golden Jubilee. It is also honoured by Queen Victoria's Garden.

When Queen Victoria died in 1901, the Norfolk Islanders wrote to England, seeking assistance with the provision of a bronze statue to be placed on the island in the Queen's memory. More than 100 years later on May 24th 2009, Queen Victoria's birthday, Marie Bailey invited the community to the opening of Queen Victoria's Garden, which she had established so that the Norfolk Islander community could finally honour the Queen who made such a generous gesture to the Pitcairners over 150 years ago. It features a rotunda in the middle of the garden, which has a bust of Queen Victoria mounted in the centre surrounded by interpretive resources relating to the special bond and history between Queen Victoria and the Norfolk Islanders. The Pitcairn family names are displayed on the signs on the eight sides of the rotunda.

Low (2012: 57) comments on the ongoing relationship of the Norfolk Islanders with Queen Victoria.

Queen Victoria holds special importance for many Norfolk Islanders; her personage is intimately connected with local understandings of the very place of Islanders on Norfolk Island...For [other] Islanders, particularly those in older generations, the kindness of Queen Victoria to the Pitcairn settlers was more specifically captured by the Norf'k phrase "Kwiin Victoria giw et f' aklan"; that is 'Queen Victoria gave it [Norfolk Island] to us'.

More detailed information about the Garden and its cultural significance can be found at <http://devonhouse.blogspot.com.au/2009/05/queen-victoria-gardens-name-of-queen.html>

Low (2012) has documented the long-standing special bond between the Pitcairn descendants and the British Crown as a cultural value that is distinct from the Australian mainland.:

“As I have shown, many Pitcairn Settlers believed they held a special relationship with the Crown and that their occupation and connections and proprietorship of Norfolk Island were authorised by the British Monarchy. The personal, subjective relationships and obligations attached to this gift were not transferrable like sovereignty.

Hence while the Island was passed to Australia, Islanders still claimed a continuing relationship with Queen Victoria and therefore continued to consider themselves British subjects. “(Low 2012: 32)

Low (2012: 52)

“Chester, a Norfolk Islander in his mid-sixties, told me of his mother’s strong love of Queen Elizabeth II.

My mother, she worshipped the Queen, she was God to them people. We didn’t go to bed without saying our prayers and singing God Save the Queen each night. You just didn’t do it without that mate. Or sit down to a meal, very much so (emphasis in original, Chester, recorded interview 10/11/2007). Despite being a Territory of Australia, Island residents continue to sing ‘God Save the Queen’ at public events rather than Advance Australia Fair, and some Islanders told me that they think of Queen Victoria rather than Queen Elizabeth II when they sing this anthem (Low 2012: 51). Many elder Islanders I visited in my stay on Norfolk had portraits of Queen Elizabeth II hanging on their walls of their sitting rooms and told me they considered themselves British subjects rather than Australians.”

The strong affection for the British monarchy was boosted by a visit from Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip in February 1974. The film of this visit *Thank you for a Lovely Day* is available at the Pier Store Building of the Museum and most Norfolk islanders have watched it. A recent article in *Your World Norfolk Island* (January – March 2012 pp. 23 – 27) provides a detailed account of this visit. It notes that “Even today ‘God Save the Queen’ is sung as the National Anthem” (p. 23),

Queen Victoria has featured on a special stamp commemorating the Queen Victoria Scholarship. Other stamps have featured the life of Queen Elizabeth II and of the British Royal Family, the Queen Mother’s Birthday, the Royal wedding and the Royal Visit.

The Royal visit is remembered by the street names: Queen Elizabeth Avenue and Prince Philip Drive. It is interesting to observe that no Australian Prime Minister or Administrator has ever featured on a Norfolk Island Stamp or in a street name.

5.3.2.5 Spirituality

Part of the Bounty Saga is the conversion of the Pitcairn Islanders to Christian religion and deep spirituality. The Norfolk Islander Rachel Borg (Norfolk Online, E-News 26th February, 2010) describes the spirituality of the Norfolk Islanders of past generations as follows:

“Religious life was not separate but infiltrated into many aspects of everyday routine, grace was said at meals, crops and boats were blessed, and prayerfulness and thankfulness were constants. Bibles were for everyday reading and reference, instruction and quotation and even today old family Bibles continue to be personal treasures.”

The Pitcairners arrived with their spiritual leader George Hunn Nobbs in 1856. At the time they were all Anglicans. A number of subsequent events changed this picture.

“After the death of the first chaplain Rev G. H. Nobbs in 1884, a Methodist church was formed and in 1891 a Seventh-day Adventist congregation led by one of Nobbs' sons. Some unhappiness with G. H. Nobbs, the more organised and formal ritual of the Church of England service arising from the influence

of the Melanesian Mission, decline in spirituality, the influence of visiting American whalers, literature sent by Christians overseas impressed by the Pitcairn story, and the adoption of Seventh-day Adventism by the descendants of the mutineers still on Pitcairn, all contributed to these developments. The Roman Catholic Church began work in 1957 and in the late 1990s a group left the former Methodist (then Uniting Church) and formed a charismatic fellowship.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norfolk_Island accessed 15 March 2016)

The history of Christianity and spirituality on Norfolk Island is significantly different from that from Australia and whilst present day Australia is a largely secular society, Norfolk Island is not. The differences include:

- The very low percentage of Catholics among the Norfolk Islander population
- The influence of American whalers in establishing a strong Methodist church (up to 17%)
- The importance of Seventh Day Adventism (SDA)(up to 10%)

The SDA church is important because of its direct links to Pitcairn Island. The entire population of Pitcairn Island converted to Adventism in 1891 and that Pitcairn Islanders were involved in spreading Adventism on Norfolk Island.

“Before sailing for Norfolk,”... three extra passengers were taken aboard... They were, James McCoy, and his sister Mary, as well as Haywood Christian. They wished to assist as missionaries and also to visit new relatives on Norfolk Island to share their new convictions...The inhabitants of this island are closely related to the Pitcairn islanders. Though somewhat suspicious at first, the missionaries were soon warmly received. The people came from all parts of the island to see their Pitcairn relatives, James and Mary Ann McCoy. Right royal welcome was also extended to the ship’s company. A house was furnished for the missionaries to live in, free of charge, and in many ways did he [islanders] evince their kindness and generosity. This is one of the most beautiful islands in the South Pacific.” (Shelley, B. V., 1995.)

5.3.2.6 Honouring the dead

The traditional Norfolk Islander funeral has been described by several visitors, for instance:

“Perhaps the most curious form of hospitality offered by the Islanders is a free burial. Everyone qualifies for this, whether he is of Pitcairn or other descent or even if he happens to be a visitor. Norfolk Islander is a particularly healthy place, where the main complaint requiring medical attention is known as “Honda Rash”, from spills suffered by motorcycle skids on rough patches of road. But there must inevitably be deaths. The climate is sub-tropical and there are no modern mortuary facilities, so interment must be speedy. The Administration supplies the wood; the Islanders construct the coffin and dig the grave. There is no charge, although the authorities present a bottle of rum to every helper. The islanders have many a tale of Norfolk burials, and recount them with a rare and surprising blend of sadness and hilarity. Like all folk tales they lose much of their flavour when written down.” (Scriber, 1968 :34-350).

Wiseman (1977: n.p.) described Norfolk Island funerals in the following terms:

“Bodies are always interred on the day of the death on Norfolk, there being no refrigerated morgue. The old law is that burial must take place in the presence of a police officer, and before 6 o’clock in the evening. The coffin is provided by the Administration, free. The grave is dug by volunteers, traditionally friends and relatives of the deceased person, under the supervision of the sexton. Sometimes the service is held in a church, something at the graveside, but is always finished with the Anthem, sung by mourners gathered around the grave.

The island now possess an ageing hearse. But in 1938 a Melbourne businessman, Jim Mitchell, brought to Norfolk the first movie camera seen on the island, and among the footage he shot the day he arrived

was the funeral of an elderly island woman. The old colour film shows the pall bearers carrying the coffin from All Saints and placing it on the back of a completely open tray truck - not even any cover for the driver. The truck was normally used for carting cargo from the jetty. For funerals, it was cleaned up and a white sheet placed over the tray. The coffin loaded, the bearers hopped on, legs dangling over the side, and, with suitably solemn and melancholy aspect, rode down to the cemetery."

This old custom is continued with few changes and the Norfolk Islanders are proud of this tradition.

"An old island custom of free burial is a tradition which continues today. With the pine coffin and burial plot provided, male relatives and friends dig the grave and the women gather together to make stunningly beautiful wreaths of freshly picked flowers and ferns. Great respect has always been shown with retail stores closing their doors as the funeral procession passes." (Williams & Bataille, 2006 : 35)

The cemetery is famous for its beautifully kept graves and its location overlooking the ocean and is distinctly different from most cemeteries on the Australian mainland.

An important role of the cemetery is to serve as a reminder of the links of the present -day Norfolk Islanders with the Pitcairners who arrived in 1856. Quintal (2008) has compiled a detailed account of all Pitcairn Islander gravestones together with their genealogy. Honouring the dead this is one way of being constantly reminded of one's *kumfrum*.

5.3.2.7 Speaking the language

Fishman (1989: 16) in his survey of communities trying to reverse the attrition of their traditional languages has concluded:

"The real question for modern life and reversing language shift is....how one can build a home that one can still call one's own and, by cultivating it find community, comfort, companionship and meaning in a world whose mainstreams are increasingly unable to provide the basic ingredients for their own members."

The grammar of the expression *ouwas Norf'k* or *uckluns Norf'k* 'our Norfolk language' suggests that language is an inalienable attribute of the Norfolk Islanders and, for many, it represents the core of their identity. Hunt's report to the Australian Commonwealth of 1914 (quoted from O'Collins, 2002: 41) noted the important role Norf'k played in underpinning the distinct identity of the Pitcairn descendants:

"Its use contributes to maintain a spirit of exclusiveness amongst these folk, and for this reason, as well as because it has no merits to justify its continued existence, it is hoped that its employment may be discouraged in every possible way."

In spite of a prolonged effort by subsequent Australian administrators and educators (documented in Section 7) to eliminate the language, it continues to be highly valued and many individuals in recent years have given their time and resources to support Norf'k teaching at the Norfolk Island Central School or subsidize publications in the Norf'k language.

Norf'k until very recently has been a language for residents with Pitcairn ancestry. Low (2012: 184 – 185) comments on its special cultural significance:

"Some Islanders consider Norf'k as a form of cultural property belonging to Islanders. This is best communicated in the expression often used to describe Norf'k, 'auwas laengwij' or [our language]. The personal pronouns *auwa* and *aklan* both mean 'us' in Norf'k and refer primarily to insiders within a given context, but *auwa* is most often used by Islanders to explicitly mark 'us' as people of Pitcairn descent (see, Buffett 1999:12-13).⁸ Such proprietary claims over Norf'k seem to indicate the status of Norf'k as a constituent part of Islanders' identities, and of awareness of language as a constitutive symbolic practice; what Simon Harrison (2006:4-7) calls symbolic practices as inalienable possessions. According

to Harrison, cultural groups claim collective ownership over certain practices that are relied upon as a source of difference. As Islanders' material culture is not starkly distinctive from that of its closest neighbours, Australia and New Zealand, language practices are a particularly important arena for the management and enactment of social difference. As a Norfolk Island politician noted in an Assembly speech on the passage of The Norfolk Island Language (Norf'k) Act 2004 (Nik) "We all know that cultural groups possess a number of characteristics. Special or peculiar to themselves. Food. Crafts. Music...The Norfolk Island language is a distinctive element in the Norfolk Island cultural makeup" (Buffett, D. in Norfolk Island Hansard 15/12/2004)."

Sharing Norf'k with outsiders who do not subscribe to the Norf'k Islanders value system continues to appear problematic to many community members, though there is a growing view that not sharing it could lead to its demise as the majority of residents these days are not of Pitcairn descent. Because of the special value of language it is used in the expression and practice of other core values and or culture-specific emotions, material objects and memories. As observed by Hayward (2006: 225) with regard of the use of Norf'k in songs:

"One of the only perceptible differences between Norfolk / Pitcairn language composition and local Standard English ones is that the former tend to express aspects of the multiple components of local heritage (cultural, agricultural, environmental etc.) in more concentrated forms. Here, specific Norfolk and Pitcairn terms both refer to other aspects of heritage and express and encapsulate them *through* specific words - terms such as *hilli*, *stithy*, *pilli* and *tintoela* representing highly distinctive local qualities and perceptions (rather than being simple translations of SE words)."

Norf'k features prominently in death notices, funeral speeches and eulogies, it is used at the Council of Elders and was used in official publications of the dissolved Legislative Assembly; it is used at Bounty (Anniversary) and other events that assert the special status of the Pitcairn descendants and at times a symbol of defiance and mutiny (as it was during the events leading to the Mutiny on the Bounty).

Older Islanders take speaking Norf'k for granted and, as it were, live the language. However, when young Islanders go to live on the Australian mainland, they realize its central role in shaping their identity:

"I guess it's part of the unique identity. It's a unique language. It's got the cultural and historical aspect behind it but it's the mix of two languages. [It's] our own special developed language. It's something that's come about because we're a country in that area of the world that needs to speak a certain language. Ours is sort of, has come out of necessity and come out of the identity from Norfolk becoming its own little settlement, like it's a carry on of the very first stages of individuality I guess... but, it feels good to have that link to home. To be able to say that you can speak another language and it's your, your home language." (Evans, C., 2013: 37)

6 Culture shock

This term described the feeling of disorientation experienced by someone who is suddenly subjected to an unfamiliar culture, way of life, or set of attitudes and or feels overwhelmed by a new environment. A scrutiny of the writings on the arrival of the Pitcairn Islanders on Norfolk and their first years of settlement strongly suggests that they were affected by culture shock.

The Pacific historian Maude, who spent some of his youth on Pitcairn Island, characterized the emotions of the Pitcairners following their arrival on Norfolk Island as follows:

"Happy to be released from the ship, where so many suffered from sickness, amazed with the size of the island and (to them) gigantic nature of the buildings, with food altogether different from what they had been accustomed to all their lives... they seemed rather to shrink from the exertion required to grapple with a state of things so novel and so complicated." (Maude, 1964: 105)

Nobbs (2006: 20-25) has identified four issues that made it difficult for the Pitcairners to accommodate to their new environment:

- The marked contrast between house styles on Pitcairn and the new houses allocated to the Pitcairners;
- The necessity to adapt to new consumptive patterns;
- Unfamiliarity with modern productive methods and lifestyle;
- The small labour force.

Reports on the early period of the Pitcairners on Norfolk Island (summarised by Gazzard, 1943) emphasise the initial negative reaction to Norfolk Island: Their first impression when approaching its shores was 'for picturesque beauty Norfolk Island is not to be compared with Pitcairn' (Gazzard, 1943: 53).

Initially, few Pitcairners dared venture beyond Kingston:

"Although the only wood available was 'up country', they were nervous of being benighted there, and frightened by the mournful cry of the mopokes and the mournful wail of the 'ghost birds', so like sound of a human being in torment." (Gazzard, 1943: 60).

Though most families grew used to the new conditions, some of them did not. In 1858 a total of 16 Pitcairners decided to return to Pitcairn Island, followed by a second party of 27 in 1863. As an unnamed old Islander, interviewed by Gazzard's father in the 1930s commented, "was it any wonder that some of them began to trek back to their former homes and if our people only had had the vision and foresight to have seen into the future, they would all have trekked back". (p. 72).

Nicholson (1997: 202) summarises the mood of the Pitcairners: 'It was the timeless urge in all simple people to go 'home'. Until a new generation of Pitcairners emerged on Norfolk Island, the old generation was pervaded with melancholy'.

Another aspect of the culture shock was that the task given to the islanders was simply beyond their abilities:

"When the Pitcairners first came to Norfolk Island they were received by a select body of the former staff who has been left in charge of the property, and party to instruct the new comers in the use of it. A flock of sheep, a herd of cattle, ploughs, teams and carts were made over to them accordingly. Each selected his pursuit. Some took to the sheep, some to butchering, some to farming, some to the dairy. Gardening was not included, and as they do not seem to have notions themselves beyond a yam plantation or a potato ground (how should they?), the gardens, formerly the glory of this island, began to look more deplorable. As yet, however, they hardly look at home in their new abodes, and perhaps being an out-of-door generation, and not very sensitive about appearances, they never will. (Belcher, 1980: 302)."

By 1856 Norfolk Island was on the verge of becoming an environmental disaster area whose rehabilitation was beyond the physical resources of the Pitcairners: Feral goat and pigs were a particular problem. Mr Stewart, the caretaker prior to the arrival of the Pitcairners wrote in his diary:

"The pigs.... having no vegetables or any other thing that I can feed them on the sty, they have been let out for them to find their own food - and this now I find, has given a cause of excuse to all the people on the island, for a continuance to neglecting the plant process which will I am afraid render this place, rather a bad beginning in regard of food to the Pitcairners." (Chambers & Hoare, 1992: 107).

Even after the arrival of the Pitcairners, the introduction of noxious plants and animals continued, particularly as a result of the establishment of the Melanesian Mission. Whereas the anticipated moral corruption of the Norfolk Islanders by 'black savages' from Melanesia did not occur, the environmental

deterioration of Norfolk Island was accelerated by the presence of the Mission and the consequences of some of the pests introduced by the mission remain felt to the present.

The introduction of useful and beautiful plants and animals was mainstream ideology in a number of settler colonies. In Australia many species were introduced under the auspices of the Acclimatization Society. The desire to beautify the mission ground was probably the main reason for the introduction of new species. In addition to the missionaries the Melanesians introduced plants from their homeland needed for ceremonial and decorative purposes such as the Taatramor vine (*Caesalpinia Decapatala* 'nicker nut', 'yellow nickers') with its sharp thorns and pungent smell (hence called *horse piss* in Norf'k).

The systematic introduction of exotic plants is documented from the earliest days of the Mission. In a letter dated 2 August 1868 (uncatalogued Rhodes House Library, Oxford). Dr. Codrington, headmaster and linguist of the Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island, wrote to his brother Tim:

"If a box came I would like some choice bulbs such as grow in greenhouses in England. I believe they pack them in charcoal safely, so that they travel well. Perhaps it would not be safe to send costly ones, but good irises, gladiolae, not hyacinths or tulips."

A particularly noxious hyacinth, *Eichhornia Crassipes* 'Water Hyacinth' was introduced to Norfolk Island by Dr. Metcalfe in the early twentieth century (Duke 1996). Dr Metcalfe arrived on Norfolk Island in 1879 as a medical officer of the Melanesian Mission and remained in that role for thirty years.

"As a naturalist and collector of specimens he contributed to knowledge of the island's flora and fauna. Introducing a beautiful but aggressive weed was typical of that period. Maiden recorded water hyacinth from near Bloody Bridge. It is now common in open areas of fresh water where it forms dense mats, It has been a particular problem on Kingston Common." (Coyne, 2011: 158)

Metcalfe also appears to have been involved in introducing a guava species, supplementing the guavas introduced during the First and Second Settlements that had become a major problem by the end of the 19th century. In 1904, Maiden wrote:

"Guavas constitute one of the most formidable weeds on the Island. There are small forests of them, in many cases over- running good land, to the detriment of the cultivator. It is the ordinary Yellow Guava which is in such profusion, and it yields two crops a year, In addition the 'Blue Guava' [*Psidium cattleianum*] is common. There are also a few trees of Parker's Hybrid, which were introduced by Dr. Metcalfe." (Coyne, 2011: 179)

The introduction of another of the most widespread noxious weed on Norfolk Island, *Ageratina Riparia* (Norf'k 'William Taylor', English 'Mist Flower') is ascribed variably to Dr. Codrington or the Mission mason, William Taylor.

"This weed species seems to have reached Norfolk Island after or about 1914 since neither Maiden (1904) nor Laing (1914) referred to it, although Laing did not collect a specimen. It is now abundant and, in Green's (1994) words, is a 'serious weed in areas of degraded forest, and an invader of the margins of undisturbed forest, smothering ferns and seedlings'. Its common name on the island, William Taylor, apparently honours the man who introduced it to the Island." (Coyne, 2011. pp 166)

The major environmental problems that the Pitcairners found on their arrival in 1856 contributed to the failure of the experiment. They lacked the manpower and expertise to cope with the ecological conditions created by two previous settlements with much larger populations. The new weeds and pests introduced by the Melanesian Mission and subsequent settlers rendered their task even more difficult. The effects of the introduction of noxious weeds by outsiders continues to pose serious challenges to the Norfolk Islanders and the outsider discourses blaming them for laziness and bad management would hardly seem

warranted. The challenge posed by them when the Pitcairners began to take up their 50 acres plots may have been one of the factors contributing to their culture shock.

7 Assimilation, normalisation, educational policies toward Norfolk Islander culture and the Norfolk language

7.1 Introduction

This section provides background information about the perception of British and Australian officials and teachers regarding culture and language of the Norfolk Islanders.

When the Pitcairners arrived on Norfolk Island in 1856 they were bilingual in both Pitkern and English, with Pitkern dominant in many families. This was noted by Stewart, the caretaker preparing the island for the arrival of the Pitcairners:

It seemed so curious to hear them talking English and some of us could hardly keep from talking Feejee to them. They also had a kind of gibberish among themselves, which we could not make out, and which sounded to me like *Tonges*. (Chambers & Hoare 1992: 197).

The isolation of Norfolk Island together with established patterns of language use and transmission provided the ecological support system for this bilingualism. The decline of the Pitkern-Norfolk language is due to a number of factors, though “the most tangible evidence of pressure against the use of Norfolk has been in the form of policy and action of some Education authorities at the local school” (Harrison 1986:19).

Regrettably, we lack information about (British) language policies in the period 1856-1898. We note that George Hunn Nobbs, the spiritual leader and educator of the Pitcairn Islanders, continued to be their teacher and that his successor Rossiter, like Nobbs, originated from Britain. It is certain that there was no formal support whatsoever for the Norfolk language at the school. Different teachers appear to have tolerated its informal use by the children to varying degrees. The extent of the Islanders’ education was not great; they were basically a small rural community concerned with a near-subsistence lifestyle with few contacts with the wider world other than visiting American whalers and traders and those afforded by the Melanesian Mission. The perception of backwardness and inability to run their own affairs was one of the reasons why Britain and Australia wanted to impose greater control, particularly in matters of education. The school and its language policies has been one of the key factors in shaping both language attitudes and language use. For most of the 20th century it was the principal instrument of cultural and linguistic assimilation policies.

It must be kept in mind that Norfolk Island from 1914 was an Australian dependency and that the school followed the New South Wales syllabus. The attitudes and practices of the education system vis-a-vis the Norfolk language are not dramatically different from those adopted by Australian educators toward Northern Territory Kriol (Harris, 1986) or Torres Straits Broken (Kale, 1989) or Pidgin English in Papua New Guinea (Mühlhäusler, 1979) or the British education system employed in the Solomon Islands (Keesing 1979). The same linguistic attitudes and educational practices were also found in the American education system, for instance with regard to Hawaiian Creole (Reineke, 1969). Pidgins, Creoles and mixed languages were generally talked about by educators as bastard languages and this discourse was underpinned by the prevailing views of professional linguists at the time. Indeed, the emphasis on teaching the King’s English was in evidence throughout the English speaking world and at the end of World War One. School grammars featuring Standard Educated English and Daniel Jones’ English pronouncing dictionary had become widely available. The aim of English teaching was to teach the language of the best people. Daniel Jones’ RP or ‘Received Pronunciation’ was the language used at after dinner conversations amongst Oxford dons. At the time there was an almost universal belief among educationists that any non-standard form of English was a sign of intellectual laziness.

With regard to Norfolk, there were three issues, which were not well understood at the time:

- That language is not just a tool for communicating information but also a means of expressing identity, social bonding, ecological management and a 'memory of experience.'
- Norf'k is not simpler than English, nor is it a simplified English, which could be derived from English by a set of conversion rules.
- English is not more logical than Norf'k or any other language.

Thus, the prolonged fight by Australian educators against the Norfolk Islanders' culture and the Norf'k language was based on entirely wrong premises. Not surprisingly, by denigrating the Norf'k language and its speakers' way of life the education system managed to weaken culture and language and generate a sense of shame among its users. However, such measures failed to extinguish the language and instead provoked resistance.

7.2 Education during the 'Experiment'

In 1856 the entire community was resettled to Norfolk Island under the leadership of Nobbs, who continued to be pastor and teacher. In 1857 the Governor of N.S.W., Denison, who had authority over Norfolk Island, proclaimed laws and regulations for Norfolk Island which included:

"... all persons will send their children to school when they have attained the age of six years, and from that time will cause them to attend regularly till they have reached the age of fourteen years" (Parliamentary Papers 1863: 450).

The Revd. Nobbs, leader and teacher of the Pitcairn Island community, continued as a schoolmaster for three years but 'as his duties as physician and minister increased, Nobbs relinquished most of his school duties to one of the islanders' (Nobbs 1984:77). However, Simon Young, who subsequently performed the day-to-day duties as teacher disagreed with Nobbs and the official N.S.W. views on the Pitcairners' education on Norfolk Island and he returned to Pitcairn in 1864.

Denison was, was aware of the special nature of the social experiment. It was hoped that, left to its own devices and kept away from temptation, the god-fearing little community would develop into a morally superior race (O'Collins 2002: 5ff). It is for this reason that Denison was on the lookout for any developments that prevented this decline from happening. The standard of education was considered to be one of these. In the appendix to a dispatch dated 30th October 1857 (Parliamentary Papers, p. 460) he expresses his hopes 'that the mental powers of the islanders [be] developed by a better system of intellectual training than has hitherto been applied to them' and in a dispatch of 10th July 1859 to the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies he expresses the hope that the appointment of a new teacher, Mr Rossiter of England, would be 'a turning point from which we shall have to date a gradual improvement in the tone of the children' (Parliamentary Papers 1868: 30).

Thomas Rossiter had been a master of the Church of England Industrial School in Hertfordshire (Nobbs, 1984:75) and whilst reading, writing, spelling and other English language centred activities remained important, he placed greater emphasis on vocational training. Rossiter's views and practices concerning the Pitcairners language remain unknown, as he did not make any reference to this issue in his diary. A contemporary report by a visitor to the island in 1880 (Mercer, 1987: 6) points out that in 1880, a visitor to the island, Reverend C.C. Elcum, inspected the school and made an official report to the Governor. In it, we find the earliest detailed description of the children attending school in Norfolk Island.

"...all that was done was well done and the whole tone of the education seemed to me about as different to the hollow superficiality of too many of our schools at home as possible. All read aloud, for one thing, as if they understood and appreciated what they read. There were in 'standards', but, in spite of the absence of boots and stockings, (uncommon articles for people on Norfolk Island) I felt I had to do with the set of

children who were really being 'educated', i.e. having their faculties drawn out and trained, and not merely being treated as so many empty vessels to be filled, so many machines to be set going and inspected." (Mercer, *ibidem*)

Other reports on the state of Norfolk Island were less flattering, and following a visit by the Governor Lord Augustus Loftus in 1884, Henry Wilkinson, visiting magistrate for Lord Howe Island, was charged with the task of making a detailed enquiry of the Islands' affairs. He "suggested that the situation of Norfolk Island reflected badly on the imperial authority and the experiment was apparently not succeeding" (O'Collins 2002: 9).

After prolonged negotiations between Britain, New South Wales and New Zealand, it was in 1884 agreed that Norfolk Island would be under the authority of the Government of the Colony of New South Wales "and that Administrative services would be provided by the appropriate NSW government departments" (O'Collins 2002: 14). This included the provision of educational services, though initially NSW did not directly interfere with the local arrangements and Rossiter was succeeded by two Norfolk born teachers. The views on language of his direct successor, Alfred Nobbs (1884-1891) remain unknown. For the period of Gustav Quintal (1892-1906) who was headmaster until 1900 and who continued to teach at the school until 1917, we have only one official document. In 1897 a report on the conditions of the public school on Norfolk Island noted that a poor understanding of the English language hindered literacy skills. The report stated that:

"Questions on the subject matter of the reading lesson are scarcely given, nor are they taught much of the meaning of words; consequently the vocabulary of the pupils is limited... they find it difficult to express themselves. One teacher explained that 'it was hard to teach them because they didn't know much about the English language'" (Annex A, Norfolk Island School File State Records of NSW).

Gustav Quintal wrote a well-known poem about "the disjuncture between the languages of school and home" (Hayward, 2006: 174), which is given in APPENDIX 5.

Despite this criticism, S. Bent, the author of the report, noted that reading and writing were the pupils' strongest subjects compared with arithmetic. Quintal's sympathetic handling of the Norfolk language is mentioned in Marrington (1981: 12):

"The only time we did not speak Norfolk amongst ourselves was when there were strangers present or when we were in school, where it was forbidden, even in the playground. Our teacher, Mr. Quintal, was an Islander and often forgot the rules (especially when he was angry), but the teachers sent from the mainland had ears like proper ear-trumpets and would cane us – or make us write out three hundred times: I must not speak gibberish."

It will be noted that detail on this period of education is scant. This lack of early official information can be explained by the fact that the education of the Norfolk Islanders was in fact only taken over by the NSW Department of Public Instructions following a cabinet decision of 16th March 1897 and that official records relating to Norfolk Island schools this only became available in 1898.

7.3 An interlude - Education and Power

The decision by the NSW Government to take control of education on Norfolk Island was not just a response to continuing concerns regarding the status of the Island's schools (the public school, a Methodist school and the Longridge school) but part of a strategy to control the buildings in the Island's capital, Kingston, where several Pitcairn families had lived since 1856. Thus, on the 27th August 1897, Mr. David Buffett was notified that his house was required for use by the new schoolmaster from NSW, while another building was requested for a new chaplain. When the islanders did not oblige to this request, the chief magistrate was instructed to inform them (letter dated 7th October 1897) that:

“the steps which are being taken in regard to the buildings are necessary only in the interests of the Islanders themselves so that residences may be provided for a Chaplain and a School Teacher who will be devoted to the services of the Community.”

The Norfolk Islanders resisted this attempt (O’Collins, 2002) and were eventually evicted by force, among them several members of the Quintal family. This eviction was a traumatic event and continues to live on in their collective memory. It was evoked again in 2015 when the democratically elected Legislative Assembly was evicted from the Assembly Buildings.

In the anonymous summary of Reports to the NSW Department of Education, it is suggested that ‘the Norfolk Islanders were apparently not very enthusiastic about having a teacher who was an outsider’ and the chaplain of the Island, Mr. Alders, who was charged with amalgamating the three existing schools concluded that ‘not much can be done till the government take their firm stand re houses and land’. Control over the buildings in Kingston was supplemented by another strategy to weaken the Islanders’ control over the education system. Thus, an application by an islander, the Reverend R. Nobbs for the position of headmaster was not approved and in 1906 a Mr. Jacobs from NSW was appointed headmaster and moved into a new specially built residence. Mr. Gustav Quintal was demoted to first assistant at the school, and the Australian Government could add to their victory in matters housing, a victory in controlling education on Norfolk Island. The argument that the headmaster from NSW would be superior and that the new system of appointments from NSW would be a ‘marked improvement’ (Report of 1914, page 17) on that of local recruits remains unconvincing, in view of the administrator’s admission a few years later: “No teacher of any standing applies for the position here.” (1925: 26).

Thus, from 1906 the headmasters were supplied by the NSW State Department of Education and no Norfolk Islander has held this position since.

7.4 The language question 1897 - 1914

During the early administration of Norfolk Island by NSW the language questions appears not to have been a considered problem. Three years after Mr. Jacob’s appointment an inspection of the Public School by senior inspector H. D. McLelland suggests that he was favourably impressed by the quality of English in the students’ papers.

“I have read carefully all the papers written by the pupils in connection with the examination papers prepared by me a few months ago at your request. I think that these indicate on the whole very creditable results obtained by some teaching methods

The satisfactory treatment often appears not only in the answers to questions set on that subject, but in the others in which expression of thought was looked for, such as History, Geography and Nature Study. ‘Well-turned sentences’ the common characteristic of most of the pupils’ efforts. Not only is the language work generally creditable in form, but it often possesses a refreshing individuality which displays itself in a very frank and engaging expression of what the pupils really think and feel. The penmanship of some of the senior pupils is particularly good, but is defective among a good many of the juniors,” (Senior Inspector H.D. McLelland to Under Secretary, 22.2.09).

This perception radically changed in 1912 when Mr. Ray inspected the Norfolk Island Public School and made extensive comments on the problems of teaching English because of the presence of the Norfolk Island language:

The children are with three exceptions (delicate cases) barefooted. They come to school clean and tidy – in movement they are usually graceful but slow. They vary considerably in complexion, even in the same family. Here and there a child is almost as dark as a Tahitian, while a brother or sister would pass for an Australian. They are most polite and apparently trustful in their demeanour and are generally of pleasant countenance.

There is a prevalent want of self-reliance and initiative and a marked laxity regarding neatness, methodical arrangement and care of written workbooks. The general conditions of life on the island and the peculiar constitution of this community conduce to lethargy and there is always 'plenty of time' and in any action that is not of a purely recreative character a decided sloth is noticeable. A likely partial corrective to this sluggishness would be the smartening up of the marching into and out of school. The children put plenty of vim in 'flag-drill' and other exercises when of a naval kind. A careful inspection of the outhouses and a close observation of the pupils in school and in the playground revealed no sign that the moral tone of the school was less satisfactory than of New South Wales country schools. Corporal punishment is sometimes used but the children are in happy relation to their teachers.

English: Much difficulty is experienced in teaching English. The chief obstacle is the prevalence of the Norfolk Island 'language' outside school.

This jargon, which is the everyday medium of conversation between the islanders - adults as well as children - is in no respect a language, it is not even a 'patois'. It is said to be a mixture of English and Tahitian. As a matter of fact bad English, spoken by the Bounty men and imperfectly imitated by the Tahitians.

The usual greeting is *whatawayou?* derived from 'In what way are you', or as we would say, 'How are you' - the reply is frequently *Wallthankyer* - 'Well thank you'.

The word for 'people' is '*sallen*' which comes from 'sillen'— the Tahitian women's way of saying 'children'. In like manner 'all of you' is corrupted into '*yorlye*'.

Again, the islanders rarely use the plural of nouns or the past tense of verbs when trying to speak English. 'I send him two case orange yesterday' is typical.

This jargon is so habitual in the homes (most of them) and elsewhere that children in school are painfully slow when they try to speak good English. When a question is put or a suggestion is made to them it is plain their first impulse is to answer in their jargon. They then have to translate their ideas into English which they deliver in a jerky stilted manner.

In written composition, too, they lapse into the common faults found in their speech.

A lad who was a candidate for the Pacific Cable Service failed in English composition. He passed in all other subjects.

During an address to parents on the 13th instant, I pointed out that the continuance of the use of the Norfolk Island language was likely to hinder the progress of their children and seriously hamper them when in competition with others in afterlife. I advocated the suppression of the language in their homes. The people appeared sympathetic, but it remains to be seen whether the reform will be carried out.

At any rate the use of 'Norfolk Island' in or about the school grounds should be prohibited.

The last report before responsibility for Norfolk Island was transferred to the Australian Federation was submitted by the headmaster A.A. Matthews in 1914. Again the language problem figures prominently:

"The different classes were examined at the end of the quarter and fairly satisfactory results were obtained. I must admit the results are far below the standard reached by New South Wales youngsters, but still there has been all round improvement.

The teachers here work at a great disadvantage. The little ones come to school scarcely able to talk or understand any English. The Norfolk Island 'jargon' is almost exclusively spoken in their homes, and I have known cases, where children have been ridiculed by the Islanders for speaking proper English.

The Islanders are proud of their 'language' as they call it, and in some cases openly tell you it is useless for the teachers to try to get rid of it. I feel sure, however, that with steady insistence against its use at school and careful teaching it will ultimately disappear. The good work done by the upper classes in English warrants my belief.

Another serious drawback is the matter of close relationship in marriage. It is a well-known fact that nearly all families on the island are related in some way or another, and there is no doubt, in my opinion, that each successive generation is both physically and mentally inferior to the last. The low mentality of the children of these marriages is most marked, when compared with that of children where there has been marriage with an outsider," (extract from Report for quarter ending 31st March, 1914).

NSW continued to administer Norfolk Island in the first years of the Australian Federation but steps were undertaken to transfer the responsibility to the Commonwealth. After protracted negotiations, Norfolk Island was placed under the authority of the Commonwealth of Australia in July 1914 (O'Collins 2002: 59 ff)

7.5 Norfolk Island and Commonwealth Control

The secretary of the Department of External Affairs, A.A. Hunt, (O'Collins, 2002: 36-41) visited Norfolk Island in 1913 and submitted his report to the Minister of External Affairs in March 1914 (Commonwealth 1914). This report contains numerous passages that were to influence Norfolk-Australian relations in years to come. Among these were his remarks on language education. Hunt echoes earlier remarks made by Ray:

"It is found that the children of pure Pitcairn descent are not as bright, and have not the same degree of application, as the children of outsiders' and the report is particularly scathing about 'the local jargon':

The Local Jargon – The people all speak good English, in an easy, deliberate tone, with no perceptible accent, but amongst themselves those of Pitcairn descent generally employ a bastard Jargon, partly derived from the Tahitian tongue of their grandmothers, and partly from carelessly pronounced and ungrammatical English. It is not picturesque nor effective, and justifies its description as 'a barbarous attempt to garotte the English language'".

The headmaster and school inspectors were in agreement that the language needed to be eradicated, though their reasons and practical strategies differed. The first headmaster after the Commonwealth take-over, Passmore, appointed in 1915, initially saw few language problems. However, in a manuscript titled Norfolk Island (probably written in 1916 - kindly lent to me by the late Ms. Merval Hoare, Historian, Norfolk Island) page 24 shows that he had a rather negative view of the Norfolk language:

"The dialect is of comparative recent growth. Very little of it came from Tahiti. Most of the words are corruptions of English. *Sullen* for children – *Larn* to tell. *Larn a liddle sullen nor do da*. (Tell the little children not to do that.) If you pretend not to understand the lingo as most English people do in self-defence you will hear one say sneeringly '*He debarganen he car wat's et*'. 'Car' is the negative of 'to do' and 'to know.' It means 'I cannot' or 'I do not know' and is the same for all persons.

The parent who hears his child speak in correct English in his own home will cry angrily: '*Oh! You wawaha*' and the child will shrink as under a curse. '*Wawaha*' is one of the Tahitian words and means 'Proud' or 'Traitor'...

The early people came under the influence of an English teacher sent out by the Home Government but when he died his place was taken by one of his pupils. I knew him well, and an excellent man he was but

he allowed the dialect to be used in the school to the almost total exclusion of English, hence, I think the present situation. As a concession to Island prejudice one of the members of the staff of the school is a Norfolk and this naturally helps to foster the lingo...

and further:

I loved these people but I hate their language because of its limitations and for another reason in which my opinion has been lately corroborated by Professor Adams. He says that people's language determines their moral attributes - or words to that effect. ... If the Norfolk dialect could be wiped out I am convinced that there would be a moral uplift.

In an official report to the NSW Education Department on 22 September 1916, Passmore expounds on the methods used by him to enhance the status of English rather than to try to eradicate Norf'k, hoping the children would make the eventual transition to English by choice and, at the end of his time on Norfolk, he reports:

"The task seemed hopeless, but persistent effort has borne good fruit, so that in class exercises the English is scarcely to be distinguished from that on the mainland and in the playground and on the roads the 'Norfolk' dialect is not heard amongst the children to the same extent as formerly. The improvement in this most important branch of education has been more marked since the staff consisted entirely of Australian teachers."

His successor, Francis Middenway, continued with these efforts to replace Norf'k, paying particular attention to its use outside the school:

"The teaching of English receives particular attention, and more time is devoted to this subject than is usual in schools in New South Wales. Every endeavour is made to induce the children to converse with one another away from school in English, instead of using the wretched jargon which some of the Islanders call 'The Norfolk Island language'.

The pupils are making greater use of the school library, and a taste for reading is being developed. Donation of books suitable for children would be much appreciated. I intend to apply to one of the Public Libraries in Australia for a loan of suitable books for a given period, say four months," (extract from the Principal teacher's Report for the quarter ending 31st December 1918).

Jacob Barnes, who took up the post of headmaster in 1922, compiled an (unpublished) guidebook to Norfolk Island in which he comments on:

"... the harsh patois (a corruption of 18th century English and Tahitian) which is adopted by the islanders in their intercourse with each other and which, in view of the fact that they speak beautiful English, and that this patois, harsh and unmusical is spoken nowhere else, should be and probably will be allowed to die out as the older generation drops out."

The continued use of Norf'k was perceived as a major obstacle and in the moral and intellectual advancement of the Norfolk Islanders and the arguments suggested by educators in the years to come are reminiscent of the restricted code or language deficit hypothesis (Bernstein ref) that dominated educational discourse in Britain and the USA in the 1960's and the 1970's. Chief Inspector McLelland in his report on the 19th November 1925 to the director of education provides a good illustration of this.

"In the school I soon noticed that in each class the pupils consisted of two groups, one group being much superior to the other in power of continued attention, and apparently in intelligence. As the inspection went on I became aware of another two group division, one group being far ahead of the other in language power, oral and written. Looking further into the matter I discovered that those who

spoke and wrote English imperfectly were also those who seemed duller and less attentive. The children who speak English with some difficulty also pronounced their words badly. The others enunciate their words beautifully, with an accent, but a very pleasing accent. The marked difference between the two groups has a simple explanation. The apparently dull and less attentive pupils are bi-lingual. As soon as they escape from the school they revert to the Norfolk Island 'lingo.' This means that they think freely only in the lingo, and with difficulty in English. As the lingo is a hotchpotch of words coined in all sorts of ways, it cannot be of any service except to express the simplest facts and feelings. All children who use it are handicapped badly. Life on the Island provides in any case a limited range of experiences and ideas, but when thinking and expression are further confined within the limits of such a dialect as the Norfolk Island lingo appears to be, then it is certain that the people using it are suffering a kind of mental starvation. It should, therefore, be a fundamental part of the duty of the teaching staff, and particularly of the Headmaster, to persuade the parents in the interest of their children to drop the lingo and speak English in their homes. The contrast between the two types is very striking. I may be wrong, but I am disposed to think that the native intelligence of the apparently inferior group is not less than that of the other. If trained to speak English from birth, they would from birth have a larger mental world and benefit accordingly."

McLelland concluded his report with the following recommendation:

"That Headmasters of the future receive definite instructions to aim at eradicating the 'lingo' spoken in the homes of a considerable section of the pupils. The best way to do this is by tactful persuasion of the parents that it is for the good of the children that they should speak English at home as well as in the School. The change can only be made by willing co-operation of the parents," (McLelland 1925: 8).

An extract from this report was quoted in the Royal Commission of Norfolk Island Affairs (1926). Jacob Barnes also emphasised the need to remove local role models and for outsiders to be entirely in charge of education on Norfolk Island. He argues:

"The school is very well staffed but I think a trained teacher should take the place of the pupil teacher at present employed. The Islanders are naturally indolent and it is therefore a bad policy to pass the pupils through the hands of one of their relations who has not had this trait trained out of her in our city schools. Miss Robinson, the Island pupil-teacher, should make a recommendation that another classified teacher should be seconded from our Department to take her place. The pupils seem bright and keen but they are unable to sustain their application to set tasks. Their patois is also a handicap. However, I think that a group of sympathetic teachers should be able to do much for them," (extract from a report on Norfolk Island Public School 22.2.1927).

By 1932 the effects of Australian policies of linguistic and cultural assimilation had begun to be felt. A correspondent of the Pacific Island Monthly (26th August, 1932) reported:

"If the Islanders would only realise that, while they remain a race apart, living their own lives, speaking in their soft, musical voices the quaint language that is a blend of old-word English and the Tahitian of their great-grand-mothers, mixing with the newcomers as little as may be, they possess a charm and picturesqueness that will bring visitors across leagues of ocean to meet and mingle with them who would scarcely cross the road to make acquaintance with the ordinary 'outsider'.

As it is, for some mistaken reason, they seem ashamed to live as their fathers and mothers did and to speak the tongue that is a thousand times superior to the ugly English they learn in the State School.

If they but knew it, they should pride themselves on their unique history, the knowledge of their ancestry for 150 years back, and their place in the Pacific, and should make no attempt to model themselves upon a passing population of mainlanders who have come from Heaven knows where and who, many of them, have no knowledge of their forefathers more than a generation or so back."

The decline of local language and culture was also the result of a significant influx of non-Pitcairn settlers from the late 1920's. By 1937 about 50% of the 114 children of the Central School either had one or two mainland parents and the 15 children at the Anson Bay School were mainlanders and only one was of mixed origin.

Concern for the preservation of the Norfolk language and culture was not shared by the education system. Rather, the weakening of the language was seen as a positive development, as in the following statement made by Heath, who was headmaster between 1935 and 1937:

"This language difficulty means that children here are always backward in such subjects as English, as even in the upper classes they are writing in a foreign language. As a result of the recent influx of mainlanders, English is becoming more common on the Island and the language difficulty will probably grow less after lapse of years. Possibly a few decades will see the end of it as the dialect itself is being influenced by English, and according to people who have lived here a long time 'Norfolk' is approaching more closely to English. The influence of Mainland mothers is most marked in this respect," (Heath 1937: 3).

Heath also expressed openly what many of his predecessors had only implied, i.e. that the Pitcairn descendants were racially inferior (1937: 2).

"In some cases, where the dark blood is considerable, the children are very dull, particularly where there has been a mixing of Negro or Hebridian with the Tahitian and white. The children very often appear quite bright in their early classes when dealing with simple ideas; but as they progress through the school, and have to deal with more abstract ideas, there is a marked falling off. On the other hand, they seem to have inherited from their native progenitors, a dexterity in handwork. The school children, generally, show great ability in manual work lessons; but after about fourth class, arose miserably poor mathematicians."

By the mid-1930s the strategies to eradicate the Norfolk language had become more sophisticated, particularly during the administration of Captain C. Pinney (Hoare 1996) who took a keen interest in language matters. In an ordinance of 1935 Pinney lowered the age of compulsory education from six and a half to five years. The importance of this step is highlighted in a report (dated 28.11.1935) by the Director of Education G.R. Thomas titled 'Norfolk Island - Exchange of Teachers with the Mainland Prime Minister's letter of 8.7.1935:

"In both schools one of the most important problems is the education of early childhood because of the bi-lingual character of speech of the islanders. The intimate speech of the home is a patois which is practically a foreign speech, being probably a mixture of modified Tahitian, ungrammatical and truncated English (for the outstanding characteristic weakness of commonplace speech is the clipping of words) plus a number of probable local and borrowed words – to a newcomer it is quite unintelligible. The tiny child grows up in this atmosphere and until the new ordinance is introduced providing for compulsory schooling at five years of age, the child is not under the influence of English until he is 6 and a half years old - the loss of precious eighteen months. I am assured by His Honour the Administrator, Captain C. Pinney, that an ordinance making the compulsory age extend from five to fifteen will almost immediately be introduced. It is therefore essential that the teacher of the five year old child should have intimate knowledge of both forms of speech, and at the same time have training in the technique of the kindergarten and the first two classes. Miss Robinson, at Middlegate, an islander, has done good work as an untrained teacher on these classes, but needs some sound contact with good methods – kindergarten, in particular. She would compare quite favourably with good unclassified teachers of the State."

Around the same time the question of further education for adults (suggested by Heath, 1937: 2) gained wider attention, in particular his call for 'a richer supply of good literature'. In a letter of 23rd October 1937 Administrator Pinney comments favourably on Heath's efforts.

"When Norfolk Island children first attend either of the local State Schools they have to be taught English before their education can be proceeded with. Two local teachers are utilised for this purpose.

Education proceeds in what is to all intents and purposes a foreign language to the children, as in most cases (islanders) English is only spoken in school, and, if at all, is little used at home or after leaving school. Children of Australian parentage readily learn the lingo and use it in their intercourse with the Norfolk Islanders.

Many of the adult Norfolk Islanders who were educated at the local school, have now, through neglect, a very slight knowledge of English; this causes them to readily misunderstand any instructions or observations addressed to them. Thus handicapped they are greatly at the mercy of more educated men of little principle.

During the last few years an attempt has been made to cope with the loss of school influence, and in this regard the services of the headmaster (Mr. Heath) have been invaluable. A debating club has been formed and supervised by Mr. Heath. A school lending library has been established in an endeavour to cultivate a habit of reading among the children, and also in this way insinuate simple literature into homes in the hope that the elders will be persuaded to read occasionally and perhaps cause more English to be spoken by their families. It is hoped this will have the effect of preventing children from neglecting their English altogether after leaving school.

The addition of books to this library, suitable for Norfolk Island adults as well as children, would greatly help the movement.

The more the children are encouraged to use English in their private lives the sooner will the lingo with its demoralising handicaps will disappear and permit the normal development of Norfolk Islanders."

In his reply (January 7, 1938), the Librarian confirms that the prevailing deficit hypothesis of Norfolk speakers and the need to compensate for this by promoting greater appreciation for English:

"What you say regarding the lingo of Norfolk Island is very interesting, and will prove most useful to me. I shall use the information in connection with publicity for the Territories Book Service and also, will use it in my report to the Carnegie Corporation on the benefits which the library service will have for the Territories.

I have had a glance through the vocabulary and am astounded at the primitive nature of the language used by these people. It certainly seems to me that every effort should be made to break them of this lingo, and I am hopeful that our book service may be helpful in this direction. I trust that you will allow me to keep the vocabulary, as I would like to have it bound and made a permanent item in our library, for it will have a considerable historical interest and reference value in connection with the history of Norfolk Island."

The setting up of a well-equipped school library was completed by 1939 and the administrator Major General Rosenthal in a letter to the Carnegie Corporation, dated 15th December 1939 writes:

"The books forwarded by you for the children are housed with the existing library at Middlegate School, and are issued without charge to the 150 school children who are in attendance, and include all children of the Island capable of reading books.

The library at Kingston is now fully equipped with book cases, tables, chairs and linoleum floor covering. The room has been reconditioned, is admirably lighted and is in reality the finest room in Norfolk Island."

It is of interest that the setting up of the new public library occurred without any input from the islanders themselves and the Norfolk Island Council:

"Proposed by the President seconded by Cr. G. H. N. Buffett –

The Council wishes it brought to the notice of the Minister that the original recommendation for the reference library under the Carnegie Library Endowment Scheme came from this Council on 5th May, 1937, that on the 4th August, 1938, I reply to an enquiry from this Council dated 1st December, 1937, the Administrator merely informed the Council that negotiations were in progress.

The Sydney Press has already published statements from Canberra that the proposed Library has been approved of for this, as well as of other Territories and steps had already been taken here for providing the Library. To date, the Council has never once been consulted on the matter and any information, other than the barest statement in the Administrator's letters, has had to be obtained from private sources here and on the mainland. The Council wishes to emphasise that there is already an excellent circulating library here founded by a local resident, and the question of a reference library has apparently been shelved in favour of another circulating library (fiction, etc.) set up in Kingston,'(letter from Norfolk Island Advisory Council to the Official Secretary, Administrator's Office, Norfolk Island dated 3.11.1939).

In an undated paper on social linguistics and education on Norfolk Island in 1960, Flint reviews the period between 1909 and 1945 and comments on the increasingly sophisticated methods adopted to suppress Norf'k. Initially, the educators subscribed to the view that Norf'k was simply a corrupt form of English, a jargon or a patois; but from the early 1930's educators began to speak of a bilingual program, which required a different approach and training for bilingual teachers. Bilingual in this context meant transitional bilingualism with the eventual aim of making the children monolingual speakers of English. However, other forces were implicated the Norfolk language in the decline of the Norf'k language. Following the great depression, many Norfolk residents abandoned the island and relocated to Sydney, with the island population dropping from 1,231 in 1935 to 700 in 1942 (Hayward 2006:92). By 1941, 130 Norfolk Islanders had enlisted for service in the Australian Army and a number of families relocated to Australia for the duration of World War II. In 1942, a new air base was constructed and 500 New Zealand troops were stationed on Norfolk, outnumbering its population by 2:1. Between 1942 and 1945 the New Zealand servicemen had a significant linguistic and cultural effect on the remaining population. The presence of New Zealand troops on Norfolk Island was gradually reduced after 1945 and the last New Zealand soldiers went home in 1948, as islanders were beginning to return to Norfolk Island.

7.6 Post World War 2 and recent developments

An inspection of the Norfolk Island Central School in September 1953, by the Deputy Director General and Director of Primary Education, Drummond, shows that the use of Norf'k by the students continued to be regarded as a problem and teachers saw their task as one of eliminating speech errors:

"Norfolk speech is an influence that makes far more difficult than usual the formation of habits of correct speech and correct written expression. The attention given to reading and the spelling of words within the vocabulary taught has achieved a good measure of success, but free written expression shows that such language difficulties as the plural of nouns and the various forms of the verb 'to be' are very persistent and errors still appear at the secondary level," (Drummond, Norman W. (1953) 'MS: General Survey: Central school at Norfolk Island', National Archives of Australia, Series A 518/1 Item E818/1/4 pt.2. 6pp).

There appear to have been no deliberate policies to eradicate Norf'k but, from what I have learnt during numerous conversations, students continued to be punished when caught speaking it in the school grounds.

Following the introduction of multicultural policies on the Australian mainland a number of attitudes and practices changed. In November 1977, the Assistant Director-general of Education in NSW Dr John Vaughan visited Norfolk Island and was interviewed. One of the questions was: Do you think the Norfolk language should be taught? He pointed out the problem of teaching a 'fundamentally oral' language but added 'I would think it certainly not inappropriate if the Norfolk school itself, in its wisdom, made a decision to devote some attention to the Norfolk language - that would be a reasonable decision to make. But I am not making it.' (*Norfolk Island News*. November 1977: 9).

Norf'k began to be taught as part of Norfolk Studies at the Norfolk Island Central School (NICS) from the early 1970s. One of the earliest teachers to take on this task was Ms Faye Bataille who had taught at the school since 1945 and was an influential figure in education and the Girl Guides. In her conversations with the linguist, Shirley Harrison, in the 1970s she expressed her fear that the Norf'k language was being lost and this is what prompted her to start teaching it.

Details about recent developments in teaching Norf'k can be found in Mühlhäusler (2009) and (2015). They confirm that in spite of prolonged attempts to 'kill' the Norf'k language, it continues to be used, appreciated and Norfolk Islanders continue to give their time and money to ensure the language will be spoken by future generations.

8 Social structures

The social structures of the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent are determined by a number of factors. These are substantially different from the factors that shaped the social structures of Australia and lie at the root of significant cultural differences. Salient factors impinging on the emergence of a distinct Norfolk Islander society include:

- The small size of the community (between 200 and 800 on Norfolk Island at any one time). The small size of the community and the compact size of Norfolk Island (about 40 sq. kilometres) enables a dense, multiplex social network (Milroy 1980: 40 - 59). Dense networks are most likely to be found in small, stable communities with few external contacts and a high degree of social cohesion, such as Norfolk Island. Everybody knows almost everybody else. They also know them in a number of roles, which makes the communication network multiplex, i.e. individuals interact in multiple social contexts. For instance, if A is B's boss, and they have no relationship outside of work, their relationship is uniplex. If, on the other hand, C is both B's co-worker, his daughter's boyfriend and his neighbour, the relationship between B and C is multiplex, since they interact with other network members in multiple roles. The small size also discourages social mobility and encourages a quasi-egalitarian society.
- The importance of the extended family as a social unit. This extended family includes relatives living on Pitcairn Island or in the diaspora. Before the mid-20th century, the Islander proportion of the community comprised the majority of the Island's population and organised themselves into large family groups who lived, worked and socialised in close proximity to one another. (Low, 2012: 31)
- The cohesion of the family is sustained by family land, i.e. land that has been passed down from the original Crown allocations in the 1850s, by partaking at Bounty Day and other major events as family groupings and by each family having two representatives on the Council of Elders. The Norf'k language has a number of expressions making explicit reference to families and their perceived characteristics such as *chucken ar Quintal* 'to spit the dummy' and others discussed in the sections dealing with the Norf'k language.
- The physical isolation and insular nature of Norfolk Island. Limited access to the outside world has promoted self-sufficiency, as well as psychological detachment from the social and political events in mainland Australia. Isolation combined with the richness of natural resources promoted subsistence affluence (Threadgold 1968) and an economy based on mutual gifts and bartering rather than money.

Bartering and gifts still play an important role but increasing dependency on imported goods and the effects of globalization have promoted the shift to a cash economy.

- Its origins as a culturally and racially mixed community on Pitcairn Island. Technically, it is one of a number of beach communities that developed in the context of European and Pacific Islander encounters. Comparable social groups are found in the Bonin Islands and Palmerston. (see survey by Mühlhäusler 1998: 27-47). These contacts led to both sociogenesis (development of a new society) and glossogenesis (development of a new language) in most beach communities. As argued by Hayward (2006: 224):

“Fundamental to any notion of Pitcairn identity, and to the identity of Norfolk’s Pitcairn descended population, is the historical event of the *Bounty* mutiny and the settlement of Pitcairn by the mutineers and Tahitians. While this is a fixed reference point, its interpretation has varied and... experiences a notable revival in the 1930s-1950s. As a result, the prominence of *Bounty* mythology in present-day public culture on Norfolk Island does not so much evidence an “ossified image of the past” as a refigured one that complements a set of socio-political argument and feelings that crystallised in the 1980s.”

- A number of historical accidents (contingencies) influenced the development of the Norfolk Islander society over time, in particular prolonged interaction with other groups such as the American whalers, the Melanesian Mission, the Cable Station personnel and the New Zealand Garrison during WW2. From the 1960s onward there are increasing numbers of settlers from Australia and New Zealand and growing numbers of tourists from these two countries. These historical events are not shared with the Australian mainland.

Mixed societies and languages are not simply mechanical mixtures, a finding of the various disciplines (linguistics, anthropology, sociology, musicology) concerned with ‘creolization’ (Stewart, 2007). A number of genetic, social, cultural and linguistic properties can be traced back to a single source. However, Norfolk society, culture and language also exhibit many complex blends as well as numerous local innovations and adaptations.

A number of genetic and cultural features are gender-specific:

“In general it seems that the cultural pattern of Pitcairn society evolved from Polynesian or European practice according to the traditional role of male and female. After all, the islanders were not starting civilisation afresh. The Europeans had brought their skills and knowledge with them, as well as the arms, tools, pots and pans, canvas and cordage, and all the varied products that were on the ship; and the Polynesians brought their skills and knowledge of the trees and plants which enabled them to process these for both food and clothing. Apart from language and religion these practices, in the early years, were set mainly by the women as they controlled domestic life and child-rearing. The women were responsible for the preparation and cooking of all foods, (Lummis: 1997:119).

Child rearing practices, extended family structures, cooking styles, recreational patterns as well as art and craft forms in present-day Norfolk Island continue to reflect the contribution of the Tahitian women. Their contribution is also reflected in the lexicon of the Norfolk language. Tahitian words are strongly represented in lexical domains such as child rearing or cooking.

Patterns of social interaction among Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent are similar to those found in Polynesian societies. Frazer (1979: 69-75) provides a detailed analysis of Pitcairn identity based on his studies of Pitcairners living in New Zealand and social interaction. His distinctions also apply to Norfolk, a fact which is reinforced by lexical items referring to these groups. The principal distinctions are:

Pitcairner 1: Those born on the island, who accept and follow the traditional ways of life;

Pitcairner 2: Pitcairners who do not follow traditional ways of life, and often live away for long periods;

Stranger 1: Strangers who are friends, and who accept local patterns of behaviour;

Stranger 2: Outsiders, ignorant or dismissive of local patterns of behaviour;

These distinctions are grammaticalized in the Norfolk personal pronoun system and determine the norms of interaction. Thus, the many Norfolk first person non-singular pronoun forms that correspond to the single English pronoun 'we' lend themselves to be organised along very similar parameters (see Mühlhäusler 2014).

Pitcairner I	Pitcairner II
<i>Ouwa</i>	<i>uclun</i>
Stranger I	Stranger II
<i>hemmy, himii / we</i>	<i>me en hem, me en her, me en dem, uclun en dem</i>

In its possessive function *ouwa* does not just translate English 'us, our' but also conveys a connotation of solidarity. Norfolk Islanders referred to their own elected government as *ouwa guvmen* but do not use *ouwa* to refer to the Australian Administrator.

The above scheme, adapted from a widespread Polynesian scheme, also determines how information is shared or withheld. It underlies the often commented on exclusiveness of the Norfolk Islanders and reinforces their distinctiveness. It is realized in a number of cultural practices (e.g. Bounty Day) which act out the distinct identity of the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent. However, as Shapiro notes (see below) a large proportion of social practices are local innovations that developed consequent to sociogenesis on Pitcairn Island.

Education and Literacy have played an important role in shaping Pitcairn and Norfolk Islanders. Unlike other beach communities, which remained semi-literate or illiterate, literacy on Pitcairn Island was taught by the educated officer midshipman Ned Young to the last surviving male mutineer, John Adams. John Adams attracted John Buffett to take on his role as teacher. Pitcairn Island was the first community in the English speaking world to establish compulsory education for boys and girls in 1835. This system was continued when the Pitcairn Islanders relocated to Norfolk Island in 1856. By contrast, in New South Wales education was not compulsory until 1880.

The Norfolk Islanders have a long tradition of political democracy. There are no hereditary leaders and most of the important decisions in the history of Pitcairn and Norfolk Island (e.g. resettlement in Tahiti and subsequently Norfolk Island, acceptance of laws and regulations) were reached by democratic means. The rules of regulations set up on Pitcairn Island in 1838 included a world first: Women were allowed to vote for their council. This system of democratic governance was continued on Norfolk Island after 1856. In Australia, the first time women were allowed to vote was in South Australia in 1896. The pioneer role of the Pitcairners in universal education and women's suffrage remains a strong memory in present day Norfolk Islander society.

The unique status of this Anglo-Polynesian society is reflected in their cultural practices, their language, their value system and their sense of identity. These will be dealt with in the following sections.

9 CULTURE

9.1 Background

A distinct culture developed on Pitcairn Island in the first half of the 19th century. Whilst it changed and adapted over time, these changes occurred in the isolation of Pitcairn Island. It was taken to Norfolk Island in 1856 when the entire community was resettled there and continued to develop in relative isolation until the arrival of modern communication technology, increasing numbers of settlers from the outside and

assimilation policies of the Australian government, which eroded or rendered invisible some aspects of this culture.

Shapiro, ten years later, observed that Norfolk society had grown more complex than the original Pitcairn society, and that through contact with Australia and the sheer size of the population there were some slight, but not rigid, social distinctions. The old simplicity of the Pitcairners had also gone, but there remained “a charm of manners which springs from good humour and a fondness for people. The hospitality of the people is bounteous and always freely given” (Shapiro 1938: 32).

Greater cultural complexity did not lead to social stratification among the Pitcairn descendants, however. Instead:

“the feeling of common origin, the close relationships which they bear to one another, and the lack of wealth hold the people together as one group.” (Maude 1964: 111).

There are family rivalries and judgements about Norfolk Islanders are at times made in terms of the role their Pitcairn ancestors played in the late 18th century. Thus, John Adams did not prevent Fletcher Christians death, the Buffetts and Evans’ were interlopers, etc.

Society and culture of the Pitcairner descendants on Norfolk Islands has remained distinct, viable and dynamic and the situation remains that described by (Rees 1949: 10):

“At the moment, there is enough of the original Norfolk Island left to make it seem like a retreat to another world for the harassed visitor from an Australian metropolis.”

9.2 Culture transmission

Culture can be passed onto future generations in a number of ways:

- Preservation of material culture in collections and museums
- Preservation of intangible culture by means of written or visual records
- Maintenance by consciously living the culture
- Revival by involving members of the older generation in passing on their knowledge and devising strategic means of enhancing transmission
- Adaptation of older culture to new conditions

All of the above are practiced by the Norfolk Islanders and there is a detailed cultural strategic plan developed by the Council of Elders, which is complemented by a number of major projects designed to preserve, transmit and/or reintroduce Norfolk culture.

One of them is the Projected Culture Centre as described in the 2015 Economic Strategic Plan at <http://regional.gov.au/territories/publications/files/SGS-Norfolk-Island-Economic-Development-Strategy-Action-Plan.pdf>

This project remains in the planning stages until funding problems can be overcome.

The Norfolk Living Library Project, whose website was developed by Trish Magri (www.livinglibrary.edu.nf), who hopes that it will become a hub in the community for sharing their stories. The resources collected thus far are used in the Norfolk Studies course at Norfolk Island Central School (NICS), (see also *2899 Magazine* 2, 1: 40 - 44).

The archives of Radio Norfolk have been digitized and are held in the Third Settlement collection of the Norfolk Museums. A large number of audio-visual and audio resources from many sources are also accessible to museum visitors.

An inventory and digital images of all material cultural objects brought from Pitcairn Island is in the process of being compiled at the Norfolk Island Museum.

Culture transmission to all Year 8 & 9 school children forms an important part of the annual Language Camps staffed by volunteers who familiarise school children with local culture production including fishing, cooking, crafts, games and stories about the past.

9.3 Distinct cultural features

Culture embraces both **material culture** and **intangible culture**.

Not all materials culture is easily preserved. Because of the materials used (wood, plant fibres) by the Pitcairn descendants, the many past material objects have disappeared or are known only from historical records (e.g. house styles on early Pitcairn Island), others have been recreated and modified over and over again (e.g. boats, buildings, fishing equipment, basket weaving, cooked dishes).

Intangible culture includes language, music, value systems and more. Some of the intangible culture is pre- or subconscious, particularly language and some of the ethno- pragmatic rules of communication. Because several parts of intangible culture do not lend themselves to deliberate manipulation or superficial imitation, they can be a particularly reliable indicator of cultural distinctiveness. This includes the study of the semantics and ethnography of speaking Norf'k, which are particularly reliable ways of capturing intangible culture.

The following table of distinct Pitcairner cultural features and their provenance was compiled by Shapiro on Pitcairn and Norfolk Island. The majority of the Pitcairn features were taken to Norfolk Island, and remain part of the Norfolk Islanders' culture. Some of them have been revived, such as *tarpa* 'tapa' norfolkislandmuseum.blogspot.com/2013/11/pitcairn-tapa.html making, tattooing, outrigger canoes or Tahitian dancing. Because of historical contacts with other groups such as the Melanesian Mission, American whalers and the New Zealand garrison in WW 2, a number of additional cultural forms have been incorporated into Norfolk Island culture. It is noted that Shapiro, like most other researchers, does not consider West Indian influence in spite of the fact that Edward Young from St. Kitts was the principal male socializer of the first generation children born on Pitcairn. Kite-flying, knowledge of tropical fish, knowledge of sugar cane and its uses, numerous words and expressions of the Norf'k language as well as the religious belief system would seem to exhibit signs of Edward Young's influence. (Baker & Mühlhäusler, 2013). Shapiro (1968: 154 - 156) provided the following comprehensive table:

	Tahitian	English	Original
The Household Arts:			
Underground oven	X		
Food preparation	X		
Tapa-making	X		
Use of Calabash	X		
Dress Style	X		
Hats	X		
Houses:			
Building Materials		X	
Structure		X	X
Roof Thatch	X		
Arrangement			X
Household equipment:			
Furniture		X	
"Linens"	X		
Lighting	X		
Fishing:			
Gear		X	
Methods	X	X	
Boats	X		X
Agriculture:			
Tools		X	
Methods	X	X	
Family life:			X
Social life:			
Social organization			X
Separation of sexes at meals	X		

Position of women			X
Dance	X		
Music	X	X	
Surf- riding	X		
Kite-flying	X	X	
Private ownership of land		X	
Common fund			X
Education		X	
Religion		X	X

“Summarizing the situation by this method, it becomes apparent that the Tahitian contributions outweighed the English. For reasons already mentioned this is not unexpected: Pitcairn is more like Tahiti in its resources; the Tahitian women coming from a simpler plane of life were more efficient in adapting their culture to its new home; the Englishmen conditioned by specialization and hindered by the absence of the necessary materials were less able to draw upon their own background for contributions to their new existence. But the most unexpected findings of this survey concern the relatively large number of original adaptations to the exigencies of Pitcairn life which this handful of people developed on a pinhead of land. Merely to list some of them is impressive: the original architecture, the modified Tahitian canoe, the patriarchal social organization, the development of a community chest from which an individual could draw and by which inequalities in production could be equalized, the position of women, which in spite of certain Tahitian conventions, permitted them greater freedom than was customary in the age and allowed them equal franchise and inheritance rights, and finally, a simple but personal faith that evolved from a crystallized, conventional religious system.”

9.4 Cultural influences other than the ones originating in Pitcairn

9.4.1 The Melanesian Mission

The Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island is typically portrayed as a self-contained community and it has been argued that contacts with the Pitcairn descendants were minimal. On closer examination, the influence of the Mission on their culture was considerable.

The Melanesian Mission was established on Norfolk Island in 1867 and relocated (including its clock tower and most buildings) to the Solomon Islands in 1920. The remaining physical traces of the Mission include St. Barnabas Chapel, the garden of memory, Bishop’s Court as well as numerous exotic plants, both from England and from the Melanesian Islanders, *out ar mission* ‘in the Mission area’, which are still in evidence. Three males employed by the Mission, the mission printer Menges/Menzies (an American of German extraction), the mission mason William Taylor and the mission blacksmith George Bailey (the latter two from England) married into the community, as did William Nihill Campion, the captain of the mission vessel Southern Cross, and culturally integrated with them. Their surnames are still found in the current Norfolk Island phone book.

Older Islanders still talk about their relationship with the mission that employed their parents and grandparents. Two Norfolk Islander mission assistants, Edwin Nobbs and Fisher Young, were killed whilst sailing in Melanesia with Bishop Patteson (Hilliard 1978: 63) and their martyrdom is still remembered by Norfolk Islanders.

Specific cultural influences of the Melanesian Mission include:

- The clergy and workers at the Melanesian Mission actively promoted agricultural shows and were the main instigators of the Norfolk Island Show, first held in February 1880. Show Day remains one of the four special public holidays on Norfolk Island;
- Female Norfolk Islanders acquired familiarity with English cooking styles whilst working on the Mission;
- William Taylor, the mission mason, built a number of significant island stone homes (e.g. *Branka House*, *Bret Wells*-built for one of Taylor's daughters)) and he also influenced the style of houses built after the Pitcairners moved from Kingston (*Doun ar Toun*) up country. He introduced the idea of stone foundations featured from stone retrieved from the decaying prison buildings of Kingston. George Bailey and his sons built a number of important houses such as *Greenacres* in the Pitcairn Settlers' Village, featuring stone foundations, wooden superstructure and wide verandas. They appear to have defined the typical style of the old island homes. Some of the wooden houses located at the Melanesian Mission were relocated to other parts of the island (e.g. *Chood Buffetts*) and building materials from the mission were incorporated into several islander homes after 1920. Mission furniture left behind after 1920 found its way into many Norfolk Islander homes.
- St, Barnabas Chapel adjacent to Bishop's Court is one of the charismatic buildings of Norfolk Island and remains a focal point in the spiritual life of the Norfolk Islanders.
- They supplemented the diet by a number of food plants (apples, Otaheite Apple 'Malay Apple')
- A number of material cultural objects can be seen in the exhibition at the Pitcairn Settlers Village and the Museum (including Bishop Patteson's desk that was recently returned to Norfolk Island)
- The musical life and hymn singing was influenced by the Melanesian Mission, particularly by George Bailey who arrived in 1875.

"A blacksmith by trade, Bailey proved a valuable addition to the island community as a choirmaster, and performer and teacher on the organ and five. Baily's impact on the public performance culture of the island was evident by the end of the decade "(Hayward, 2006: 40).
- The names of mission personnel are remembered in the 'langscape' (linguistic landscape) of Norfolk Island: Taylors Road, Bishop Patteson Drive, Mission Road, Selwyn Bridge, Selwyn Reserve and others;
- Educated British English was spoken by the missionaries and British mission personnel. It reinforced the exposure of the Pitcairn descendants to British English;
- The language of instruction at the Melanesian Mission was Mission Mota (2010) and a small number of Mota words are still found in the language. Including *furus* 'fart' and possibly *seplo* 'syphilis.'" The first name *Mera* of the Island elder Mera Martin (nee Christian) means 'dawn' in Mota (the time of her birth). The nickname *Yakimulimai* (from Mota 'come here') was given to one of Archie Bigg's cousins.

Several expressions of the Norf'k language recall mission days. The phrase *ar invitation fer Menzies* 'to turn up uninvited' is said to go back to the mission printer Menges/Menzies; *mission-cold* was the annual influenza epidemic brought to Norfolk by the missionaries from Melanesia, who spent their winter break at the Mission headquarters on Norfolk Island and an introduced fern that still grows on the walls of St. Barnabas chapel is referred to as *mission fern*.
- The everyday language of the Melanesian mission scholars from many language backgrounds was Melanesian Pidgin English (see Mühlhäusler 2010) and Pidgin English expressions entered the Norf'k. There are several *Norf'k* expressions such as *walk-steal*, 'to walk stealthily' and *mekaes*, 'to hurry up, make haste', that may have come into *Norf'k* via Pidgin English, as have the compound words *workstiil* 'to walk stealthily', *torkstiil* 'to talk stealthily' and *duustiil* 'to do by stealth'. Some Norfolk Islanders remember the exclamation *man-a-bush* 'gee!', which derived from the Melanesian Pidgin English word for a 'bush dweller' or 'uncivilised person'.
- Hayward (2006: 55 – 62) suggest that the dances performed by the Melanesians reawakened the interest of Norfolk Islanders in Pacific dancing.

The Melanesian Mission story does not feature prominently in discourses of tourism or in Norfolk Studies and remains largely invisible. However, cumulatively, the presence of the Melanesian Mission has made a significant contribution to the cultural uniqueness of the Norfolk Islanders.

9.4.2 American whalers

The whaling industry on Norfolk Island has its roots in prolonged contacts with American whalers (mainly from New England) and not in Australia.

Whaling forms an important part of the history and culture of Norfolk Island and the involvement of the Islanders with American whalers over many years has left numerous distinct cultural and linguistic features. Contacts with American whalers date back to Pitcairn Island.

“Many vessels of all types called at Pitcairn Island. The whalemens would tell of their adventures abroad and put a sparkle and twinkle in the eyes of some Islanders to roam again. Many stayed on their Island of Paradise to work the land others learnt about whaling and the money they could earn. Passing whaling ships left whaling boats to help the Pitcairn islanders, but the Islanders were more skilled with canoes, darting through the waters of Bounty bay, into which big swells rolled from the Southern Ocean.” (Tofts, 1997: 17)

The numerous whaling vessels that called on Pitcairn (documented in Ford 1996) played an important part in the culture change in the first half of the 19th century:

- American whalers regularly traded for provisions and in exchange provided the Pitcairn islanders with Western clothing, tools, musical instruments and books . This practice continued on Norfolk Island.
- The visits of American whalers reinforced the fundamentalist Christianity of the Pitcairn Islanders and the singing of hymns. The ‘Pitcairn Hymns’ “include many American hymns with special meaning for the islanders (‘The Ship of Fame’, ‘Let the Lower Light be Burning’) and a few written by Pitcairners themselves” (Wiseman 1977: n.p.)
- Service on whaling vessels helped develop the navigation skills of the Islanders and afforded them insights into a different culture;
- American linguistic expressions and pronunciations became established in the Pitkern language ;

Kenny (2005) has provided a succinct history of whaling on Norfolk Island up to the present days of whale watching. A more personal account featuring tales and yarns from the whaling days is given by Tofts (1997).

“An industry of whaling was taken up by the Pitcairn Islanders shortly after their arrival. The young Pitcairners joined the visiting whaling crews, picked up techniques and built their own boats. These were modelled on two of the narrow double-ended whaleboats which were given to the islanders by the New Bedford whalers. In the 1950’s amidst the first season which had secured a quota of 150 whales, there were 61 residents on the payroll. Many were farmers who had been discouraged by poor bean seed harvests and had taken up whaling.

The whaling industry gave the island a huge increase in revenue from the exports until 1962. By the time this industry had collapsed, the Federal Government’s restoration programme was underway for the island's historical buildings and unemployment was averted.” (Williams, J. & Bataille, S.L., 2006: 23)

The whaling industry on Norfolk Island, like many other industries followed the boom-bust pattern:

“Whaling in Norfolk waters, an industry taken up by Pitcairn Islanders shortly after their arrival in 1856, lapsed and was revived many times over the years. In the late 1940s, the South Seas Whaling and Sharking Company Limited, in a bid to re-establish the industry, set up a station at Ball Bay. But the venture was abandoned after accidents to their boats and the destruction of their premises and repaired chaser by fire in 1950. Another revival occurred in the mid-1950s, possibly stimulated by a visit by a New Zealand zoologist who was researching the history of Norfolk whaling.

In 1955 Andersons' Meat Industries Limited, a company operating a whaling station at Byron Bay, negotiated with the Federal government and secured approval for a quota of 150 whales for the first season, and preparations began for a large whaling station at Cascade. By August 1956, when the first season opened, the factory had been acquired by the Norfolk Island Whaling Company. The whale chaser, M.V. *Byron*, a converted fairmile, was used throughout the season. The company later bought a faster vessel, the *Norfolk Whaler*, which also operated at the Byron Bay station. At Cascade a submarine pipeline connected to an off-shore buoy was laid, and the oil was pumped through this from the factory storage tanks to the company small tanker, M.V. *Forso*, which carried the oil to Australia." (Hoare, M., 1983: 80)

The Whaling industry on Norfolk Island came to an end in 1962 when the whaling station at Cascade was closed down.

The impact of whaling on the lives, culture and language of the Norfolk Islanders was considerable and both memories, traditions and material artefacts survive to date. In particular:

- A large proportion of the male workforce was employed in the whaling industry over the years. This helped accelerate the transition from a subsistence style of life to a monetary economy. In addition to direct employment, selling wooden artefacts to American visitors provided additional income and helped establish a viable woodcarving industry. American furniture such as rocking chairs became models for furniture making on Norfolk Island;
- Over the years there were intensive contacts with American whalers and their wives. This led to the adoption of a number of cultural practices not found on the Australian mainland: the traditional Norfolk Island card game *jaero* (jarroo) was adapted from an American game.⁴ Sets of cards and accompanying rules are still for sale at the Norfolk Island Market every Sunday. The captains' wives introduced new cooking styles and dishes such as pumpkin and fruit pies, as well as the California quail, which is said to have come to the Island on the American whaling vessels.
- Whalers and whalers' wives spent extended periods of time on Norfolk Island and some whalers settled on Norfolk and married into the community. Among them are Pardon Snell, a whaler who had spent many years around Pitcairn Island and other parts of the Pacific and the African American John Jackson married Evelina Eglantine Christian in 1879 with whom he had 7 children;
- One of Norfolk Island's most important public holidays, *Thaenksgiwēn Dieh* (Thanksgiving Day) dates back to contacts with American traders and whalers: Tom Lloyd, ex-editor of the local paper, the *Norfolk Islander* provides the following account:

"On Norfolk Island there is one day when all congregations join together, and that is to celebrate Thanksgiving Day," he explained. "The Pitcairners always celebrated the English Harvest Home festival, but it was not until the mid-1890s that All Saints Church was specially decorated for the service."

This was Isaac Robinson's idea, Lloyd said. Robinson was an American trader [Robinson appears to have come from Yorkshire via Tasmania and not to have been an American citizen. US citizenship is not required for being an US consul, however. PM], who settled on Norfolk as agent for Burns Philp & Co Ltd., later becoming Norfolk's Registrar of Lands and the island's first (and so far only) United States consul.

"The idea of Norfolk having an American consul does sound slightly absurd today," Lloyd admits, "but in those days American whalers made frequent calls, and Robinson proposed dressing the church up American-style for Thanksgiving."

⁴ There are a number of Norfolk terms used in playing *Jaero*, including *skunk* 'to fail to get a trick', *rail* 'the stroke along a fence when you are scoring', *baeng ar table* 'banging the table when "the last card played deprives one pair of partners from taking any tricks"'. (Buffett 1999: 14)

Three of Robinson's friends helped him decorate All Saints Church in the capital, Kingston, using only palm leaves and lemons, and though he died and was buried at sea the next year, his notion caught on. For Norfolk's second Thanksgiving service, the parishioners brought down all sorts of produce to decorate the church.

"The tradition became to tie corn stalks to the pew ends and pile flowers on the altar and the font," Lloyd said. "At first, each family took home its own fruit and vegetables after the service, but today they are sold to raise money for church preservation."

If one Thanksgiving just isn't enough, there's still time to book a trip down to Norfolk Island. The remote territory between New Zealand and Australia celebrates its Thanksgiving on the last Wednesday of November, similar to the pre-World War II American observance of the holiday on the last Thursday of the month.

Be prepared to sing some American hymns, particularly those with special meaning for the islanders, like "Let the Lower Light be Burning" and "In the Sweet Bye and Bye." You can also expect to eat the traditional fare of cold pork and chicken, pilhis, banana and, like any good American celebration, pumpkin pie.

<http://www.ibtimes.com/how-thanksgiving-became-holiday-remote-norfolk-island-893484> accessed 15th March 2016

Methodism

Methodism was introduced to Norfolk Island not from Australia but America. About 17% of Norfolk residents belong to the Methodist Church, though with the emergence of the Uniting Church in the 1970s the number of distinct Methodists has declined.

"In 1879 an American whaling vessel called the "Canton" anchored in the bay with a very sick cook on board who suffered from severe seasickness and other complications. Alfred H. Phelps had seen his time on board as an opportunity to see the world. Phelps, a man of God, took this opportunity to teach the people of Norfolk about the love of the Savior. While recovering from his sickness he developed a love and a burden for the people of Norfolk Island. Friends who nursed him back to health heard the Gospel preached and a new movement began to grow." (Tofts, 1997: 31)

Whaling expressions and expressions borrowed from American whalers

Contacts with American whalers contributed a number of words to the Norf'k language, additional to the numerous whaling terms that were created by the Norfolk islanders independently. Further research is required but the following examples seem likely candidates:

The expression *skunk*, *skank* meaning 'fail to score at Jaero', or 'to fail to catch a whale or fish' is an American expression;

The word *cut sticks*, 'to depart rapidly, to run away, make off' is not listed in any of the Pitcairn Island vocabularies and appears to have entered the Norf'k language after 1856. 'To cut one's stick' or 'to cut stick' is listed in the Webster's Dictionary as of American origin. 'Cut sticks' is not documented for Australian English.

The preference for *horg* among older Norfolk Islanders may reflect the influence of American whalers and visitors, as 'hog' is a much more common word in American English than 'pig'.

The word *spondoolicks* 'money' is widely known on the Island. It appears to be a mid-19th century American slang word. *Spondulics* is listed in the 1913 Webster, but as early as 1885 Mark Twain used it in "Huckleberry Finn". It does not feature in Australian slang much, and most Australians have not heard

of it. It could have been introduced to Norfolk Island when the Norfolk Islanders received their first wages whilst serving on American whaling vessels.

Whale bone carving

This skill was taught to some Norfolk Islanders and whalebone artifacts can be found in some households, though many were given to American whalers in exchange for coconuts and household items.

In sum, longstanding involvement of the Norfolk Islanders with American whaling resulted in a number of distinct cultural practices, some of which are actively carried on by the present generation.

9.5 The distinct culture of the Norfolk Islanders:

The distinct culture of the Norfolk Islanders can be classified into tangible (material) and intangible culture. Each category contains cultural objects and practices that are seemingly akin to cultural forms found in mainland Australia but do not originate there (e.g. surfing, kites, weaving).

9.5.1 Tangible culture:

9.5.1.1 Background

When the Pitcairners moved to Norfolk Island, they took with them a considerable amount of material culture. The Norfolk Museum is currently (April 2016) compiling an inventory of all materials objects from Pitcairn still found on Norfolk Island. Many of these are in the possession of individual families and almost invisible, but the Bounty Folk Museum in Middlegate contains a representative sample. Material culture was added to after 1856 and new distinct cultural forms continue to be added (e.g. the recent revival of outrigger boats). The tangible culture of the Norfolk Islanders is manifested in a diversity of cultural forms and practices. This report focusses on a number of salient exemplars but does not present a complete picture. Culture is like an iceberg, where only the tip is visible. A great deal more research is required for a more comprehensive account of the distinct Norfolk Islander culture.

9.5.1.2 Event and Special Days:

A number of events that are central to the culture of the Norfolk Islanders are not found on the Australian mainland nor do they originate from it. These events feature both material and intangible culture. An introduction to these events in Norfolk can be found in Evans (2015).

The origins of the **Agricultural Show** can be traced back to the Melanesian Mission where the Agricultural Show Day has been discussed. It needs to be added here that the Norfolk Agricultural show differs from Show Days on the Australian mainland in including a number of distinct Norfolk Island cultural elements such as:

- Local dishes such as coconut pie or 'collection of N.I. cookery', guava jelly
- Local plants such as 'collection of Norfolk Island Ferns, Norfolk Island Palm
- Local handicrafts such as article in Rahulu, moo-oo hat, drain flax hat, mountain rush hat
- Norfolk language categories, including Language game, language writing award, language poster award

Because **Thanksgiving Day** originated with American whalers it has been discussed in the section on the cultural impact of whalers.

Year 9 students have an annual **Language Camp** where they are immersed in Norfolk language and cultural pursuits over several days, under the guidance of local elders and teaching staff. Not only do they learn Norfolk, they also learn about traditional cooking, music, dancing, poetry and stories, fishing and history etc.

This language camp has run for more than 15 years and has become a major factor in promoting Norfolk language use among younger people. It also gives the participants a chance to present their experiences with the public at a special community meeting. The participants of the Language Camp share their experiences with their parents and wider community at a special evening event and a report of the camp features in the *Norfolk Islander* (the most recent one appeared on April 16th 2016).

A DVD titled *It-et* 'Look at it' was made by Islander Jodie Williams and has been screened repeatedly at the Ferny Lane Theatre. It features the 2013 Year Nine Norfolk Language Camp. The DVD is on sale at several Norfolk Island outlets or from www.jodiewilliams.com

On **Bounty / Anniversary Day** the arrival of the Pitcairn Islanders on Norfolk Island on June 8th 1856 is re-enacted. Its name has been a matter of dispute, as the Pitcairn families who arrived included individuals that could not trace back their family history to the Mutiny on the Bounty, in particular the 'interlopers' Buffett, Evans and Nobbs.

"Initially, Descendants enacted the difference between patrilineal Bounty mutineer descendants and others through organised performances. These forms of difference were most explicitly performed on Bounty (Anniversary) Day. While Bounty Day commemorated a broad commonality an 'English' family, stated that when he was young, there was also a 'great dividing line' among Pitcairn Descendants with Bounty surnames and the 'English' descendants of Evans, Buffett, and Nobbs or any additional male who had since married into the community on Norfolk.

The big thing was the cricket match. And in those days you definitely had to be a Christian or a Quintal or a McCoy to take part in the parade. And you had the picnic of course, but the day finished off with the big cricket match where you had Bounty vs. Allcomers, you know. To play in the Bounty team you had to have a good old Bounty name, but anyone could play in the Allcomers. And it was pretty much a great dividing line on that day, particularly (emphasis in original, Albert, recorded interview 21/03/2007)." (Low 2012: 158)

Whilst some Islanders prefer the more inclusive name 'Anniversary Day', others have come to accept that Bounty Day belongs to all descendants of the Pitcairners that arrived in 1856. The fact that the issue of the day's name continues to be argued about in the newspapers and in private conversations reflects the Norfolk Islanders acceptance of intra-group differences.⁵ Such arguments do not detract from the pivotal role of Bounty/Anniversary Day in the cultural life of the Norfolk Islanders. As Clarke (2007: 167-168) observed:

"It is certain that some of the old customs will remain on Norfolk for a long time, most certain of them all the celebration of Anniversary Day. Every year on the 8th June, just as they have done since 1856, the islanders don traditional dress and re-enact the landing of their ancestors at Kingston. This is followed by a walk to the Cenotaph for the laying of wreaths, then to the wonderful cemetery where the touching Pitcairn hymns are sung. A colourful and elaborate picnic is held at Slaughter Bay, in the windless enclosure inside the massive walls of what was once the pentagonal prison." (Clarke, 2007: 167-168)

Many visitors in the past have commented on this event, for instance:

"The islanders are invincibly patriotic. On Bounty Day every year there is an immense gathering near one of the beaches, and everyone comes - men, women and the children - laden with food, which is sometimes cooked in the old-fashioned way, being wrapped in banana leaves and buried with hot

⁵ Other examples of ongoing disagreements are the competing spellings of official place names such as Steele's Point, Steels Point and Steel Point; the coexistence of two (or more) writing systems, or the different accounts of how Cup-a-Tea Buffett got his nick name.

stones in the sand. But the picnic is not held to celebrate the mutiny. On the contrary, it begins with the Doxology and ends with patriotic speeches and 'God save the King'" (Knight, 1932: 553).

A great deal of scholarly analysis of Bounty Day exists, in particular Low (2012). It would seem useful, however, to look at this event from the perspective of the Norfolk Islanders. A photographic essay of Norfolk Island's Anniversary Day was produced by Partridge (2006). The Norfolk Islander Rachel Borg (Norfolk Online E-News - 8th June 2012) wrote a personal account of her experience of Bounty Day, which provides insights how this event is interpreted by insiders:

Bounty Day 2012 - Walking In Someone Else's Shoes

"I always march fer myse Mum en I feel like I se one extension of her, I always march with myse litle sullen and I know one dae dem gwen march fer me. I feel dar proud en goode of myse past en dems future". Les Quintal ("Our People Awas Salan" Kim Partridge, 2006)

"...Bounty Day is a very meditative day for me, it's sentimental on so many levels, and in my mind as we march I am walking back down through the generations reflecting on what once was or might have been. I spend an inordinate amount of time imagining what it must have been like to walk in those 'other people' shoes way back then; if indeed those early Pitcairners had any shoes at all to call their own. I suspect there were not more than a few of them who might have had such articles at their disposal.

At the pier, as everyone assembles and mills around waiting for boats to come in and official proceedings to take place I think about how life once was for the mutineers and their Tahitian partners on Pitcairn Island, the early years of struggle, strife and near starvation, the begetting of children, and the ravages of foreign diseases which wrought such loss of life as the years stretched out. I go back too, to that wet, cold, and blustery day in June 1856 when the entire Pitcairn Island community came ashore here on Norfolk Island and I think about how horribly sea-sick many of them had been throughout that journey. I imagine their over-whelming sense of grief at what they had left behind and their undoubted curiosity, mixed with trepidation and uncertainty at what might lie ahead in this strange new world bequeathed to them. I also have the softest little spot for Captain Denham who stood gallantly on the jetty in the cold and driving rain until every last soul had disembarked and was made comfortable. My heart always aches particularly for George Adams and his extended family who arrived in a fog of weary grief; his baby grand-daughter Phoebe was critically ill at the time of their departure from Pitcairn and it was suspected that she would not survive the journey. This small innocent child would become the community's first tragic loss on Norfolk soil.

Today, as we finally commence our walk, the children who have been restlessly reined in burst away and run on ahead ducking and weaving and whooping in excitement. Somehow it reminds us that we are all led inextricably onwards and into the future by the march of time and that it behoves us all, as best as we are able, to remain careful custodians of what we have inherited and created. Their energy is boundless and infectious and I am filled with their youthful joy and innocent optimism. I too want to jump on the walls and give the boys a charley as they roar past me; but someone will catch me and I'll probably get a clip over the ears!! *Ai el jes yaret, let ai laan'yu how yuu letl kas, yuu naiwa tuu oel f'ai pat yuu krirs mais nii.* (I can just hear it, 'Let me tell you now you little piece of mischief, you're never too old for me to put you across my knee'). Funny how some things don't change much; Augustus Robinson a passenger on the Morayshire in 1856 wrote *'They appear more like one large family; and the indiscriminate attention shown towards each other's offspring, when any difficulty or danger exists is very striking'*.

At the cenotaph my mood again becomes pensive. Like many others, I am very proud of this Island's contribution to peace in our times, and very proud that during the Second World War this tiny Island enclave sent to the fields of war more boys per capita than any other place in the Commonwealth. I think how much harder Island women and children, who already worked harder than most, now had to work to survive and get through each day without their men-folk around, and how at war's end for the war-widows and their children there would be no let-up again. For those men and boys who lived to return, the Island

welcomed home many who were suffering badly from shell-shock; many were the men who would never quite be the same again. Generations of Island families continued, as they did elsewhere, to pay the high price of war long after the smoke had settled and the crack of rifles ceased. Our grandfather, Pullis, went to both world wars and worked hard to provide for his family. His brother George Fletcher Nobbs however did not come home from war; he was buried far from hearth and home and I can still remember the letter signed by King George which once hung in our lounge room as a constant reminder of our family's loss and our Great-Uncle George's supreme sacrifice. As a parent and mother I cannot begin to imagine our great-grandparents pain and heart-break. It is so very fitting that on this day we pause to pay homage to these men and their bravery.

As we now head off along the long straight of Military Row my spirits lift as people weave in and out in greeting, arms link and there is the hum of harmonising voices moving up and down the rows. The Bounty family flings its arms open wide, though today many of its members are now flung far across the world. Today it's just nice to be together – though even now we still have many men working away and there are wives without husbands, and children without fathers. As we continue walking I think of how hard people have worked to bring this day to fruition and how, through all the years that it was celebrated, this age old coming together has somehow developed a kind of re-assuring rhythm of its own as each generation takes up the baton. All the planning, planting and preserving which has gone on beforehand, perhaps topped off by a sleepless night of cooking and packing, is quickly forgotten in the excitement of the moment...

When the procession reaches the cemetery those assembled recite 'John Adams Prayer'; wonderful old words of wisdom handed down from the quill of the earthly father whose own life-changing experiences on Pitcairn Island changed the course of all who lived there. As we stand along the cemetery fence I loiter at the back of the crowd in quiet contemplation giving grateful thanks to our forebears, and particular thanks to our parents and grandparents who were such a large and important part of our lives, and I thank Heaven and the stars above for my own children and my family. The strains of 'In the Sweet Bye and Bye' waft gently back and *staat' liki* 'begin to cry'. This hymn always gets me, no matter where it is sung. It is full of promise, and loss. Children place wreaths and flowers at the graves of their ancestors at the place of perpetual parting where some must walk away and some must stay and content themselves with the eternal promise '*In the Sweet Bye and Bye we shall meet on that beautiful shore*'...

Here on Norfolk we have a lovely old saying, *maad es' teya teya shuu* 'as mad as a torn shoe'. Sometimes I feel that never a truer word was said - life can get pretty crazy in the lead up to Bounty, but come Bounty Day it all takes on a magic kind of hue, everywhere you look people are laughing, joking, and reminiscing. This day is an important touchstone in the lives of those people descended from the Pitcairners and the men and women of the *Bounty*. It is a day of tradition and remembrance and it reminds us of how enduring our story and our people are and how important it is to continue carrying on our unique traditions and preserve our rich culture. So, when quintessential Islanders like Les Quintal say that he marches for his mother and his children and that one day they will march for him I know that he understands about 'other peoples' shoes' too! "

Bounty Day features in children's books (Evans, n.d.), poems, numerous newspaper reports and readers' letters and continues to be the principal event at which the Pitcairn descendants continue to re-enact their history.

9.5.1.3 Norfolk Islander Food - Overview

The distinctive ways Norfolk Island food include cooking styles, ingredients, methods of cooking and dishes. There are several distinct influences on the cooking style of Norfolk Island, making its food distinct from the food of the Australian mainland:

- Polynesian cooking as practiced by the Tahitian women on Pitcairn Island and handed down to generations of Norfolk Islanders;
- The impact of the wives of American whalers left on Norfolk Island from the 1850s to the 1890s who 'communicated much of their culture to the population especially their talent for sewing, cooking and music' (Hayward 2006:44);
- The employment of Norfolk Island women on the Melanesian Mission, which brought them into contact with British middle and upper class approaches to food preparation;
- Local traditions responding to different ingredients and shortages of different staple foods at particular times of the year. This is achieved by using unripe fruit and by forward planning.

"Many (recipes) specify the use of unripe fruit or vegetables - a device to lengthen the season during which they can be used. Green pawpaws are baked as mock pumpkin, as marrow served with white sauce or stuffed with seasoned cooked mincemeat, baked, basted and served with gravy." (Edgecombe, 1999: 51)

Norfolk Islanders are dependent on local fresh meat and vegetables and still have to plan ahead carefully for major events.

"As well as the seasonal rhythms, attention is paid to milestones in the calendar year. A pig is fattened so that it is ready for a special wedding or birthday; corn is planted so that it is ripe at Thanksgiving in November; special fishing expeditions will be undertaken to provide fish for a community event or a fundraiser, and every effort is made to ensure that the first melons of the season can be harvested to enjoy for Christmas." (Christian-Bailey, 2012: 7)

In the more recent past, Norfolk Island cooking has experienced internationalisation and increased emphasis on Polynesian cooking. Because of Quarantine restrictions all fresh food must be grown on Norfolk Island and the availability of fruit and vegetables, unlike on the Australian mainland, is strictly seasonal. Because weather conditions may prevent supply ships from unloading, shortages of food items, improvisation and foraging are part of the Norfolk Island way of life.

9.5.1.4 Ingredients

When the Pitcairners arrived on Norfolk Island in 1856 the food ingredients available to them radically differed from those they had become accustomed to:

"The newly arrived settlers on Norfolk were basically accustomed to a Pacific Island diet of mainly fruit and vegetables, starchy foods such as corn, arrowroot, yams and taro, with fish being the main source of protein. Now they had become accustomed to new foods that were produced in a slightly cooler climate. Livestock that remained on the island after the closure of the second settlement, meant that beef and lamb became an available food source. Additionally, the colonial authorities sent a flour miller, James Dawe, to teach the people to grind wheat into flour- but the settlers had little enthusiasm for his endeavours, and he left. The Norfolkers preferred their traditional *Pilhis*, *Annas* and *Mudda*, made from bananas and root vegetables. It would be some years before bread from wheat flour would become staple part of their diet." (Christian-Bailey, 2012: 5)

The problems the Pitcairners had with the new ingredients on Norfolk Island were noted by contemporary observers:

"Although the pastor and his family appreciated on the whole advantages they enjoyed by the change, others felt differently, and especially two families of the name Young. They were probably more delicate in constitution than the rest of their friends and relatives; the climate did not suit them, and the new system of diet was prejudicial to their health. They missed bread-fruit and coco nuts, the milk of which was essential for their children as well as themselves." (Belcher, 1980: 309).

The introduction of several kumera species and the importation of coconuts ensured that most of the staple food of Pitcairn also became available on Norfolk Island. Taro, bananas and yams were found on the island as they had been established during an earlier Polynesian settlement (Anderson & White, 2001).

Until the advent of the supermarket and the cash economy in the 1960s the situation was very similar to that on Pitcairn, with the exception of the availability of beef, butter and milk:

“Bananas, with maize, potatoes and kumeras are the survivors of the staple crops of earlier days” (Wiseman 1970: no page number).

The principal ingredients of the Norfolk Islander diet until very recently thus were distinct from those of English and Australian residents and some ingredients still are only used by Pitcairn descendants.

The plant ingredients used in Norfolk Islander cooking are either grown in gardens ‘een ar fance’, or are collected on the common.”

As a kind of insurance scheme, as well as saving seeds, the Islanders spread seeds across the Island as they walked ensuring a continuing supply of pawpaw, passionfruit etc.” (Coyne, 2011: 39)

Norfolk Islanders continue to pick citrus, guavas and wild peaches in the reserves and parks and know where to obtain wild parsley, tomatoes or edible greens.

In contrast to Australia, there are many different varieties of **Plun**, ‘plantains, bananas’ on Norfolk Island, each of them having a preferred use in cooking. Both unripe and ripe bananas feature in local recipes. Detailed accounts of bananas and banana cookery can be found in an article by Rachel Borg at *Norfolk Online* e-News (20th November, 2009), and in an article by Jodie Williams (n.d.)

Some bananas grew on Norfolk Island when it was discovered by Captain Cook, a sign of previous Polynesian occupation. Other varieties were introduced over the years by the Pitcairners, the Melanesian Mission and commercial farmers. The more than 20 named varieties of bananas include :

- *Hoem Plun Or Pitcairn Plun* (brought from Pitcairn Island)
- *Putle Or Putas*
- *Dr Codrington*
- *Japanese*
- *Tahiti Hai*,
- *English High*
- *Poison Plun*
- *Blanket*
- *Poppy*

Tieti ‘kumaras, sweet potatoes’ are an important ingredient in Polynesian cooking and remain an important staple food on Pitcairn and Norfolk Island, where the supply of *Irish tieti* ‘potatoes’ is unreliable. Initially, supplies of kumera on Norfolk Island were limited, but over the years a number of varieties were successfully established and are grown both commercially and in family gardens. The variety referred to *Jackson’s* is rated among the best.

“Jackson was born on the island long before the turn of the century and joined a vessel trading around the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands. He came across the kumera and sent samples back to his friend Fortescue Buffett, and the variety quickly became a favourite.” (Wiseman, 1977: n.p.)

As with bananas there are a number of named varieties each with specific uses and local names, including:

- *Tom Bailey*
- *Sunday Island*
- *Potagee*
- *Bunch Puerto Rico*
- *Bacon's (introduced by Alf Bacon in the 1950s)*

Some varieties do not store well and others are so tough they are only suited as animal feed. Norfolk Islanders who grow kumera are familiar with their properties, as Wiseman (1977: n.p.) has shown.

Norfolk Islanders distinguish between two kinds of **tala 'taro'** *drien tala* 'swamp taro' and *drailan taro*. Swamp taro (also referred to as *alihau* and *itchy tala*) grows wild in swampy parts of Norfolk Island and is of questionable culinary properties. Other varieties are cultivated. Both the tubers and fresh taro leaves (*pote*) are used in Norfolk Island as cooking ingredients.

Yarm 'yam' are an important staple food on Pitcairn Island and for some time were used in lieu of currency. School fees, for instance, could be paid in yams:

"Since the sale of provisions to an occasional passing ship provided the only source of revenue, money was scarce. The canny island legislators therefore provided a list of equivalents which might be accepted if shillings were not available.

One barrel of yams	8 shillings	
One barrel of sweet potatoes	5 shillings	
One barrel of Irish potatoes	12 shillings	
3 good bunches of plantains	4 shillings	
One day's labor	2 shillings"	(Shapiro, 1968: 147)

Yams have become less favoured on Norfolk Island, mainly because they go off quickly once they have been dug up, and because they vary greatly in size (from a few inches to seven feet). With wheat flour readily available in local shops the use of yams as flour substitute has dwindled. There are a number of named yam varieties on Norfolk Island including:

- *Pota (Known As Pote On Pitcairn)*
- *Bottle yarm*
- *Niggers Hoof*

Local recipes using yam include *yarm pudding* and *yarm pilhi*.

Koknut 'coconuts' do not grow to maturity on Norfolk Island and the absence of this staple ingredient in Pitcairn cooking, was made up initially by substituting cows' milk for coconut milk. However, importing coconuts by bartering them from visiting vessels for kumera and fresh meat played an important role in the initial days of settlement and fresh coconuts continued to be imported in significant numbers until 1960, when quarantine regulations banned their import. Since then, tinned coconut milk and cream as well as desiccated coconut are imported in quantity and are a very popular food item in the local shops.

Many of the terms used when preparing fresh coconuts such as *ito* 'soft spongy part of imported coconuts', *matapili* 'coconut flesh sticking to the shell' or *pulu* 'coconut husk' or 'coconut brush made from parts of the shell and husk' have disappeared as have the special implements for scraping out coconut flesh.

Corn was grown in the first and second settlements and continued to be used by the Norfolk Islanders. Its use was reinforced by American whalers who contributed several recipes such as corn bread, corn fritters and corn porridge.

Pota 'green leaves' are important when fresh green vegetables are scarce. Rachel Borg (*Wota Lota Pota*, Norfolk online E-news 2012) had documented the origins of the use of taro and other leaves in Tahiti and *pota* continues to feature in cooking on both Pitcairn and Norfolk.

The **citrus** available on Norfolk Island is quite different from what is commercially available in Australia. Citrus was brought to Pitcairn Island on *HMS Bounty* and, in turn, taken to Norfolk Island by the Pitcairners, in particular the rough skinned Pitcairn lemon, sour Oranges and *Shaddock* (a word of West Indian provenance - the fruit is usually referred to as 'pomelo' in Australia.)

Up to the 1930s lemons grew in profuse quantities all over the island but diseases have reduced the number of trees. (Wiseman 1977: n.p.) At one time local lemons not only featured in cooking and home-made drinks but supported a small cordial industry. The tradition of producing orange wine is rarely practiced these days, though it has been commented on by past visitors such as:

"We walked unsteadily to the racecourse a couple of hundred yards away, where a meeting was to be held that afternoon. There we were greeted by a glass of Zoop, which is the favourite home-brew of the islanders. I had been warned against this Zoop. Dynamite, they told me. I found it to be rather like apple cider, with a distinctly pleasant flavour and a mild reaction. Then followed a glass of the local orange wine. Good stuff this! With a feeling of great confidence we went and backed the next winner." (MacGregor, 1946: 1-2)

Introduced plant food has been added from time to time to the list of ingredients used in Norfolk Island cooking.

The Pitcairners brought seeds and plants with them when they relocated to Norfolk Island and there is a long-standing tradition among Norfolk Islanders introducing food plants from other Pacific Islands. An example of food plants introduced from Pitcairn are two local beans:

"Two beans, wuhuu bean and poor man's bean, were brought from Pitcairn Island as important food plants and remained highly valued for many decades. Wuhuu bean (*Dolichos purpureus* or *Labab purpureus*) was known on Pitcairn as wild bean although it was not native there. It was preferred and was popular on Norfolk Island until about 50 years ago. The seeds are produced over quite a long season and can be eaten raw or cooked. Poor man's bean is not nearly as palatable, as its name suggests, but it was used when better alternatives were unavailable." (Coyne, 2011: 39)

Woohoo bean are still grown in some gardens and are prepared in a way similar to peas or broad beans.

An example of a later introduction is the *Tom Bailey Pear* 'avocado'.

Seeds of the avocado were introduced by the Islander Tom Bailey in the 1930s from New Zealand and have been successfully grown ever since. When they are in season they are in plentiful supply and used in a number of dishes. The avocado was used as a substitute for butter, and is still called *poor man's butter* by some Islanders.

Meat, eggs and seafood are eaten by most Islanders, with the exception of Seventh Day Adventists. Meat, other than chicken, did not play the important part of the everyday diet prepared by the Polynesian women on Pitcairn Island and the Pitcairners only slowly incorporated beef and lamb they found on Norfolk Island. Still in some families vegetarian and seafood dishes remain dominant and meat is served on special occasions. In the past all parts of slaughtered animals were used, but offal is no longer popular. *Legboen stew* remains a popular dish, though. The meats consumed include Feral chicken *hen*, *fowl*. Chickens were introduced during the first settlement and subsequently became feral. They are found in large numbers all over Norfolk Island. As on Pitcairn, they used to be part of the Norfolk Islanders' diet but have since been replaced by locally farmed or imported frozen chicken.

Goesbud ‘mutton bird’ The Norf’k word *gothy* refers to a ‘roasted young mutton bird’ or *goesbud*, ‘ghost bird’. The *ghost bud* or *gost bird* means the ‘wedge tailed shearwater’. It was occasionally eaten by Norfolk Islanders. The young birds are collected seasonally before they fledge. It is very rich and oily bird and no longer widely appreciated. They can be roasted with the fat layer on or off and rubbing them with lemon juice before roasting is one way to prepare them.

Whale skin and blubber These were fried and eaten by the whalers but have since disappeared from the menu.

Local fishes and seafood. Some popular seafood found and consumed on Norfolk Island is distinct from Australian seafood. An example are the *hihi* ‘periwinkles’

The Norf’k word *rumma* ‘to gather shellfish by torchlight at night’ refers to a still widely practiced way of gathering this ingredient. *Hihi* are usually made into a pie. Cooked periwinkles are sprinkled with vinegar and mixed in a white sauce. They are then filled into a pastry-lined shallow dish and baked for about an hour.

Norfolk Islanders have extensive knowledge of the culinary qualities of local seafood and both Trumpeter and Kingfish are particular favourites. The *nanwei* or ‘dream fish’ can cause hallucinations or bad dreams and for this reason is rarely eaten in controlled conditions. Young *nanwei* eaten at lunch, rather than supertime, reduces the effect. As in Tahiti, the parrot fish is culturally inedible because it is associated with the souls of dead people.

“Another Island delicacy, though eaten less so now than it has been in the past, is the *wana* ‘sea-urchin’ which is generally made into pancakes, with or without the roe depending on the season. They were also eaten raw and many say that raw *wana* is rather bitter and to be avoided.”
(Rachel Borg in Norfolk Online E-News – undated, 2012)

Whalebird eggs Collecting eggs on Pitcairn Island was one of the occupations of the Polynesian women. This tradition was continued on Norfolk Island, where the eggs of the Sooty Tern (*whale bud*) were collected and used in a number of dishes, including omelettes and American style pies. The collection of these eggs is strictly regulated:

9.5.1.5 Food preparation

Food preparation in the past reflected a Polynesian approach, over time less traditional ways of preparation have become common, although the Pitcairn descendants keep the traditions in making Polynesian dishes at special events.

Food preparation utensils and equipment words include:

<i>ana or ana</i>	seat grater (for coconut)
<i>popoi-stool</i>	flat stone for mashing up food
<i>tu’i</i>	stone pounder
<i>yolo, yorlo</i>	Grater

Whereas most food today is cooked on electric or gas stoves, the brick oven (*hoem ub’n*), which is made of stones rather than brick, and the Polynesian earth oven were important in the past and are still used on special occasions or large family gatherings.

Norf’k words used to describe the preparation of food are often of Tahitian origin, for instance:

<i>papahaia</i>	‘to pound food on a wooden block’
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<i>Pehe</i>	to strip banana leaves for making <i>pilhai</i>
<i>Udi</i>	'to wash, to rinse', especially root vegetables
<i>Wihi</i>	'wrap in a banana leaf to cook'

On Pitcairn *wehe* means 'to wrap up cooked food, especially *pilhai*, in banana leaves for handling and carrying'. The origin of this word is Tahitian *vehi*, 'a case, sheath, to cover, to make into a bundle and tie up' and the practice of wrapping food originated in Tahiti.

Pilhai and other baked pudding-type dishes

The Sunshine Club's Norfolk Island Cookery Book (1995) contains a number of dishes with Norfolk names including *anna*, *pilhi*, *poi*, *mudda* and *marie*. Only *pilhi* and *poi* are found on Pitcairn Island, the other dishes are Norfolk Island innovations. *Pilhai* refers to a baked pudding made of grated kumara, breadfruit or pumpkin in coconut cream, and this dish was first recorded by Captain Beechy in 1831. It is called *wihi pilhai* when wrapped in soft banana leaves. The origin of its name is Tahitian, *pirahi* 'bundles of food tied up'.

Anna/ Aenna

The name of a baked dish made from cold kumaras and coconut milk is *anna*.

Marie

A dish made from flour, boiled milk and fruit such as red guavas, mulberries or loquat is called *marie*, probably after its inventor.

Mudda

The origin of the word *mudda* or *mada*, 'banana dumplings' is reported by Harrison (1972) as follows:

"Our Norfolk Islanders say that this dish was named after an old Pitcairnesse woman who was called Mudder (Mother) and was the first person to make *mudda*. My grandmother told me this also, that she (whoever she was) was the first to substitute seawater with cows milk in making this dish."

Po'i, popoi 'sweet pudding'

This is a 'boiled pudding, savoury or sweet'. *Po'i* derives its name from Tahitian *po'e*, a species of food made by mixing fruits or baked roots. Captain Beechy recorded this word in 1831 in the shape *popoe*, 'to mush food or fruits with coconut juice'.

Potter bush 'cooked mixed greens'

A dish referred to as *potterbush* or *pota bush* is prepared in some families. It contains taro, tomato and spinach leaves. These are cooked in salt water for about 20 minutes and then rinsed or drained. The dish is rounded off with coconut milk.

Quick dishes

When there is little time for elaborate dishes, Norfolk Islanders prepare a number of quick dishes with basic ingredients. This practice is referred to as *slog up*. *Fry flour* is 'flour fried in lard or a similar fat and served for breakfast'. *Slogos* is the name for hastily whipped up scones served to unexpected visitors. *Snitchet* is 'a mixture of left-overs, pot-luck' and *humpus bumpus* is a dish similar to 'bubble and squeak', but using bananas and left-over vegetables. It is known but rarely served on Norfolk whereas it is common on Pitcairn.

Some typical dishes prepared by Colleen Crane for a ***Norfolk Island Style Buffett*** (a pun on the maiden name of the cook) at the Isles of Exile Official Conference Dinner (2008), include:

To start:

Trumpeter ina batta

Red Emperor (fish) in batter

Plun ina ham
Iwi corn fritta

Banana wrapped in ham
Corn fritters

Main:

Baek trumpeter
Baek fowl
Baek pig
Cuard pig
Hi-hi ina grawy
Tahitian Fish
Whale bird omelet
Curri eag
Plun Pilhi
Sweet tayte
Anna
Mudda
Yarm fritta
Plun fritta
Baek sweek tayte
Baek irish tayte
Tarla ina melk
Tapioca ina butta
Curri rice salud
Tayte salud
Poo-oo salud
Garden salud
Coleslaw
Potter bush taro
Unyun ina winega
Beetrut ina grawy
Pumpken en cheese
Cocnut bread
Suwa melk bred

Baked Red Emperor (fish)
Baked chicken
Baked pork
Ham
Periwinkles (shellfish) in cream
Marinated Trevally (fish) salad
Whale bird (Sooty Tern) egg omelet
Curried hens egg
Savoury banana slice
Pilhi kumera slice
Boiled, mashed & baked Kumera
Grated green banana poached in milk
Yam fritters
Green banana pancakes
Baked Kumera
Baked potato
Drain tuber cooked in coconut milk
Tapioca and butta
Sweet curry rice salad
Potato salad
Green salad
Garden salad
Cabbage & carrot salad w/ mayonnaise
Tomato & spinach leaves
Onion in vinegar
Beetroot in cream
Mashed pumpkin & cream grilled
Coconut bread
Sour milk bread

Many of these traditional dishes are served at the Bounty Picnic. The children who take part in this celebration all have their favourite dishes:

“What’s your favourite food at the Picnic?”

Nan’s coc’nut pai	Dylan Quintal Christian
Arnti Leonie’s pumpkin pilhi	Mandy King
Mais Mum’s mudda	April Quintal
Orl dem pai f’ Aunty Joy	Joel Christian
Mum’s hihi pai	Lorraine Kytola
Daa pig f’mais Gran	Greg Magri
Mais Mum’s passionfruit pai	Bugs Robertson
Dad’s Kumera pilhi	Wendy Soley
Joy Greggy’s Tahitian fish	Gaelene Christian
Roast pork	Nicky Gow
Lexi’s Mum’s plun pilhi	Lilli-Unna King
Uncle Pal’s hi-hi pai en Tahitian fish	Bec Christian
Uncle Steg’s coc’nut pai	Tahn Grube
Porpeih pie en cream, mais Mum’s	Evelyn Hobbins
Tahitian fish f’ Auntie Beryl	Gillian Nobbs

9.5.1.6 Plaiting and weaving

Weaving / plaiting first came to Norfolk in 1856 when the Pitcairn Islanders arrived. It was used for making, hats, floor coverings, and much more. In the past, weaving and plaiting was a necessity:

Whilst I was growing up, apart from food for the table, corn produced an hierarchy of food starting with the family and filtering down to the farm animals. That all too familiar chore of shelling corn for the ducks, turkeys and chooks, is a memory that islanders of my generation will know well. Nothing was wasted with dried corn on the cob saved for the pigs and the corn stem cut for the cows and horses. (Buffett, 2007: 14).

Today plaiting and weaving are still common in the Island's Creative Arts community and the making of Bounty hats (worn on Bounty Day and other special events) remains an important activity. Weaving and plaiting play an important role in cultural tourism.

The *plaeten en wiiven* 'plaiting and weaving' of *moo-oo* 'flax' and *rahulu* 'banana bark' to make hats and baskets uses four distinctive plaits that have their roots in Tahiti, including:

- The Learner's plait
- The Norfolk plait
- The Plain Four plait which was also employed on Pitcairn Island
- The Heritage Plait

An informative book on this topic has recently been written by Buffett (2007). It illustrates how the Norfolk Islanders adapted their plaiting to the fibres available on the island. A lack of the Pandanus leaf on Norfolk Island for weaving has, until the recent cultivation of Pandanus, seen a move towards plaiting, whilst weaving is still prevalent on Pitcairn Island today.

The history of Norfolk plaiting is discussed in an article by Rick Kleiner (n.d.: 19 - 25). He emphasises that the experience of plaiting is a spiritual one:

"This link with the past is immediate and inescapable. Some plaiters will say they can actually feel a sense of continuity with their ancestors when they plait."

These materials used by plaiters and weavers are described as:

"To plait in Paradise we collect moo-oo from the sides of cliffs, banana bark and corn husks from vegetables gardens, flax from creeks and palm leaves from just about any corner of the island. Throughout the history of plaiting we can see that Norfolk Islanders are resourceful people. With food being such an enjoyable part of our culture, we have even been taught to use plants that have already helped families to produce food (corn and bananas) as materials for plaiting" (Buffett, 2007: 12).

Plaiting demonstrations and *The Golden Orb Café* in Taylors Road is the venue for Norfolk plaiting workshops each Wednesday. They feature Norfolk Island's finest weaver / plaiter, Greg Magri.

The Christmas Stamp range issued on 1 October, 2015 features the different techniques and two of the local fibres commonly used for plaiting and weaving in Norfolk Island, the Kentia and the local *Routi* 'Ti-leaves' and the *rahooloo* 'banana bark'.

9.5.1.7 House styles and furniture

Initially the Pitcairners occupied the Georgian style bungalows of Kingston. As they moved *up country* they constructed their own dwellings whose style differs from that found on mainland Australia.

“The homes of the Islanders nestle into the landscape as though they had been planted there, and have the dignity of age. Wide verandas, spacious rooms, and cherished relics of the past are surrounded by lovingly-tended and sweet-smelling gardens.

One typical old house, close to the modern shopping complex at Burnt Pine, is *Greenacres*. The quiet, grave eyes of ancestral portraits watch from the walls, and a framed deed hangs between them, stating in parts: “and the said George Bailey, his heirs and assigns, will hold the said allotment for ever, YIELDING and paying therefore to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, the Quit-Rent of One Peppercorn for ever, if demanded.” (Sriber, 1968: 42)

The distinct two storey style of houses developed on Pitcairn Island was not continued on Norfolk Island, as the Pitcairners were originally accommodated in the stone buildings of the abandoned penal settlement. Most trees in the vicinity of this settlement had been removed and wood was not in ample supply. As the Pitcairners moved *up country* to the interior of the island wood again featured as the principal building material. Unlike the thatched rooves, most Norfolk Islander rooves were shingled. The stone of the crumbling prison buildings was used for foundations, a practice influenced by William Taylor, stone mason of the Melanesian mission.

Wooden walls were treated with whale oil or a mixture of paint and sand (Norf’k: *saenen*). Some typical Islander homes are featured on the 1987 series of stamps titled ‘Island Scenes’.

An important part of traditional homes is the wide veranda, which not only protects the interior from sun and rain but also provides an important gathering place for visitors and families or simply a place to sit and *arta orn* ‘admire’ the view. The veranda is celebrated in Ena Ette Christian’s poetry collection *From Myse Randa* ‘From My Veranda’.

Cooking on Pitcairn was done in separate building on stone ovens. When the Pitcairners were housed in Kingston they encountered internal kitchens. Present day Norfolk Islander homes have internal kitchens but some Islander homes also feature separate structures where cooking and entertaining is done, and / or stone ovens (*hoem-ubm*).

The Pitcairners brought many items of furniture with them, including decorative boxes, food-safes as well as rocking chairs given to them by American whalers. The original boxes and chairs are still used in some Islander homes; the wooden food safes with fly screening continued to be produced on Norfolk Island until the advent of kerosene fridges. Furniture from the penal settlement was also available to them. When the Melanesian Mission left Norfolk Island in 1920, many items of furniture, either imported from England, or produced on the Melanesian Mission, were acquired by the Pitcairners and remain in everyday use. Distinctive furniture, crafted from Norfolk Pine, continues to be produced and many Norfolk Islander homes exhibit an interior not encountered on the Australian mainland.

9.5.1.8 Fencing and significance of fance

On Pitcairn fences were used to protect gardens from wandering goats, pigs and other animals, rather than to fence in pastures. There are many places on Pitcairn Island featuring the term *fence*, *fance* in both its principal meanings, ‘fence’ or ‘enclosed piece of land’. Place names, such as *Old Fance*, *Big Fance*, have both been noted as enclosures of early times. Another enclosure on Pitcairn was *Braid Fence*, ‘a fence near Adamstown, a valley with breadfruit that protects young breadfruit trees’. The word *fance* in Norf’k translates as ‘fence, an enclosure, paddock, or any cultivated area on a farm’. It is noted that the absence of fencing on Norfolk Island until recently was due to the lack of sufficient supplies of suitable wood and the cost of importing wire. It is also related to the fact that domestic animals could roam freely on the common. As noted by Edgecombe (1991: 59):

“‘Commons grazing’ of stock is an island right going back to the days of Queen Victoria. Even persons without property could have stock and for a fee the right to pasture them on roadsides and commons.

This had the great advantage of making best use of the island's very limited area of land and also ensuring that roadsides and reserves were kept well mown, clear of grass and weeds....

Until April 1990, stock regularly roamed through Burnt Pine, window shopping- heads in, tails out- during wet weather. Now cattle grids on access roads keep them out of town, out of National Park and most reserves, out of the golf course, beach areas at Kingston and private gardens."

There are a number of distinctive fencing styles on Norfolk Island, among them fences made from Marston Matting, once used on the airstrip and timber picket fences around the mission area (*out ar mission*). Hedges are more common around the Norfolk Islander's gardens, as they are more lasting and provide a windbreak.

9.5.1.9 Children's traditional toys

A number of old toys that are distinctly different from those on the Australian mainland can be seen in the museums and collections of Norfolk Island. The *Larpoot* 'rag dolls with a mop head' or 'golly wogs', are usually made from a stick of wood or a corn cob. Beryl Nobbs Palmer in her 1986 dictionary wrote, "*wi get one larpoot ulla one doll se maek et aut-a corn cob*", 'we got a rag doll or a doll made out of corn'. *Larpoot* are still found in some families and a particularly fine example can be seen in the Third Settlement exhibition at the Norfolk Museum.

Hobby horses were made from long straight pieces of *rauti* trunks or *tecoma*, with shorter pieces used as whips (Edgecombe 1991: 82)

Indianshot refers to the small black seeds of a local bush. A fine piece of bamboo is used to shoot these seeds when playing cowboys and Indians and other games.

A catapult called *slinger* used to be made from a long branch (usually a lemon tree) to shoot small stones and shells.

Further research is needed into the toys brought from Pitcairn and produced on Norfolk Island.

9.5.1.10 Norfolk Wave

The habit of greeting passers-by is an important means of bonding. This habit was commented on first by Hunt (1914: 29):

"Every passer-by on the road stops to exchange friendly chat, and strangers walking, riding, or driving are saluted with a gracious courtesy."

Norfolk Islanders give a friendly wave to all vehicles they pass on the road and stop for a chat when they encounter a friend. Visitors are encouraged to wave at passers-by as well. The Norfolk Wave is celebrated in one of Archie Bigg's (1998 : 49) well-known poems, which begins as follows:

"While driving round Norfolk in your flash little car
Take particular care with your hands
For the driver that travels the opposite way
Speaks a language you won't understand.

With practice this language will unfold before you
And think of the time you could save
With a flick of your finger a whole conversation
May be had with a quick Norfolk wave."

9.5.1.11 Tapa - tarpa

“Visiting the island in 1855, Captain Fremantle reported that local women undertook tapa cloth manufacture. Given that tapa cloth making was a common skill among the female population of Tahiti at the time of the Bounty’s visit, it seems likely that the Pitcairn women actually represent a continuance of the traditional Tahitian practice,” (Hayward 2006: 30).

Tapa was originally used for making garments on Pitcairn but with more Western fabric becoming available tapa-making became a marginal activity.

The art of *tarpa* making was revived on Pitcairn Island in the early 2000s by Meralda Warren and two Norfolk Island women, Pauline Reynolds and Margaret Clarkson (see Reynolds, 2008). An exhibition of traditional Pitcairn *tarpa* was held at the Norfolk Island Museum in 2011.

The revival of this tradition is part of the ongoing ‘repolynesisation’ of Norfolk Island culture.

9.5.1.12 Ship building

The origins of the shipbuilding tradition can be traced to Pitcairn Island in the year 1819.

Nothing is more important to the Pitcairners than their launches, which usually measure about 36 feet in length, with a nine-foot beam. the launches carry everybody and everything from Bounty Bay to passing ships. When a launch is damaged or destroyed, no Pitcairner rests easy until repairs are made or a new launch is built. The task of building may take several months, usually because the hardwoods needed in construction are not available on the island. Often the various woods used in launch construction will come from several different countries.

In 1819, Captain Henry King of the Elizabeth visited Pitcairn. In return for the generosity of the islanders, King wrote in his journal, ‘I gave them a whaleboat, in return for their refreshments.’ It is thought that the island’s boats have been made to the pattern of this whaleboat ever since. Until recent times the ‘longboats’ were powered by men at 14 oars, two at each thwart. (*The Miscellany of Pitcairn Island*, 1977. Vol 19: 5 pp 20 - 21.)

Four Pitcairn boats were taken to Norfolk Island and subsequent boats followed the traditional design. The Norfolk Islanders also learnt to make larger vessels, using local timbers.

“In the early 1920s, settlers were so frustrated at the inadequacy of shipping services to Norfolk that they resolved to build a ship of their own. Olive and ironwood for framing, pine for planking and keel, were pit-sawn beside Emily Bay. They had a double reason for calling their little craft *Resolution II*. With a length of 61 feet 6 inches, 59 tons gross, she was launched in 1925 and schooner rigged. After the coral reef had been breached to allow her access to the sea, *Resolution II* set off loaded with produce. Alas, her first voyage was so delayed by calms and headwinds that much of her cargo spoiled. Despite being fitted with a second-hand engine, she still failed to trade profitability and in 1927 was sold to Burns Philp.” (Edgecombe, 1999: 67).

A replica of the traditional whale boat was built on Norfolk Island and launched in 2004. Details of this project are given by Kenny (2005: 74).

9.5.1.13 Domestic implements

The largest collections of Pitcairn / Norfolk material culture is on show at The Pitcairn Settlers Village, beside the Colonial of Norfolk Hotel (now Hotel Paradise) and at the Bounty Folk Museum in Middlegate. Many of the tools and treasures on display are unique to the culture of the Pitcairn descendants. The Pitcairn Settler’s Village features exhibits such as the *yor-lor* (*yollo* - a small slab of rock deeply incised with hatchings to make the vegetable grater so important in Pitcairn cooking) which was brought from Pitcairn Island - to the material culture introduced by the Melanesian Mission.

The 'Village' was developed by Marie Bailey (a great grand-daughter of Charles Christian) who was actively involved in Norfolk Island tourism from 1955 until her retirement in 1988.

As David Buffett, President of the Legislative Assembly, said at the official opening:

"The original families of 1856... brought their language, music, arts and crafts, manual and mental skills, some household goods and appliances and kitchen practices down to the details of their recipes... all to make a new home here on Norfolk Island. Marie has a substantial collection of Norfolk Island and Pitcairn Island articles collected with care and foresight and retained by herself and her family over the years. She has additionally been supported by many island people in their providing artefacts of interest and of value for this cultural collection." (Edgecombe 1999: 43).

The *yorlor* is regarded as a particularly valuable item of material culture: Made from the volcanic rock of Pitcairn Island⁶ and used extensively for grating root vegetables, pumpkins and bananas, *yorlors* were bought to Norfolk Island in 1856. The *yorlors* bought from Pitcairn are prized possessions in many Island families and are still used for preparing food for special occasions. The cultural importance of the *yorlor* is reflected in the street name *Yorlor Lane*.

Other domestic implements include the ***niau broom*** 'broom made from palm fronds'. *Niau* is the Tahitian term for coconut palm and the tradition of making brooms from this material goes back to the Tahitian women on Pitcairn. As there are no coconut palms on Norfolk Island the local *niau* palm (*rhopalostylis baueri*) is used as a substitute; it is still collected in the mountainous parts of the Island (*up in ar stick*). To produce a *niau broom*, the midribs of a palm leaf (*faanu*) are held together with one of the local vines (*waini*). The leaflets on both sides of the midrib are then stripped to the midrib and attached onto the long midribs. Rachel Borg (Norfolk Island E-News 7th May 2010) mentions the custom of using 365 midribs for a full broom and half that number for a half broom. Whilst on Norfolk Island in 1990 the Pitcairner Meralda Warren, who teaches Pitkern language and culture, produced a popular song 'Here Comes Mama with the Niau Broom'. The fronds of the *niau* are also used for making baskets.

Another distinct implement is the ***ana*** 'seat grater, shingle splitter'.

It was used on Pitcairn Island in splitting and grating coconuts. As coconuts do not mature on Norfolk Island and as their importation stopped in the 1960s, it was used for yams and taros but has grown out of use with the arrival of electric food processors, (Norfolk Island E-News 23rd April 2010). An adapted *ana* was used 'when cutting shingles and all houses were shingle roofed until about after WWII (Buffett 1999: 4).

9.5.1.14 Norfolk Mini Golf

The Norfolk Minigolf is situated *up* the *top Toy Shop* and features the history of Norfolk Island from its volcanic origins to the Bounty Saga and the story of the Pitcairn descendants on Norfolk Island. In the adjacent *walk in ar stick* 'walk in the wild' the Bounty Saga is again featured in a number of tableaux, making a family outing to the toy shop and adjacent (free) facilities a pleasant way for the children to get familiar with the history of the Norfolk Islanders.

9.5.1.15 Cultural landscape

There were no house numbers on Norfolk Island until very recently, and traditionally there were no house signs either. Houses were known by their name (usually derived from the first inhabitant or present owner). As the population increased and house signs became common and names making reference to

⁶ The Pitcairner Trent Christian who now resides on Norfolk Island recalls that to make a yolo stone 'you need to soak it in water for months to soften it before carving it with an old handsaw'. A Norfolk Islander, Chris Nobbs produced concrete yolos in the 1980s. For more information see Norfolk Online E-News April 11th 2010.

local topography, natural kinds or jocular names are being added. Many of the names are in Norf'k, thus increasing the visibility of the language.

Anson Bay Road presents an interesting example of house signs as all of them make reference to the roof, for instance *Leekee Roof*, *Kaa Sii da Roof*, *No Roof*, *Rented Roof*, *Hot Tin Roof* and others. Comprehensive details of house names can be found in the appendix to Nash 2013.

The cemetery is another unique example of the islands' material culture. Both its aspects overlooking the ocean and its graves are different from cemeteries in Australia. The gravestones are distinct in often featuring the nicknames of the deceased together with their given names.

9.5.2 Intangible culture:

The intangible culture of the Norfolk Islanders is manifested in a number of ways, including the following ones that highlight the distinctiveness of the Norfolk Islander culture: place names, naming and nicknaming, improvisation (*ell doo*), pastimes and sports, children's games, musical styles, TEK - Traditional ecological knowledge, management of subsistence affluence, perception and management of time and language. Language is both the most complex and the least conscious manifestation of the Norfolk Islanders' intangible culture and is intertwined with many aspects of intangible culture.

9.5.2.1 Naming places and spatial orientation

Visitors to Norfolk Island receive an official map featuring English names of streets and locations. There also is an unofficial map (compiled by Mera Martin (nee Christian), featured in Edgecombe (1999), which illustrates an entirely distinct system of naming. Its differences from the official map include:

- It incorporates the unique absolute special orientation grammar of Norf'k. This system will be discussed under the heading of semantics;
- There are far more Norf'k names than English ones;
- The Norf'k names often differ from the official names;
- The Norf'k names have a number of important functions, including memorizing events of importance to Norfolk Islanders, the special role of Pitcairn Island and enabling social control.

The **number** of named places on Norfolk Island is very large for an island of only about 40 square kilometres. This is comparable to Pitcairn Island, which is known for its amazing prolificity of place names (Ross & Moverley, 1964). A small number of Norf'k place names (*Big Fance*, *Alihau*) are shared with Pitcairn Island, but most Norf'k place names are local inventions. Nash (2013) provides an appendix of about 1,200 named places on Norfolk Island.

Often, the same place is **named differently** in English and Norf'k. E. Kingston is Norf'k *Doun a' Town*; Rooty Hill Road is *House Roed*; Middlegate Road is *Store Roed*; Bloody Bridge used to be referred to as *Ar Naughty Bridge* (a euphemism) and Selwyn Bridge is at times referred to as *Gada Bridge* (where youngsters caught having premarital sex '*gada*' had to do unpaid labour); the Airport is *Ar droem* or *Ar Strip*.

One of the principal functions of place names is that they constitute a complex structure of **social memory** (Mühlhäusler, 2002).

Frankie's - a fishing ground named in honour of Frankie Christian, engineer and respected member of the Norfolk Island community. He remembered all the fishing marks in his head;

No Trouble - The large reef just to the north of Norfolk. Named such as you would have no trouble catching fish there;

Sofa - A place where an angry husband having caught his wife with the neighbour on the sofa, tipped this piece of furniture over a cliff;

Simon's Water - A stream running through Simon Young's allocation of land;

Munnas - A building in the historic penal settlement area where one of John Jackson's (an African-American who jumped ship and married into the community) daughters, nicknamed *Munna*, kept a tearoom.

The **role of Pitcairn Island** is recalled in numerous place names and, more recently, also business names. The name *Christian's Cave*, a small hall in the Pitcairn Settlers Village, is shared with that of a cave to which Fletcher Christian retreated on Pitcairn Island. The names of Captain Bligh as well as the Bounty mutineers feature in local street names. No Australian politicians, administrators or events feature in any place name.

Just as nicknames and anthroponyms, place names can be sensitive words and play an important part in social control. Some place names fulfil the function of reminding interlocutors of undesirable events in their family history or ancestors who did not live up to expectations. The place name *Stormy Paddock* refers to the arguments and fights among past members of the family to whom this land belongs. Steels (Steeles or Steel) Point is a part of the Island that is also referred to as *Stealers Point* and is used to taunt present day occupants with the memory of their putatively light-fingered forebears. The sensitivity of a number of other place names is such that they cannot be put in print. The street names *Burglars Lane* and *Poverty Row* refer to the place where bank employees used to be housed and where the less privileged lived.

There are over 60 fishing ground names recollecting people and events around Norfolk. These names are also linked to the system of fixed spatial orientation just mentioned. Analysis of these names shows that there are no names of fishing grounds commemorating women. Even the knowledge of fishing ground names is entirely in the minds and memory of the male members of the community.

9.5.2.2 Naming people

The names by which Norfolk Islanders are referred to among themselves are significantly different from names in Australia. Outsiders hearing people referred to as Jackie Ralph or Girlie Reuben, often mistakenly take the second part of their name for a surname, as they do not understand the distinct ways Norfolk Islanders refer to their fellow Islanders.

In most Islander families other islanders are identified either 'by their nickname or by some identification tag attached to their Christian name' (Moresby Buffett notes 16th July 1979).

In Norf'k, a woman's Christian name is combined with her husband's Christian name or nickname name as in:

Suse Dave	Susan, the wife of Dave
Eda Beva	Eda, wife of Beva (nickname)
Jane Tanoo	Jane, Tanoo's (John Quintal) wife
Jane Lass	Jane, Lass's wife
Emma Forty	Emma, Fortescue Buffett's wife

The relative equality between the sexes is reflected by the fact that men were also named after the women:

Charlie Con	Charlie Con's husband
Eddy Eda	Eddy Eda's husband

Unmarried women and men had their father's Christian name attached to theirs as in:

Girlie Reuben	Girlie, Reuben's daughter
Ena Ette	Ette's daughter (nickname only used in the Christian family)
Helen Lindsay	Helen, Lindsay's daughter
Edith Gus	Edith, the daughter of Gus
Harry Cornish	Harry, the son of Cornish Quintal

The given first and second names of many Norfolk Islanders frequently differ from those found on the Australian mainland. One source of difference is a tradition that goes back to Pitcairn Island which is to adopt the names of visiting captains or their wives as middle names. Examples include (Ford 1996):

Mayhew Young, 1823 after Captain Mayhew Folger who called on the American sealer the *Topaz* in 1808;

George, Edwin, James and David Coffin after Captain George Coffin (or Josiah Coffin on the ship the *Ganges* in 1829);

George Edwin Coffin Nobbs, 1843 after Captain James Coffin;

Eliza Coffin Palmer Young, 1842 (Eliza C. Palmer, wife of Captain George Palmer, who was left on Pitcairn to be cared for by the Islanders but who died of consumption, didn't arrive on Pitcairn Island until 1850).

Edwin Coffin on the ship the *Splendid* in November 1841;

Gilbert Warren Fysh Adams, 1845 after Captain Fysh visited in 1841;

Abby Louisa Taber Quintal, 1846, after Master Walter Taber who visited on the ship the *Pacific* in 1842;

William B. Swain Christian, born 1847, the whole name after William B. Swain who visited in 1832, 1833, 1844 and 1845;

Robert Charles Grant Young, 1850 after Captain Grant who visited in 1850 on the *Potomac*;

The same practice was continued for children born on Norfolk Island but has fallen into disuse of late.

Fairfax Leslie Quintal (Pa Les), born 19th May 1882 was named after Rear Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby who visited Pitcairn Island in 1852. He supported an application by Nobbs to be sanctioned as the Pastor of the Pitcairners;

Albert Moresby Salt (mother a born Quintal), 3rd September 1890 again was named after Sir Fairfax Moresby as was Edward Laurence Moresby Edwards (his mother was born a Quintal), 8th August 1897;

William Hadley Fremantle Edwards (Ikey Bob), (his mother was born a Quintal) 21 Nov 1908; Stephen G. Fremantle was Captain of HMS Juno when she was sent to Pitcairn in 1855 to determine the Islanders wishes regarding their removal to Norfolk Island.

Birnie Christian Bailey (who later changed his name to Bernie) b. 1929, was named after the Civil Engineer Norman Birnie

The naming practice is probably of Pacific origin. In many island societies, the name of a *tayo* 'outsider friend' is given as the middle name.

9.5.2.3 Nicknames

When the Pitcairners arrived on Norfolk, the 194 migrants sharing eight surnames must already have posed a problem of identification and no doubt the problem worsened as they prospered and the numbers grew.

As well as the conventional system of given name and surname, the islanders added an extensive system of nicknaming and a system of coupling a son's or wife's name with that of the father or husband.

A nickname might be bestowed as early as the cradle, and lasted for life or might be superseded two or three times. Sometimes all three nicknames will be used in a conversation about the one person, clear to the Islander but confusing to the mainlander.

For instance, William H.F. Edwards, a grandson of Captain John Edwards, and in his capacity as sexton of the Island cemetery a guide to thousands of visitors, was known as a child as Willy, or as Willy Bob, his father's name being Robert, Bob for short. When young William reached teenage he began to grow taller at such a rate that a teacher nicknamed him 'Ichabod Crane' after the hero of the Washington Irving short story. The name stuck, and for the rest of his life. William Edwards was known as 'Ike' 'Ikey Bill', or 'Ikey Bob'.

People's nicknames thus are another area where Norfolk and Norfolk Island English differ from Australian English.

Best known to outsiders are the nicknames of Island residents, as they appear in a separate section of the Norfolk Island telephone directory.

The listing of nicknames in the telephone directory has attracted much comment over the years, e.g.:

Norfolk Island has the world's only telephone directory to list people by nickname. They include: Beef, Cane Toad, Carrots and Chilla Dar Bizziebee, Duck and Diesel Honkey-dorey, Kik Kik and Grin Lettuce Leaf, Mutty, Moose, Morg and Moonie Onion.

The book is dominated by the surnames brought by the early Pitcairn settlers in 1856. There are 38 Christians (after Fletcher Christian), 30 Quintals and 36 Buffetts.

In the words of the Norfolk language, a mixture of English and Polynesian, the aim is to *faasfain salan bai dems nikniem* - to find people quickly by their nickname, (*The Telegraph* 09 May 2006).

A longer list with explanations of the origin of some Norfolk nicknames has been compiled by Norfolk Online <http://www.norfolkonline.nlk.nf/Salan/Nicknames.pdf>.

The names listed constitute only a small subset of a much larger body of nicknames known to Norfolk Islanders and superficially look similar to nicknames found in Australia. They include the nicknames of mainlanders, for whom in the past "it was usual to refer to them by giving them their full Christian and surname, e.g. Gus Allen, Bob Edwards, Charlie Fysh, Ida Everett", (Moresby Buffett 16th July 1979 handwritten notes). Traditional nicknames are still reserved for Norfolk Islanders.

There are a number of aspects of Norfolk nicknames, other than their being featured in a telephone directory, that make them quite distinct from Australian ones (see Davies, 1977), and that suggests a possible Tahitian influence as well as a long history of independent development. Naming people after a memorable incident is common as in:

Rubber Duck, William Green - over 25 years ago Ducky was leaning on the bar at South Pac when the Police Sergeant came in and said that he was moving around like a duck. The bar person then turned around and said 'More like a rubber duck'. He is now known as either 'Rubber Duck' or just 'Ducky'.

Puffa - When he was a child he was put on asthma medication which made him blow up like a puffa fish. The name has stuck.

On Norfolk Island, the origin of nicknames is often discussed, particularly when there are different accounts as with the nickname *Cuppa Tea* (*Austin Cuppa Tea Buffett*), said to derive either from his skin colour, his habit of offering visitors a cup of tea or an incident in a buffet car when ordering tea.

Nicknames recalling past incidents are also documented in Tahitian:

Proper names of persons among this people are often very eccentric. They are sometimes derived from any unusual incident which has occurred to the individual or his relatives, but would appear to be more frequently the offspring of a whimsical fancy; thus we find included in their names, *Rau Pia*, the leaf of the arrowroot plant, *Manu*, a bird, *Pahi*, a ship, or large canoe; *Tamaidi Haute*, a troublesome youth; *Mai*, a disease; *Fara*, the screw pine; &c. The wife, in accordance with the ancient custom, assumes her husband's name, with the title *Vahine*, or wife suffixed.

The tradition of nicknaming can be traced back to Pitcairn Island. Several of the Tahitian women on Pitcairn Island had nicknames, including:

Mauatua	Isabella, Main Mast, Mai Mast,
Vahineatua	Bal'hadi, E. bald-headed
Teio	Sore Mummy
Faahotu	Fasto
Teraura	Ta-ou-pita, Doubit or Two-bit

The first documented nickname of a child born on Pitcairn, Fletcher Christian's son Charles, born 1792, who had the nickname *Hapa* or *Hopa* because of his uneven gait. The related Tahitian etymon is *happahappa* 'crooked' or *hapa* 'deviation' with a probable reinforcement by English of 'hop, hobble'. A child with such a disability would have been killed in Tahiti and the fact that he was allowed to live on Pitcairn demonstrates the prevalence of Christian values. What is also important is that right up to the present:

- Tahitian words that are no longer part of everyday language continue to be used in nicknames. Examples include *Mutty*, Edward Hooker's nickname, which used to mean 'very unwell, sickly', *Maia* or *Maya* (nickname of several Pitcairn and Norfolk women) 'midwife', *hakoo*, or *ucko* 'ugly' and *noonie* 'beautiful'.
- Nicknames, like names are also passed on from generation to generation such as the nickname *Diddar*, *Dids*, *Diddles*, or *Gottie* and *Gotty* from goat, the family who formerly kept goats, and the names *Kik* and *Kikkik*.
- Nicknames can change several times during people's lifetime, often from negative sensitive names to neutral or positive ones.
- Like peoples' ordinary names, nicknames can become common nouns, adjectives or verbs and when this happens, it is possible to give a fairly accurate date of when these words were added to the language. The fish name *miti*, 'big blue fish, wrasse' which was not directly borrowed from Tahitian but entered the language at a later stage: Källgård (n.d.) has an entry *miti* [*mite*] as the 'wrasse' *coris aygula*, and explains its name as follows (pg 31) 'the first fish of this kind which was caught by the islanders fell on the share of Harriet Melissa McCoy (b. 1847), who was nicknamed Miti'. The adjective or intransitive verb *loket* 'to be a sticky-beak, to be interfering' in Norf'k derives from the nickname of a woman in the 1960s.
- Norf'k nicknames are not always gender specific. One woman's nickname is *Poppa* and a man got his nickname from his mother *Molly*.

The following nicknames among the Pitcairners that arrived on Norfolk in 1856 included:

Dowley (Arthur Quintal), Powder (Nathaniel Quintal), Cornish (Cornelius Quintal), Tunoo (John Quintal), Mile Yarm (Miriam Young), Diddar (John Buffett).

Nicknaming continued strongly among the first generation born on Norfolk:

Snar (John Edward Christian); Captain (Fletcher Quintal); Belly (Charles Evans); Unoo (Andrew Evans); Tarey (William John Buffett); Dimey (George Buffett); Shunna (Nathan Quintal); Big Hunty (James McCoy) and several more.

Some of the nicknames not featured in the telephone directory or published lists can be very sensitive words. They are used, among insiders, for social control, to start a fight or to remind people of an unpleasant event in their past.

9.5.2.4 People words (Anthroponyms)

Languages like English that have large speaker numbers tend not to have many anthroponyms, which are created by making proper nouns (names) into common nouns, verbs or adjectives. Pitkern and Norf'k by contrast abound in anthroponyms. This contributes to the uniqueness of the language and, at the same time, illustrates the importance of the language as a memory of history. (Mühlhäusler, 2002).

Bishop Montgomery, who visited Norfolk Island in the late 19th century, remarked, on a very unusual way of word formation: (1904: 25-26):

“But the words which I specially wish to fix as curiosities are of another sort. There is one serious danger in paying a visit to these people, especially if there is anything peculiar in your habits or appearance. It is more than likely that your surname may be permanently incorporated into the language as an adjective denoting that peculiarity. This is at least alarming. The course alluded to has been adopted sufficiently often to warrant incurring a serious risk in the case of any future visitor. For instance, it is now a common phrase among this community to say, ‘I shall big Jack,’ meaning ‘I shall cry.’ This phrase is derived from an actual person, Mr. John Evans, who is a stout man and addicted to tears. His softness of disposition had added a word to the language. Another phrase is a ‘Corey sullun,’ meaning ‘a busybody.’ A Mr. Corey, a visitor here, was reputed to be a busybody, and he has in consequence enriched this curious language with a new adjective. Still more strange is it when such epithets are added to the names of four-footed animals. ‘That is a Breman cow,’ you may hear a man say. Now, poor Mr. Breman was also a casual visitor, and was remarkably thin. The fact that he was a stranger called attention to his personal appearance, and ‘Breman’ now stands for ‘thin’ and probably will continue to do so for ever, or till some thinner person attracts their notice. From the action of the same law, ‘a Snell sullun’ is a niggardly man. I have said enough to call attention to a most curious evolution of language arising from the extreme rarity of communication between the outer world and their harbourless island. A new face excites general astonishment, and close observation leads to the enrichment of the language at the expense of the individual.”

There are numerous such people words in both Pitkern and Norf'k. They are very uncommon in other varieties of English, except in rhyming slang (e.g. to have a few Britneys ‘beers’), which is not a genre in Norf'k. The emergence and continued use of and additions to the inventory of anthroponyms reflects a number of specific aspects of Pitcairn descendants’ culture:

- The small size of the community where everyone knows a great deal about everyone else
- The importance of personal histories and family history
- The competition between different families
- The importance of social control mechanisms to discourage ‘tall poppies’
- The preference for indirect forms of communication

Examples from Pitcairn Island, where this practice originates, include:

- *Allen* (noun) - Poor food, after Allen Christian (1879 - 1960) who, when disappointed with dinner said grace with the words 'where's the food we are about to receive?'
- *Bop* (verb) - To give a hint, begging indirectly, after an islander whose nickname was Bopper
- *You semes Dorcas* - Said of someone who stumbles, after Dorcas Christian, born 1873, who once stumbled, stepped on a plate and broke it
- *Wait semes Edna* (simile) - To take food after everyone else, after Edna Christian, born 1898, who was once very late for a public dinner
- *Fred feet* (adjective) - Very big feet, after Frederick Christian, born 1883

The Norf'k language has about 40 such words or about 2% of the words commonly used. This is an unusually high percentage. Examples include:

- *Saia* (verb) - To invite oneself to a meal, after Josiah Evans, who lived on Norfolk at the beginning of the twentieth century
- *Luusi* (verb) - To cry in public, to be weepy; after a recently deceased Norfolk woman named Lucy. It is a very sensitive word
- *Arlee* 'slender-waisted, petite' after a woman named Arlee
- *Toebi* (verb) - To help oneself to other people's garden produce. After a Norfolk Islander named Toby
- *Logan* (adjective) - To be ugly as if a horse called Logan had kicked someone's face'
- *Snel* (verb) - To cater insufficiently, recalling the poverty of the Snell family who did not have any land
- *Ar presen fer Laes* - the gift of erotic love, after the nickname of a man who received favours in exchange for splitting firewood
- *Loket* - to interfere, to sticky-beak, after the nickname of a woman who was in the habit of spying on others-a very sensitive word.

Like nicknames, such anthroponyms can be sensitive words, and only a few are listed in printed dictionaries of Norf'k. Unlike nicknames, which focus on the (negative) traits of individuals, anthroponyms typically refer to family traits and if used in the wrong way can start serious disputes. Like nicknames they can be used reciprocally: If you insult my family, I will insult yours. Outsiders generally do not know these words and are not encouraged to use them.

9.5.2.5 Sports and games

The sports played on Norfolk Island differ from those of the Australian mainland. Past attempts to establish AFL (Australian Rules Football) have not been successful, and AFL is not played on Norfolk Island at this point in time. Several of the sports played originated from a number of sources other than Australia: Polynesia, Pitcairn Island, and the Anglican Melanesian Mission.

Polynesian influence is in evidence in **surfing** (called *sliden* in Pitkern and Norf'k). It was practiced on both Pitcairn and Norfolk Island a long time before it became established in Australia in the 1950s.

"Boys and girls swim almost as soon as they can walk; consequently they will swim through the largest surf, and play about amongst the broken water on the rocks, that we look on with terror, and to swim entirely round the island is not an uncommon feat. One of their greatest amusements is to have a slide, as they term it; that is, to take a piece of wood about three feet long, shaped like a canoe with a small keel (called a *surf-board*). They then (holding this before them) dive under the first heavy sea, and come up again on the other side. They then swim out a little way, and wait until a rapid heavy sea is rolling in, the higher the better. They rest their breast on the canoe or surf board at a prodigious rate right upon the rocks, where you think nothing can save them from being dashed to pieces, the surf seems so powerful; but in a moment they are on their legs, and prepare for another slide. Such as would be death to Englishmen is fun to their women and children" (Belcher, L. 1980: 245-246).

On Norfolk Island, strong cardboard is often used instead of a wooden board. *Sliden* continues to co-exist with commercial surfboards obtainable from the local surf-shop ambiguously named *Big Suff* ‘big waves, important person, domestic strife’.

Wa’a ‘**outrigger boats**’ have become popular on Norfolk Island in recent years. Though not of Pitcairn orient, the strong interest in outriggers is an index of the identification of Norfolk Islanders with Polynesia.

Cricket has a long history on Norfolk Island, a history which goes back to Pitcairn Island and which was reinforced by the Melanesian mission, but converged with Australian cricket only in the last decades. Pitcairn Island is very hilly and *Flatlands* is the only area of level ground. The Pitcairners “reputedly played the game on Pitcairn before moving to Norfolk Island” (Nobbs-Palmer 1986 : 65). Norfolk Island has several flat areas, particularly in the Kingston area, where the oldest cricket pitch of the Southern Hemisphere is located . The ground for this cricket field was cleared by soldiers on October 8th and 9th 1838, and the first match played on October 10th. Kingston oval, according to Nobbs-Palmer (ibidem) was very much appreciated by the Pitcairners and is still in use. Another cricket field existed *up country* in the grounds of the former Melanesian Mission, whose boarding school was modelled on Oxbridge. Apart from college style buildings the Mission also featured a cricket pitch. Norfolk Islanders, began to play cricket against mission teams here in the 1870s.

A particularly important event in the Norfolk Islanders’ calendar is the cricket match between Bounty Team and all comers, which was first played in 1879 The original composition (in the year 1879) of the two teams was:

<p>‘Bounty team’</p> <p>Christian Adams McCoy Quintal Young</p>	<p>‘Allcomers team’</p> <p>Nobbs Buffett Evans Others of Pitcairn descent but not ‘Bounty’ surnames (for example, Snell, Menghetti, Jackson, Bataille, Bailey, Edward, Mengies, Randall, and others) Mainlanders</p>
<p>Table adapted from Low 2012</p>	

“Eventually, opinions towards these divisions began to change and ‘non-Bounty’ Islanders sought greater inclusion into a common ‘Islander’ group by applying pressure to restructure the celebration of Bounty Day. According to some respondents, as the number of Islanders with no Bounty surname grew, they became increasingly less willing to be placed in the Allcomers team.” (Low 2012: 159)

The Norf’k language has a number of distinctive cricket terms, including *in het* ‘to bat, batting’, *out scout* ‘to field, fielding’.

Rugby Union was introduced by the Melanesian Mission and this style of rugby rather than Rugby League, which is played in Australia was played by the Norfolk Islanders until the second half of last century. Rugby is no longer played on Norfolk Island.

The game of **rounders** has been played in England since Tudor times, with the earliest reference being in 1744. It continued to be played in Britain, Ireland and America, where it developed into baseball. Little is known about the history of this game in Australia and rounders, as played on Norfolk, is unlikely to have been brought from Australia. Rather, it seems likely that it was introduced to Pitcairn (where it is called *ball*), and subsequently Norfolk by either the British sailors or later American whalers. It is a popular game on Norfolk Island, especially for school children. Its rules, according to Albert Buffett, are:

Rounders: Origin unknown but bin playe ette fah aewha.

Rules: Two teams. Unlimited numbers.

Ball – wun tennis ball and usually porpay stick fah bat.

3 bases similar to baseball except effe ah runners get het with daa ball – dems se out, en when dem baeng you elle hutt.

Batter - 3 strikes - out, het daa ball en you hawe to run, slog ah ball hard esse you elle en tek orf, you heawe ah bat back en you se out cos gutta backstop.

Ketch ah ball orn the full - team out,

Ketch ette orn the fuss bounce – Batter se out,

3 outs en team se out.

(Buffett email dated 18.03.16: Personal communication, March 2016).

Note that Norfolk Islanders use a Guava stick for a bat and a tennis ball rather than a hard ball.

9.5.2.6 Children's games

The children that arrived on Norfolk in 1856 continued to play the way they were used to on Pitcairn Island. The origin of some of these games (*sliden* 'surfing') can be traced back to Tahiti, to the West Indies (kite flying, *hide-hoep* 'hide and seek') and others were invented by the children or taught them by visiting ships' crew. Edward Young from St. Kitts is reputed to have been the principal male socializer of the children on Pitcairn.

Importantly, the origin of children's' games and toys does not lie in Australia and the names of the games played on Norfolk were not Australian names. Things have, of course, become different with the advent of mass produced toys and electronic entertainment. The two toy shops on the island are outstanding both in terms of the quality of offerings and in being particularly child-friendly with free mini golf and an adventure cave rather than being of the generic Toys-are-Us type. Traditional pass times and toys are still found in most Norfolk Islander households. Pitcairn Island has a long history of **kite flying** and this history extends to Norfolk Island, where kite flying remains a popular pass time. http://www.young.pn/dbz_kite_flying.html

The tradition of kite flying on Pitcairn has two likely origins, a) the West Indies and b) Tahiti. Regarding the West Indian tradition of kite flying, a particular Pitcairn kite, is called the *Singing Engine*. Five sided by design, with an extended front which holds a taunt strip of tissue, plastic, paper or similar. It is this that gives the kite its name. High in the sky, as the wind passes over the tissue it makes a loud hum, like a swarm of bees, which can be heard from one end of the island to other. This singing kite resembles a kite common in the West Indies. An expert on this matter is Peters (2003: 46- 48) notes:

"There were two kinds of kites on Bricky Mountain, 'flexes' made with springy coconut ribs and used by the little kids, and 'bamboos' or 'singing' kites, used by the older boys. The big kites were equipped with homers and thus made a buzzing or moaning sound when flown; they 'sang'."

A second type of Pitcairn kite resembles those of Tahiti. The traditional materials used on Pitcairn were:

- "To make a 'paper kite' it should only take you minutes to obtain the materials
- A handful of leaflets from the fronds of a coconut palm.
- A bunch of *rahulla*, a dried fibre found on the banana palm.
- A sheet of newspaper or a page from a magazine in this case."

http://www.young.pn/dbz_kite_flying.htmlhttp://www.young.pn/dbz_kite_flying.html

The Pitkern and Norfolk name *hide-hoep* 'hide and seek' originates in St. Kitts Creole and it is likely that Edward Young first taught this game to the first generation of children on Pitcairn.

Roelen 'rolling down the Hill' is a favourite of young Norfolk Islander children and is an institution on Bounty Day. It originated on Pitcairn Island whose steep grassy slopes provided ideal conditions for this game.

9.5.2.7 Musical Tradition

"In 1856, following a majority vote by the islanders, the *Morayshire* arrived to transport the population to their new home. While the Pitcairners had to leave much of their material culture behind on the island, their intangible assets of language and memory were more easily transported. They made good use of such cultural knowledge to alleviate the tedium and anxiety of their sea journey by celebrating the Queen's Birthday on board the *Morayshire* with festivities and dances" (Hayward, 2006: 3)

The Norfolk Islanders are renowned for their singing and their love of music. A visitor to the island (Hood 1863) noted:

"All, both young and old, seem passionately fond of music. They have a singing class every Wednesday; and we listened with great pleasure to the glees and sacred music performed in a good time. Both men and women appear to have full, rich-toned voices"

A comprehensive academic study of the Norfolk Islanders music and dance traditions has been written by Hayward (2006) where numerous details about its history and social roles can be found. Hayward closely followed the criteria of UNESCO's Year of Cultural Heritage (2002) guidelines in his account.

In essence, Hayward distinguishes four major stages in the development of the Pitcairn descendants musical and dancing heritage:

- The music and dancing of the Tahitian women that was practiced (albeit rarely in public or in front of visitors) on Pitcairn Island until the 1850s and knowledge which was taken to Norfolk Island. As it was not acceptable to the Christian faith it was discouraged and lost.
- The music and dancing of the British sailors. This style was strengthened by visiting British and American visitors to Pitcairn and continued, in a modified form on Norfolk Island. An example of this was observed shortly after the Pitcairners had arrived on Norfolk:

"Two of the natives, George Evans and Caleb Quintall, play violin pretty well, and we soon got up Sir Roger de Coverly, which was danced with great glee. After that Meyer tried to get up with the Polka, but they could not manage that, but danced a kind of elephant waltz with each other that we could not catch," (Chambers & Hoare, 1992: 203)

- The Pitcairn hymns which were added to by George Hunn Nobbs and other Pitcairners subsequent to their relocation to Norfolk Island. They continue to play a major role on both Pitcairn and Norfolk, particularly in religious services and important cultural events.(Anon a. & Anon b.)
- The rediscovery of Polynesian music and dancing in the 1930s, which now forms an important part of musical performance on Norfolk Island. This process has been documented in detail by Hayward (2006).

"During the 1930s Norfolk Island experiences an economic depression that many felt was inadequately understood and mismanaged by the islands Australian administration. One outcome of this disillusionment was a revival of interest in aspects of Polynesian culture and the rebellion of Fletcher Christian and the *Bounty* mutineers against the harsh regime of Captain Bligh. This renewed interest was sparked by two complementary factors: the international re-popularisation of the *Bounty* saga in novels and films and the experiences of islanders displaced to Sydney in the 1930s and 1940s." (Hayward, 2006: 85)

The experiences of the Islanders in Sydney are described in the following terms:

"In 1942 members of the Polynesian Club began performing open-air concerts in Sydney's Martin Place, war related fundraisers (for organisations such as Red Cross) and other entertainments for Australian and visiting soldiers. Norfolk Islanders Ivy Buffett and Cora Young were regular and enthusiastic dancers in such events and were also joined on occasion by Aldin Buffett, Dora Buffett, Barbara Christian, Hagar Christian, Sheba Menghetti, Helen Quintal, Vina Quintal, John Young and Vele Young. Together with this pool of nine identified public performers, occasional items in PIM report that sixteen other identified Norfolk Islanders attended the club during the late 1930s-early 1940s. Given the highly infrequent listings of specific names, it can be safely assumed that the number of Norfolk visitors was considerably higher." (Hayward, 2006: 94)

"The first performance of newly acquired Polynesian dance styles took place on Norfolk Island towards the end of the War, when returning dancers appeared in RNZAF shows in 1944-45 (of the type discussed in Chapter 8). Several former Polynesian Club dancers also have occasional performances on the island in the late 1940s and early 1950s." (Hayward, 2006: 96-97)

Meanwhile Tahitian dancing has become firmly re-established on Norfolk Island:

"During the 1970s Polynesian music and dance performance became accepted as a standard element in various public events of the island." (Hayward, 2006: 100)

Several of the performers have travelled to Tahiti and have made a serious study of the origins of Tahitian dancing. This form of cultural expression has regained the importance it had in the early history of the Pitcairn descendants. Interestingly, Mavis Hitch, one of the best known Tahitian dancers on Norfolk Island, has helped reintroduce it on Pitcairn Island.

"Tahitian dancing, a historical part of Norfolk Islanders' heritage is very much alive on Norfolk Island. There are over 30 descendants of the Tahitian women on Pitcairn Island who have learned this exuberant art form from Mavis Hitch." (May, 1980: 40)

- The development of a distinct Norfolk language song tradition, which is an important part of present-day Norfolk Island musical culture.

Secular songs in Norfolk again are not documented before the 1930s, and the style of music in these songs originally drew on a Tahitian/Pacific tradition. Meanwhile, a number of separate strands of songs in the Norfolk language has emerged, often in response to perceived suppression of Norfolk Islanders by the Australian Administration. An example is the genre 'Mutiny Songs'.

"Mutiny Music was conceived by Rick Robertson over ten years ago when he came across a rare recording of an unaccompanied male choir of Norfolk Islanders singing hymns that were composed on Pitcairn Island. The recording captured something unique and what seemed to Rick, the essence of the culture. Rick developed the idea into a show which depicts the story of the development of the Pitcairn culture from the 1789 Mutiny on the Bounty and the finding and settlement on Pitcairn Island to their resettlement on Norfolk Island in 1856. Polynesians initially made up the bulk of the settlers on Pitcairn and their skills are what lead to successful survival, this is portrayed by the use of Polynesian Drumming and nose flute melodies. The hornpipes of the English sailors can also be heard during the early themes. A new language made up of Tahitian and English developed and samples of the melodic vernacular inspire much of the thematic material through the middle section of the show. With English visitors arriving and settling into Island life a pious existence helped the islanders survive after a tumultuous beginning and twice a day church meetings with Hymn singing became the norm. A few hymns were composed on Pitcairn and the show uses these melodies help portrait a settled time on the island. The rest of the music is left to the wonderful skills of the band Baecastuff which is comprised of the finest musicians. The show is accompanied by a slide show which moves in chronological order and reflects the scenes and images of the life and times. The images are derived largely from museum collections and consist of ships logs, ships

artists portraits, maps, diary entries and early B+W photographs of Pitcairn and Norfolk Islanders. (<http://www.mutinymusic.org/about/>)

A particular boost for the development of a body of contemporary songs was a Norfolk-language song contest in 1984, organised by a new pro-autonomy lobby group, the Society of Pitcairn Descendants, which was won by Don Christian-Reynolds' *Norfolk es Auwas Hoem*."

The Norfolk Song Competition is now held yearly in close collaboration with the Norfolk Island Government and the Norfolk Island Central School and two of the four categories of participants targeted are school children. The prize money available provides a small economic incentive but a bigger potential economic benefit is the marketing of songs to visitors in the form of musical events and through the sale of CDs.

All of the above musical styles are distinct from the Australian musical heritage. As Hayward concluded:

"Outside of islanders and visitors of Australian and New Zealand ancestry participating in the main-stream western music and dance culture of the island there appear to have been no other enduring traditions of distinctly Australian or New Zealand culture on Norfolk Island, and no body of songwriting that expresses the perceptions and worldviews on non-Pitcairn descendants." (Hayward, 2006: 226-227)

9.5.2.8 Resourcefulness (ell doo)

"Speaking to Norfolk Islanders above the age of 50, stories abound in clever solutions to everyday problems. A common thread is that they '*naawa hiiw enithing aut*' (never threw anything away) because chances are it would come in handy. Whether they were recycling Marsden matting from the old airstrip for fencing, or shaving knitting needles from pine using broken glass; these were the kind of people you'd want to be stranded with on a small island." (Grube, 2012: 17)

The Norfolk Islanders' sheds are full of objects that can potentially be reused. Bubby Evans' shed in Music Valley displays a number of handy tools crafted from old bits, such as a *yorlor* 'grater' fashioned from a sheet of perforated metal, a device for extracting *hihi* 'periwinkles' from their shell made from an old fish hook, a water heater fashioned from a 44 gallon drum and several others.

"The bags that flour and sugar were imported in became the most widely recycled items on Norfolk, as families found ways to stretch the life out of each acquired material. Hessian sugar bags were hardly floor mats or aprons, but more commonly had strings attached and were used as bags- for fishing, school, lunch or work. Bleached flour bags had the appearance and texture of Calico and so were used for curtains or clothing. They were also used to strain cherry guava or jam, and were the original 'plastic bag' for shopping." (Grube, 2012: 19)

The Norfolk language has words for some of the most common recycled items: *behgiepan* 'apron made from a sugar bag' and *behgtawel* 'towel made from an old bag' (both described in Buffett 1999: 12-13).

Improvisation continues to play a major role in keeping Norfolk Island going as a needed item may be *orn ar nex shep* 'on the next ship'.

9.5.2.9 Humour, practical jokes and 'cussedness'

Early reports on the Pitcairners emphasize their serious disposition and the absence of light hearted speech or verbal jokes. Murray (1853:128) writes:

"During the whole time I was with them I never heard them indulge in a joke, or other levity; and the practise of it is apt to give offence. They are so accustomed to take what is said in its literal meaning, that irony was always considered a falsehood in spite of explanation. They could not see the propriety of uttering what was not strictly true for any purpose whatsoever.

Verbal short jokes are still rare in Norf'k, but longer funny tales (wisecracks) are enjoyed widely and the writer of this report has collected many of them from the late Greg Quintal. Many of these funny tales involve the practical jokes Norfolk Islanders play on one another (cussedry 'cussedness'). The tradition of practical jokes was documented first by Rosalind Young (1898: 87) for Pitcairn Island and has been documented by many observers. Practical jokes played by Norfolk Islanders include:

- Using the local fluorescent fungi (shiny mushroom) to make spooky faces or more elaborate ghosts to frighten people;
- Injecting purgatives (johlaps) into garden produce;
- Putting pepper into people's underwear
- Reversing horse saddles and, more recently, putting a sweet potato into an exhaust pipe

More examples of such practical jokes can be found in Wiseman (1977) and Nebauer-Borg (2011), which features a poem about the King of Cussedry.

9.5.3 Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK)

Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) describes Aboriginal, indigenous, or other forms of traditional knowledges regarding sustainability of local resources.

Much of the Norfolk Islander's TEK can be traced back to the Tahitian women, who brought to Pitcairn Island detailed knowledge of plants, medicines, fish and the sea. Such knowledge was needed to manage the ecology of Pitcairn Island. It was transferred to Norfolk Island, where it was adapted to the special conditions that obtained there.

TEK and language are closely interrelated. One can only manage what one knows and what one can communicate to others by means of language. The Norf'k language is full of expressions that reflect such traditional knowledge. As in other societies, globalisation has gradually eroded some of this knowledge:

"As the islanders moved away from a subsistence lifestyle and pursued a cash-based economy they were also gradually being influenced by a wider global culture. Many of the traditional plant uses fell into obsolescence. Some inherited cultural practices passed down from Islanders' Polynesian forebears; others were of a more folkloric nature." (Coyne 2011:35).

A great deal of TEK can still be found in most island households and it is passed on to the next generation both at home and at the annual language camp.

Knowledge of the cultural use of plants and folk medicine, though not as detailed as in Tahiti, often can be traced back to Polynesia. The Pitcairn Islanders brought a range of plants and knowledge of their use to Norfolk Island.. One such plant is the datura (cranky). It was used as a contraceptive by the Tahitians. It is noted that only six of the twelve women on Pitcairn Island and that fertility in the first generation was low. It is likely that Datura or another contraceptive was used. The datura is also found on Norfolk Island and knowledge of its use can still be documented.

The Pitcairners brought knowledge of the various uses of the parts of banana plants (for wrapping up food, making baskets, making children's toy boats) with them in 1856 and continued to put it into practice.

"Even the banana peel can be used in a number of ways. Applying it to the skin is said to ease itches and bites, and help remove warts. They can be used for chicken or stock food, added to compost, and can even provide a disposable polishing cloth for boots or silver!" (Christian- Bailey, 2015: 9)

Over time the Norfolk Islanders acquired considerable knowledge of the new plants they encountered on Norfolk Island, including a range of noxious weeds. An example is their uses of the wild tobacco, *Solanum Mauritianum* - tobacco

“Universally known as ‘tobacco’ on the Island. This tall weed grows in incredible profusion and to a large size. I saw one 20 feet [6 m] high and another with a head 25 feet [7.6] in diameter. The circumference of the stem is sometimes considerable. Mrs. Bates told me of one she has measured which was no less than 44 inches, but i did not see any so large. It is, however, a weed which has some redeeming points:

1. It is useful for firewood, and hence it might be judiciously checked. If it were entirely exterminated the islanders would have to fall back on the indigenous trees for firewood, and this would be regrettable.
2. It is a breakwind.
3. It produces much humus from its fallen leaves, and worn-out land is improved by allowing it to lie fallow with a growth of ‘tobacco’.
4. The Islanders make jam out of the fruits.
5. Mrs. Spalding told me that the Norfolk girls use it as a scrubbing agent (with a little soap) for floors, tinware, pots, etc.” (Maiden, 1904)

In 1912 this species was virtually everywhere on the island in substantial numbers. (Coyne, 2011:183) A use not listed by Maiden but mentioned to the writer by several older Norfolk islanders is substituting wilted *baecca stuff* leaves for toilet paper.

“Stomach aches and ailments were, and sometimes, are still treated by chewing the somewhat astringent young growing tip of the gworwa (yellow guava) bush (page 179) and boiling porpieh (red guava) leaves (page 178) and drinking the cooled ‘tonic water’ was a cure for diarrhoea. Sprains and bruises were treated with a bail (poultice) out young palau leaves. Poisons were drawn out with a laiworta (limewater) poultice or soak and conditions such as oedema, known by the old term ‘dropsy’, was treated daily with a thistle leaf poultice. An earache was tended to by placing a clean, warmed and wrapped flower bulb such as a narcissis or Kaaskied anyen (Cascade onion) bulb just inside the ear.

A small spindly-stemmed weed with a bushy top found growing along embankments and in open paddocks known to the Islanders as Melki Wiid (milky weed) is one of the most omnipotent cure-alls to be found in most Islanders’ personal ‘pharmacopoeias’, the sticky white milky sap extracted or squeezed from the stem is rubbed on sun spots, age spots, warts, moles, eczema, stings and bites, in fact just about any skin complaint imaginable with some often rather miraculous results. (Nebauer in Coyne, 2011: 42)

Weather knowledge

Norfolk Island has a sub-tropical maritime climate and frequent weather changes are encountered. Crop failures during the two penal settlements were in part due to insufficient knowledge of the local weather conditions and would appear to have also impacted on the ability of the Pitcairn Islanders to manage their crops in the first years after their arrival, In the meantime, the Norfolk Islanders have accumulated a body of weather knowledge that enables them to carry out their fishing and agricultural activities.

“Foreknowledge of fair or foul weather in a subsistence economy means the difference between success or failure and the only instrument of any reliability was human experience. The old Islanders and those who still work on the land and the ocean today understand the implications associated with nature’s ever changing patterns. When you listen to them talking about the lay of the land, the clouds, the moon phases, the ocean and the seasons they read it so well; they know its moods and idiosyncrasies as if it were the back of their hand. In fact it seems an almost unconscious and innate art-form this constant mental notetaking; until of course you realise that from very small children they have listened to their elders follow Mother Nature’s every move and mood in much the same way. All with very good reason of course because their very lives depended upon it. It is the difference between eating or not which

compels one to get up early and read the ocean or sky. This fundamental necessity gives one an acute level of sensory perception, you become one or in tune with nature. A minor change in the weather, a chill in the air or slight change in wind direction might bring forth the utterance of impending doom '*saf spailen*' (sea conditions are deteriorating) or '*wedha spailen*' (the weather is deteriorating). If it has deteriorated to the point, for example, that the ship stops working or fishing is called off, things are rather dour because *s' tan dorg* (it has turned dog) or *s' tan tertl* (it has turned turtle) and neither endeavour can recommence until either *saf* (seas) or *wedha* (the weather) is *orn d' miek* (improving).

Animal behaviour is also a great indicator of impending bad weather and storms, horses become flighty and cows seek shelter under the trees. Cows in general also always stand with their tails to the wind as they don't like wind in their faces.

Land birds also seek shelter in periods of high or gusty wind. In fact, everything often goes very quiet in the 'calm before the storm'.

Even today it never ceases to amaze me how an old Islander who has not see the ocean for many years will always know exactly what the tide is doing and where the best place is to go fishing at any given time. It becomes so habitual that Islanders even continue to track the phases of the moon and the moods of the sky long after they can no longer get down onto the rocks to go fishing or hang a line off a boat or the jetties. A still night on the low tide and full moon '*es gud taim f' gu rama*' (is a good time to go shoregathering for *hihi* or periwinkles and crabs).

Being able to also read the clouds in their many guises is an important skill both at sea and on land. *Mares-tail* clouds predict high winds, it also shows moisture at high altitudes which foretell of coming rain; clouds with flat bottoms tell us that the next three or four days ahead will bring good fine weather, and scuffed clouds mean a shift in wind direction. A 'mackerel sky' which is one covered by small broken up fleecy masses which look much like lots of little sheep means that there will be rain within three days. It is called a Mackerel sky because it is said to be representative of the markings on the back of a mackerel.

Very calm still weather with a lack of wind and a clear sky generally means clear days ahead and good conditions for fishing if the swell is not running too high. (Rachel Borg in Norfolk Online E-News. April 8, 2011. p.13).

There are several other weather expressions in the Norf'k language, including *poison win* 'an easterly wind blowing into *Ar Cabbage* and adversely affecting fishing and planting. In 2014 Archie Bigg wrote a popular poem about this unpopular wind. Another unique expression, dating to the days of the bean seed industry on Norfolk Island is *bean seed weather* 'humidity, which can make bean seeds germinate'.

Knowledge of timber has always played a major role in the construction of buildings, utensils, fences and artefacts. When the Pitcairners arrived on Norfolk Island, they brought with them knowledge of a number of timbers and their uses. Subsequently, their descendants acquired detailed knowledge of the endemic and native timbers of Norfolk Island, which continue to play a major role in house construction and shipbuilding, production of artefacts and many other uses. The following list represents the knowledge of two Islanders, Arthur Evans, historian and tour guide, and Mervyn Buffett, farmer and fisherman:

"This is a list of local Norfolk Island timbers that have traditional uses. The knowledge of these timbers and their uses have been passed down from my Grandfather (E. Young Evans), whaler, miller and builder as well as from my father (Owen R. Evans O.A.M.) the island botanist.

Iron Wood - *oleaceae. nestegis apetala*; Knees, elbows, stems, sterns and keels of locally built whaling and fishing boats. Stumps and piles under homes. Fence posts.
Mallet and maul heads. Runners for horse drawn sledges. Shafts of horse drawn

buggies and drays. Axles for locally constructed logging jinker. Shaft bearings (propeller shaft). Froe mallet.

Mervyn: Iron wood used for fence post and logs for furniture.

Bastard Oak: saplings used for fishing rods.

Maple: Saplings used rafters & logs for furniture.

Samson's Sinew: used to tie up coils of barbed wire.

Sia's Backbone: used for stems in boats.

Yellow Porpai: used for tool handles;

Red Porpai: used for tool handles, droppers & making porpai jelly.

Isaac Wood: saplings used for fence rails.

Olive tree (*Olea europaea*) Fence posts, firewood.

Tea Tree (*Dodonaea viscosa*) Mallet and maul heads.

Yellow Wood (*Sarcomelicope simplicifolia*) Veranda posts, house stumps and piles, fence posts.

Norfolk Island Pine (*Araucaria heterophylla*) Heart timber only, used traditionally. Home building from floor bearers to roof shingles (the whole house), boat building, furniture construction, ships masts, spars and planks (yes that's right) and boat oars. Two foot diameter sections of trunks with knot layer were cut to about 8 inches and used on iron wood axles as wheels for logging jinkers. Lath for plaster walls. Toggle (whaling). Timber, shingles, pailings, wood turning, boats.

Pine knot (*Araucaria heterophylla*) Awl or fidd (rope splicing). Excellent firewood and wood turning, extremely hard.

Beech Tree (*Rapanea ralstoniae*) Young saplings were cut fresh on the day, as harpoon handles when whale boats went to sea.

White Oak (*Lagunaria patersonia*)⁷ Preferred timber to burn lime stone in the lime kilns, preference of this white timber was that lime powder maintained its white colour for mortar, render and plaster.

Merv: Black heartwood of the Oak used for decorative furniture, logs for furniture and timber, also firewood.

Lemon tree (*Citrus jambhiri*) Straight clean trunks were used to make bows to shoot arrows.

Kurrajong (*Wikstroemia Australis*) Bark from this tree used as tie as in string or rope, stock whip handle and thongs.

Used to plait stock whips & tie up coils of barbed wire, used as string or ties.

Blood wood (*Baloghia inophylla*) Sap from tree used as excellent ink for writing.

Guava (*Psidium cattleianum*) Thin trunk used for temporary fencing, supporting fruit and vegetable plants. 'Y' shaped thin trunks for shang eye construction. Handles for cant hook, hammers, chip hoes, axes etc.

Lilac (*Melia azedarach*) Naturally resilient timber tree for construction. Split trunks for fence droppers. Fence droppers and logs for furniture.

⁷ *The visiting botanist Maiden (1904), by contrast described it as 'valueless for economic purposes' (see Coyne 2011:92).*

Bamboo (Poaceae) Fishing rods, Bows (and arrow). Canoe paddle handles. Temporary fencing. Kitchen spoons, Butter churn. All natives are used for firewood.”

Coyne (2011) provides additional details about traditional ecological knowledge of trees and timbers such as that bloodwood splits easily and is used mainly for paling, its sap is used for staining timber (p 89) and information collected from other informants during my own fieldwork suggest that individuals and families have additional knowledge.

Knowledge of the sea

Pitcairn Island is surrounded by the sea and the livelihood of the Pitcairners depended on their knowledge of the sea. A combination of the expertise of the women and Polynesian and the British sailors enabled them to handle their maritime environment. A number of Pitcairners also worked on American whalers where they acquired additional skills. The conditions on Norfolk Island were similar to Pitcairn. The absence of a harbour, in particular, made advanced navigation skills a necessity. On Norfolk Island:

“The daring and hardihood of the islanders in the steering boats through the surf, and among the surf-beaten rocks of Pitcairn, no less than their powers of swimming long distances, and remaining for hours in the water, were admirable qualifications for the whale-fishery.” (Belcher, 1980: 373)

The reputation of the Norfolk Islanders for their outstanding navigation skills remain to date.

<http://norfolkforwarding.com/contact-norfolk-forwarding/>

“The Pitcairners, with their maritime background, soon found themselves serving on the American ships. (Fletcher Christian’s great grandson was one). Swiftly learning this arduous and dangerous trade, the islanders set up in business for themselves, Normally enamoured of the work ethic- a legacy of their Tahitian blood, these men showed remarkable dedication and fortitude when the sea-going side of their heritage was invoked. A visitor to the island in the early 1900s wrote:

‘There are no finer boatmen, no more daring whalers, in all of the pacific, than these indolent dreamers, when the mood for action is on them.” (Clarke, 2007: 157)

Before the construction of the air strip during WW2 all goods imported to or exported from Norfolk Island had to come by sea. Even today, a significant percentage of goods come by boat and this cargo needs to be brought ashore by lighters:

“Passengers and goods coming in by sea on the regular six-weekly *Tulagi*, which goes on to the Solomons, have to be lightered to the convict-built stone jetties. This can be hazardous at times but the Bounty descendants who handle the lighters retain a seafaring skill worthy of their forefathers. There are two landing places, Kingston and Cascades, and when a vessel is expected the colour of the flag flown on Flagstaff Hill indicated to the captain which anchorage he should use in the prevailing weather.” (Ryan 1963:16).

Due to the rugged coastline, ships arriving at Norfolk Island are required to anchor approximately 1 km from shore at either Kingston or Cascade Bay depending on weather conditions. Goods are discharged using the ship’s derricks into small lighters. <http://norfolkforwarding.com/contact-norfolk-forwarding/html>

The vocabulary of Norfolk is full of expressions descriptive of a multitude of conditions of the sea that need to be heeded by fishermen and during lighterage. Both Beryl Nobbs Palmer’s (1988) and Alice Buffett’s (1999) dictionaries feature a number of expressions with *suff*:

suff-camen-in / safkameniin

the tide is rising

suff-sinken

the tide is ebbing or falling

sink-suff

dead low tide

suff-se-gude
safelduu
safmieken

the sea has quietened
the ocean is calm
the ocean is becoming calmer

A considerably larger number of expressions have been entered in the Norf'k database currently compiled at the University of Adelaide. Before the advent of GPS fishermen and other navigators employed a complex system of fishing ground names. These have been documented and discussed in detail by Nash (2013: 67-75).

Knowledge of maritime life-forms and fishnames is extensive among both Pitcairn Islanders and Norfolk Islanders, as fish and seafood is an important part of their diet. Göthesson (2000) presents an impressive account of the 295 species of fish in Pitcairn waters – a similar account for Norfolk Island is still forthcoming, but the author of this report has worked with Mr Foxy McCoy, the island's authority on fish and their names. What emerges from existing research is:

- The names of fish found around Norfolk Island differ from those used for the same fish in Australia, but are similar to those of Pitcairn Island. They were recorded by Harrison (fieldnotes H), Flint (fieldnotes FI) and Buffett (1999) or elicited by myself from Foxy McCoy. That Norf'k fishnames are distinct from Australian ones is illustrated with the following sample:

Headword	English	Comments
Ise	sea garfish	<i>Ise</i> is believed to have derived its name from Aunt Ise (Isobel Christian) who was especially skilled at catching, rolling out, and cooking the garfish.
Naenwe	(B) a species of grey fish. [Chylodactylus spectabilis]	
Oefi		(FI) a trevally, a light blue fish about twenty inches long, probably <i>Caranx georgianus</i> . Also called jaeluo tiel 'yellow tail'
P'ow	(B) brightly colored fish; a wrasse [Thalassoma lutescens]	(B) a striped rock fish, so named because of its striped colouring. Twiidtrauses
Sheften kraab	(B) shifting crab as it is shedding its old shell, which crabs do seasonally.	
Slipidohle	(H) slippery dolly, a small fish about six inches long, similar to parrot fish and slimy on the body.	
Wana	(FI) sea-urchin, or sea-egg, possibly of class Echinoidea, <i>Echinometra mathei</i> .	
Wël	(B) whelk, a gastropod unther, having strong snail-like shell is popular food with Islanders	

Yawa	(B) the sand mullet [<i>Myxus</i> 90unther90s 90unther].	
Y'hohle	(FI) 'yaholly', a dark blue and silver fish, 7-8 inches long and 1-2 pounds in weight, said to be equivalent to the Australian shiting.	
Long John	n. (H) Long John, a variety of garfish	
Swael doodle	(H) [fish] a blue coloured fish, about one foot long, which swells itself up and then expels its breath. Not usually eaten.	
Whistle daughter	(FI) (rare) a kind of fish (unidentified).	
Tunu	(FI) a poisonous kind of fish	
Sailor's piss	(FI) a long, narrow fish, about 12 inches long. Unidentified, possibly of family Labridae, genus <i>Thalassoma</i> (<i>Thalassoma purpureum</i>).	
Catfish	(FI) an octopus. Unidentified, but it is of class Cephalopoda.	
Blaek baek	(H) black back; a red coloured fish, two inches long, with a black streak along its dorsal spine.	
Blaek fish	(FI) a mud-black fish about fifteen inches long, possibly <i>Girella tricuspidata</i> .	
Poison fish	(FI) another name for baket fish	
Red Stidi		
Bluu naenwi	(H) a mature Norfolk naenwi probably <i>Girella cyanea</i> .	
Totwekraab	(B) a species of crab, speckly grey, sometimes having hairy type legs. Excellent for bait while inside each new shell.	
Norfolk naenwi	(FI) Norfolk naenwi; a blue fish similar in shape to a hoemnaenwi; evidently it was unknown at Pitcairn.	
Trampeta	(H) trumpeter, the most favoured eating fish on Norfolk. In Queensland this fish is called the 'Sweet-lip emperor.'	

Roked	(H) schnapper	
Taff cod	(H) lit. tough cod; a cod-like fish with alternate vertical stripes of yellow and black, called the 'sergeant' in Australia.	
Hoem ofe	(H) a big form of ofe, slightly different in shape of the head. [hoem] refers to Pitcairn.	
Arbuuka	a large fish, up to eight feet in length, probably <i>Polyprius oxgeneios</i> ; Maori hapuku of the same meaning.	
Aatuti	a small, dark zebra-striped rock fish, possibly <i>Chaetodon tricinctus</i>	
a-oo	the sea-slug, or sea-hare, perhaps <i>Tethy angasi</i> Sowerby	
Big-eye	a small rock fish, with bright large eyes, possibly <i>Apogon norfolcensis</i> .	
Bity-bity	shell-fish. it is inadvisable to touch the shell-fish because of a razor-like protuberance which it has- hence the name;	
Boohi	sea-eel.	
Ihi	the Half Beak, <i>Hemiramphus intermedius</i> , also known as piper and gar-fish (Hector)	
Yaruar	k. a small mullet	

- Pitcairn and Norfolk fish names reflect a folk classification rather than a scientific one. That a large number of fish are not named. Källgård (1981) lists 90 Pitkern fish names for Pitcairn, about 10% of which are synonyms.
- About one quarter of the fish names are of Tahitian origin. Some names are identical to those used around St. Kitts in the West Indies and a larger number are local creations.
- Naming fish developed over a long period of time and is different from naming fish in Australia.
- It is possible to date the origin of many fish names. The development of fish names was a slow process of a new society accommodating to a new environment and learning to manage it. What is of particular interest is that newly discovered fish were not assigned arbitrary or descriptively transparent labels but reflect the interaction between the social and natural ecology of the island.

The identification and naming of fish, in many instances, is directly related to the social practice of communal fishing. The catch would be divided into equal heaps and randomly assigned to one of the families, known locally as a 'share out'. The person, who first caught a hitherto unknown fish or was given such a fish at a share out, often gave it its name. There are many examples in Pitkern:

Archie – a small light greyish fish named after Archibald Warren, born 1887;

Elwyn's trousers – This fish looked like the trousers Elwyn Christian, born 1909, wore when this fish was first caught.

Hanna – A small fish in Letas family was named after Hanna Adams, born 1799, a daughter of the mutineer John Adams.

Hattie's gown - A slim fish with a lot of stripes'. It resembled the gown worn by Hattie Andre, a missionary teacher on the island 1893-96, which had a lot of stripes, just like the fish.

Isi-fish – According to the Pitcairners, it is 'blue, small like a finger, sharp and long head'. 'The piper, or gar-fish', was named after Isobel Coffin according to Ross and Moverley (1964: 236). A similar fish is called Ise in Norf'k. According to Alice Buffett (1999) it got its name from Aunt Ise (Isobel Christian) "who was particularly skilled at catching, rolling out and cooking garfish". As regards the date of this name, it must have been in the 1880, when Richard Coffin was wrecked on Pitcairn Island and, if the Norf'k name arose independently, it is a 20th century name.

Mummy – The damselfish *Abudefduf sordidus* was named after Caroline P. Johnson who came from Mangareva and was nicknamed 'mummy'. After the tragic drowning of her first husband, Louis Johnson, she married Virgil Christian (born 1893)

Sandford – A long, thin fish, which was named after Sandford Warren, born 1864, who was the first islander to get it on his share.

A particularly interesting name is *miti*: 'A big, blue fish, resembling the New Zealand butterfish'. The first fish of this kind, which was caught by the Islanders fell on the share of Harriet Melissa McCoy (born 1847) who was nicknamed 'Miti', (Källgård, 1981: 10). *Miti* is a word of Tahitian origin meaning 'to kiss and cuddle' and was the nickname of a person not a Tahitian fish name.

9.5.4 Perceptions of Time

As observed under the heading of syntax, Norf'k does not require compulsory tense (time) markers but rather favours aspect marking, i.e. the order in which events occur, whether they are punctual or non-punctual, ongoing or completed, etc. The secondary role of tense (time) would seem to be reflected in the way Norfolk Islanders handle time.

Hunt, who visited Norfolk in 1914, found the Islander courteous and friendly, and considered their best trait to be their helpfulness to each other in adversity. He also thought them conservative, lacking in persistence and not ambitious or themselves as individuals or as a community; a pleasure-loving folk, they would 'gladly put off till tomorrow, or, preferable, till next week, what ought to be done today' (Hunt, 1914: 27).

Like Comissioner Hunt, Scriber ascribes the Norfolk Islanders' attitude to time to some inherent lethargy:

"Their new home was bountiful, which was fortunate, because their attitude to work was lethargic. This same lethargy is apparent in their descendants. When making an appointment, it is always wise to ask whether you should turn up Mainland Time or Norfolk Time. Usually the answer will be an amiable grin, a shrug, and a non-committal "Oh Norfolk Time," which means anywhere within an hour or two of the time arranged." (Sriber, 1968: 32)

This attitude to time is expressed as *morla ell doo* 'it can wait till tomorrow'. This approach to time is found in many pre-industrial societies and whilst hardly unique, and similar to Blackfellow time on the Australian mainland, is different from the attitudes of Australian mainlanders.

There is another aspect to Norf'k time that is more distinct from mainland Australian perceptions of time. In essence, whereas most Western societies conceptualize of time as a kind of arrow, time in Polynesian or Australian Aboriginal societies is viewed as a cyclical sequence of events. This view of time has remained

strong in Norfolk Islander society and is sustained both by social beliefs and by some properties of the Norfolk language.

In Pitcairn and Norfolk families children are often named after their ancestors and in some families several generations of children were given the same name and nickname. This may be related to the belief that some new born children are reincarnations of a forebear.

“You probably all know someone who *es wan’ dem oel soel* (is an “old soul”). On Norfolk the Islanders say “*aa chail es salan bin ya bifer*” (that child is a person who has been here before). Old souls are born, not made, and their old-worldliness is usually apparent very early on in their life, sometimes as babies but most noticeably when they become toddlers. Old souls are very much a part of the Island’s unique ethnography; but whether it is a cultural phenomenon or simply part of a wider universal condition is unclear although I suspect it is both. The Island does seem to have a disproportionate number of old souls floating around; and there are probably a number of reasons that contribute to the seemingly high prevalence of “old souls” in our community.

One of these is the high degree of connectivity we enjoy with our ancestors or *kamfram*. We grow up listening to stories about who they were, what they did, who they married; where they lived and what happened to them – we are privy to the minutiae of their lives even though they are no longer with us. We also pick up on the sometimes very strong filial likenesses, both physical and behavioural, which remain apparent in many of our ancestral lines; “*es truu aa boi daa mach simis d’ griet graen daedi f’ si et el thort es hem*” (it’s true that boy is so much like his great-great grandfather you would think it was him). This aspect alone does make one feel as if you are living with the “ghosts of the past” reborn into new lives on a daily basis.” (Rachel Borg in Norfolk Online E-News. September 17, 2010)

Events, like people, are seen to recur and history as repeating itself. Housenames and place names often persist even when owners have changed or the business has disappeared. The house sign *Lindisfarne* in the Duncombe Bay area still features the name Bartle after two new owners in the last three decades and the placename *up BPs* denotes a location where a BP agency operated many years ago. The eviction of the Norfolk Island Assembly in 2015 is talked about as a repetition of the Norfolk Islanders eviction from their Kingston homes in 1908. The Mutiny on the Bounty is invoked again and again when there is conflict between the Norfolk Islanders and the Australian Administration. Mutiny music, mutiny reenactment and mutiny graffiti suggest that history and present are not distinct.

These observations will require more scrutiny as they appear to constitute an important element of Norfolk Islander intangible culture.

10 Questions about the Norfolk language

10.1 Introductory remarks

“One of the most striking cultural developments to take place in this unusual Pacific Island society was the invention of a new language. Through day-to-day contact, the mix of people speaking Tahitian and other Polynesian languages, and eighteenth century English dialects, eventually developed a distinctive Pitcairnesse language. Although owing more to English than to Polynesian, the ‘language of the mothers’ (largely Tahitian, that is), made its presence especially felt in the matter of vocabulary, providing words for which there were no English equivalents, or for which Tahitian just seemed more appropriate. This language they took with them when they finally moved to Norfolk and is the basis of the present Norfolk dialect.” (Loukakis, 1984: 51 - 52).

The Norfolk language is central to the culture of the Pitcairn descendants. Until very recently it remained poorly documented, misunderstood and unappreciated by outsiders. Technically, Norfolk is an esoteric or in-group language. Typically, it is not spoken with or in front of outsiders and information is routinely withheld from outside researchers. The author of this report has worked with the Council of Elders and the

community on language matters for over 20 years and has been given access to much insider knowledge, including sensitive information regarding words and language use. He has also carried out a detailed technical study of the history, grammar and pragmatic properties of Norf'k.

This section of the report will address a number of questions that impinge on the distinctiveness of the Norf'k language and attempt to provide up-to-date answers. The answers given in the past were often inadequate and, when informing policies and practices such as the education of Norfolk Islanders, lead to undesirable consequences.

10.2 Is Norf'k a pidgin, a dialect or a language?

Macklin (2013: 330 - 331) refers to the language of the Norfolk Islanders as "the pidgin that passes for their so-called dialect: 'Norf'k'. Similar statements have been made by previous writers and their inadequacy has been discussed by Mühlhäusler (2011).

A pidgin is a structurally and lexically reduced medium of intercommunication between interlocutors who do not have a language in common (Mühlhäusler 1997). Pidgins typically come into being in the context of trade, temporary employment, or in the first stages of new multicultural communities. Examples from the Australian-Pacific area are:

- Trade pidgins : Sandalwood Pidgin English, Beche-de-Mer (*Bislama*) Pidgin English, Macassarese Pidgin in the Northern Territory, Hiri Trade Pidgin in the Gulf of Papua, Maritime Polynesian Pidgin;
- Employment: Central Australian Cattle Station Pidgin English, Queensland Kanaka Plantation English, Samoan Plantation Pidgin English, Plantation Pidgin Fijian, Pidgin Malay of former German New Guinea;
- First stages of new communities: Anglo-Polynesian Pidgin of Palmerston Island, Pitcairn Island , Pidgin German of Kokopo (Rabaul). As soon as a new generation of children is born, a reduced pidgin becomes a full language (creole). This process of language genesis is called 'creolization'.

For the first few years on Pitcairn Island, the medium of communication between the British sailors and the Tahitian women was an Anglo-Polynesian Pidgin. This pidgin grew into a full structurally complex language as it was adopted by the children born on Pitcairn. Neither Pitkern nor Norf'k as spoken today are pidgins any more than English bears much similarity to the Anglo-Norman Pidgin used in parts of England subsequent to the Norman Conquest. An important reason why Norf'k is not a pidgin is that pidgins are culture neutral. Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea is used for intercommunication among several hundreds of language / culture groups. Norf'k, by contrast is part of and intertwined with Norfolk Islander culture.

Dialects can be defined by appealing to either social or linguistic-structural criteria.

Socially, it is a matter of power: Dialects have been defined as languages that do not have an army or a navy. As long as Denmark controlled Norway Norwegians were said to speak dialects of Danish. After Norwegian independence in the 19th century these same forms of speech were called Norwegian. Before the break-up of Yugoslavia Bosnian, Montenegrin, and Croatian were labelled dialects of Serbo-Croatian; today they are languages of independent states with their own government and military. Those who call Norf'k a dialect signal that its speakers are politically powerless.

Linguists employ David Crystal's (1992) definition of a language:

The systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression.

Three criteria are used to determine whether a given way of speaking is distinct from another related language:

- Intelligibility
- Dependency
- Amount of shared structures and lexicon

Applied to the question whether Norf'k is a language separate from English, all three criteria confirm that it is indeed a distinct language. In brief:

- Intelligibility with English is less than 70%
- The pronunciation of Norf'k words cannot be derived (as it can in the case of English dialects) from a common body of mental representations by means of a set of phonological rules.
- The core grammatical structures of Norf'k are significantly different from English. Whilst many Norf'k words are formally akin to English words, they tend to be semantically different.

Further details will be provided below. For the reasons given, Norf'k is recognised by authoritative linguistic bodies as a language in its own right. Because of its close relationship with Pitkern it is sometimes grouped together with it as Pitkern-Norf'k or Pitcairn-Norfolk, as is the case in Ethnologue the standard reference inventory of the world's languages.

ISO 639-3	pih
Alternate Names	Norfolkese, Pitcarin English
Population	430 in Norfolk Island (2011 census). Total users in all countries: 532.
Location	Norfolk Island
Language Status	6a (Vigorous). Statutory language of national identity (2004, Norfolk Island Language (Norf'k) Act No. 25, Section 4), restrictions in Sec 5 of Act No. 25 of 2—4 bar meaningful official use
Classification	Creole, English based, Pacific
Dialects	Norfolk English
Language Use	Valued for identity preservation. It is in a diglossic relationship with standard British English [eng] (Wurm 2007). Also use English [eng]

<http://www.ethnologue.com/language/pih>

Other Comments:

Developed from mutineers who settled on Pitcairn in 1790. All were removed to Norfolk in 1859, after which a few returned. Some descendants of Pitcairn Islanders now reside in Australia and New Zealand."

The entry for Norf'k in the Max Planck Institute's *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Structures* was prepared by Mühlhäusler. It provided the following introductory information:

"Norf'k is spoken by about 800 speakers, mainly residents of Norfolk Island with a growing diaspora in Sydney and Brisbane (Australia). Norf'k is not a standardised language and there is a great deal of variation. Family differences play an important part and, although the island occupies fewer than 40 square kilometres there are some regional differences between Cascade, Steels Point and Anson Bay varieties.

The principal differences, however, are determined by the proximity of the language to English. Speakers of the older generation (50+) grew up in a stable diglossic situation. For most speakers under 50 the domains and functions of English and Norf'k are no longer clearly separated and traditional Broad Norf'k is increasingly replaced by a more anglicised Norf'k. Many of the youngest generation do not acquire Norf'k at home but through formal teaching at the school or deliberate relearning in later life.

Some speakers employ an instant Norf'k by adding a small number of Norf'k words, vowel pronunciations and idiomatic expressions to their English. The examples in the *APiCS* dataset (default lect) were obtained from conservative older speakers wherever possible." (www.apics.org)

According to Reinecke et al's comprehensive bibliography of Pidgins, Creoles and Contact Languages, (1975:590) the language of the Pitcairners is of interest to the study of contact languages:

"Pitcairn Island English with its offshoot on Norfolk Island is of extraordinary interest because it offers as near a laboratory case of Creole dialect formation as we are ever likely to have. The place, the time and sequence of events, and the provenience of each of the handful of original speakers are known as are most of the subsequent influences upon the Pitcairnese community and, to a lesser extent, upon the one on Norfolk. Only two languages, English and Tahitian, were in contact."

Since 1980 there have been two PhDs, dealing with the topics of variation in Norf'k (Harrison 1984) and Norf'k place names (Nash 2013) respectively, as well as about half a dozen of Masters theses addressing history and structure of the language. The importance of Norf'k to the theory of contact languages is widely acknowledged, most recently in Schneider's (2011: 167) Cambridge University Press survey:

"An extremely remarkable and unique case of linguistic development can be found with the varieties which are nowadays commonly labelled Pitkern or Norfuk, derived from the names of the islands, where they are spoken with hardly any outside contacts influencing the development of the community and the origins of the sailors and settlers known exactly, linguistically speaking this settlement constitutes a unique, laboratory-like contact situation. A new English contact variety, with strong maritime and biblical components and a Tahitian substrate, emerged on its own."

From this, and numerous other sources, it is clear that Norf'k is recognised by the linguistic profession as a distinct and unique language.

10.3 Do Norfolk Islanders have a right to their language?

Linguistic rights have rarely featured in the political discourse of Australia, unlike in countries like Spain, Switzerland and others. Linguistic, or language, rights are the human and civil rights concerning the individual and collective right to choose the language or languages for communication in a private or public atmosphere. Other parameters for analysing linguistic rights include the degree of territoriality, amount of positivity, orientation in terms of assimilation or maintenance, and overtness.

Australia has implicitly recognized the right of Aboriginal peoples to speak, maintain and revive their languages through the Indigenous Languages Support Scheme (ILS). Its website arts.gov.au/sites/default/.../indigenous/ils/ils-factsheet.pdf states:

"ILS is central to the implementation of the Australian Government's National *Indigenous Languages* Policy, which is a commitment to help *Aboriginal* and Torres Strait Islander peoples keep their *languages* alive and connect to their *languages* and culture."

The Norf'k language does not qualify for this scheme.

Linguistic rights include, among others, the right to one's own language in legal, administrative and judicial acts, language education, and media in a language understood and freely chosen by those concerned. Linguistic rights in international law are usually dealt in the broader framework of cultural and educational rights.

Mühlhäusler (2000), prior to the Norfolk Island language Bill of 2004, has written a brief paper on Language Rights for the Language of Norfolk Island in which he emphasised the need for official recognition to secure the future of the language.

The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (known also as the Barcelona Declaration) is a document signed by the International PEN Club, and several non-governmental organisations in 1996 to support

linguistic rights, especially those of endangered languages. The document was adopted at the conclusion of the World Conference on Linguistic Rights held 6 - 9 June 1996 in Barcelona, Spain. It was also presented to the UNESCO Director General in 1996 but the Declaration has not gained formal approval from UNESCO.

10.4 What do more recent Australian government reports say about the Norf'k language?

In contrast to numerous Australian Government statements about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, very little mention is made of Norf'k. Most Australian Government reports make no special mention of the Norf'k language. Thus, in the important *Nimmo Report* (Royal Commission into Matters Relating to Norfolk Island. Canberra: 1976), only one recommendation refers to language. They inappropriately refer to it as dialect and use a language name not used on the island.

I note that a number of submissions (e.g. Ken Nobbs, Greg Quintal) made to the Commission emphasise the importance of language. The following statement nevertheless is of importance as it includes language as worth preserving as it addresses the alleged historical Rights is the way of life of the Pitcairn descendants.

“There should be no difficulty and few administrative problems in preserving and maintaining its features. There is nothing to stop them from continuing to show their respect for the dead; maintaining their tradition of free burials and communal grave digging; preserving their dialect Norfolkese; helping one another in ways epitomised by the words of their own Anthem (Appendix VII); holding their family gatherings, picnics, special holidays and festive days and practicing their forms of the Christian religion. Nothing has altered sufficiently in 120 years to cause anyone to question their freedoms in regard to these desirable customs. Indeed, they add colour and character to the Island and should be preserved at all costs.” (p.57).

Language is not specifically mentioned in the final recommendation:

“That some section within the Norfolk Island Public Service be made responsible for the preservation of the Islanders traditional interests and culture.” (p 61).

It would seem that specific mention of language was made only in 2004: The Australian Government Review of the Annual Reports of the Department of Transport and Regional Services and the Department of the Environment and Heritage of July 2004, observes:

Not only is the language of the Pitcairn Island descendants an important part of Australia's multicultural heritage, the language plays an important role in the development and maintenance of personal and group identity on the island (p 87).

and

The Committee respects the strong desire of many Island residents to preserve the traditions of the Pitcairn descendants, in particular their language...The Committee believes that, consistent with its responsibilities for the Territory, the Federal Government should appropriately support the efforts of those in the Norfolk community who are dedicated to preserving the language of the Pitcairn Island descendants, primarily through the relatively recent introduction of a language programme at the Islands school, (pp 87-88).

The most recent report (October 2014) *Same country: different world – The future of Norfolk Island* – the inquiry into Economic development on Norfolk Island emphasises economic development and does not mention language at all. Importantly, it fails to make the connection between language and economic management, the importance of Norf'k in tourism and does not consider either direct economic benefits, nor positive externalities. Some of these have been discussed in this report.

10.5 What are the Norfolk Islanders views about their language?

In contrast to Australian mainlanders who value English for pragmatic reasons, for Norfolk Islanders Norf'k is a central core cultural value. Most Norfolk Islanders hold their language in high regard and are strongly in favour of revitalising its use. When talking about Norf'k, three themes are in evidence:

- The Norf'k language is a link with history and culture
- The language is a central component of Islander identity
- The language has become endangered because of its denigration in the past.

The former Chief Minister David Buffett on the occasion of tabling the *Norf'k Language Act* emphasised the link with culture:

We all know that cultural groups possess a number of characteristics. Special or peculiar to themselves. Food. Crafts. Music...The Norfolk Island language is a distinctive element in the Norfolk Island cultural makeup, (Buffett, D. in *Norfolk Island Hansard* 15/12/2004).

Another Islander, Marilyn Cooper's (née Quintal undated) paper 'The cultural tradition of the Norfolk language' has spelled out twelve arguments for the significance of the language in Norfolk culture, including the following, which are widely shared in the Norfolk Islander community:

1. It is unique to the Norfolk and Pitcairn Island people of Anglo-Polynesian ancestry
2. It is the mother tongue of the Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent who think in Norfolk language.
3. It perpetuates the identity as it forms the link to the Norfolk Islanders past which is expressed through its continuity since Third Settlement started in 1856.
4. It is the most identifiable expression of the unique nature of Norfolk culture.
5. It is of immense socio-economic value to the Government, private enterprise and private purses in the Norfolk Island polity because of its income earning capacity in tourism.
6. It is a main source of confidence to the people whose mother tongue it is. (If a speaker can't express something satisfactorily in any other way, they can express it in Norfolk and release the frustrations of inarticulacy in other languages)
7. It gives the character and sets the unique atmosphere to the general cultural ambience of Norfolk Island)

Rachel Nebauer summarised what Norf'k means to its speakers in an article in Norfolk Online e-News (19th September 2009):

"Our language is the heart of our culture. It is the living reminder of the Bounty mutiny, as it is 80% eighteenth century English and 20% eighteenth century Tahitian. This language is not a patois or a pidgin, though it has certain similarities. More importantly, it is the way that the Bounty sailors and their Tahitian wives and companions learnt to communicate with each other. It is the symbol and artefact of the new society that they established in the last years of the eighteenth century on tiny Pitcairn Island. The Pitcairn Islanders brought it to Norfolk Island, and despite the waves of immigrants, starting with the American and French whalers, the Norfolk language has survived if not flourished. Like many rare and exotic creatures, it has been hunted to the point of extinction. From letters written by the school principals of the day, it seems it was the unwritten policy of the NSW education department to eradicate the language and pupils were punished severely for speaking Norfolk at school up until the 1960s.

The central role of Norf'k in sustaining Islander identity has often been commented on (see Low's 2012, PhD thesis chapter 6 for a summary). Low (p. 185) writes:

"Many Islanders told me their language was the most tangible evidence of separate identity. Some, such as Charlotte, saw it as a sign of historical continuity and as a source of pride, partially brought on by its

recognition elsewhere as an object worthy of academic study and the status that academics have given it as a language rather than a dialect of English. For instance, in one of my interviews, Charlotte, 76, noted:

Charlotte: [Norf'k and its recognition as a language] gives the people of Norfolk Island of Pitcairn ancestry...an identity. [...] cos we start from 28 people, and that language is derived from those people. And it is now established, and it is studied at various universities. Now we can say, Yes we do have a language; were not just some dirty dropouts from the mutiny (emphasis in original, Charlotte, recorded interview 03/04/2007). For Charlotte, Norf'k was equivalent to other languages (in the sense of being a language among languages as opposed to a dialect) and represented a positive relationship of continuity with ancestors. To her, the fact that her ancestors created a language is a sign that Islanders are more than dirty dropouts, but that they have their own culture to be proud of."

Low (ibidem) quotes an example collected by Dr. Shirley Harrison in the late 1970s:

Speaker 1: *Dem English salan yusa laugh fe aklan we wii talk but dem ka andestan auwas laengwidg en wish dem el talk jus like aklan.* [Those English (Mainlander) people used to laugh at the way we talk but they cant understand our language and wish they talked just like us].

Speaker 2: *es da de wieh kos tuu guud fe talk Norf'k* [That's right, because it is so good to talk Norfolk], (Harrison 1984:119).

The third theme, past history and revival, can be found in an article written by the former Chief Minister André Nobbs (2008):

"The Norfolk Island language is a distinctive element in the Norfolk Island cultural make-up. Fifty years ago, it dominated the language scene in Norfolk Island although it experienced testing times. It has been scorned. It has been scoffed at. It has been derided.

It has been banned in the Norfolk Island educational system. A school headmasters report dated 1914 states: The teachers here work at a great disadvantage. The little ones come to school scarcely able to talk or understand any English. The Norfolk Island jargon is almost exclusively spoken in their homes He goes on to say: I feel sure. However, that with steady insistence against its use at school and careful teaching it will ultimately disappear.

Physical and mental punishment was meted out to those who entertained its use; but notwithstanding all of this, the Norfolk islander has not been dispossessed of this essential cultural trait."

Rachel Nebauer (personal communication, August 27 2007), a woman who is passionate about preserving Norf'k language and culture informs me that:

" I grew up in the same household as my Grandmother who would not speak Norfolk to us because of her experiences at school. Regret and anger that so much of language and culture was eroded by deliberate assimilation policies is a sentiment expressed to me again and again over more than two decades of my work with Norf'k."

The theme of loss is again discussed in the writings of another young Islander woman:

"The most tangible evidence of pressure against the use of *Norf'k* has been the policy and action of some Education authorities at the local school. Each generation of ex-school pupils from 1900 to 1980 is able to describe instances of verbal or physical chastisement for use of *Norf'k* in the classroom or playground, and many Islanders recall the humiliation that they were made to feel for using their native language. With the appointment of an Australian headmaster in 1906, a concerted effort was made to

eradicate the use of *Norfolk* at school. In 1915 a new school rule banned anything but the Kings English to be spoken during school hours, thus speaking *Norfolk* became known as *Kilen aa King* (as in Murdering the Kings English). If caught, children were often caned or made to write out lines to the effect of I must not talk gibberish at school. The first headmaster to introduce the rule predicted, *I feel confident that it is only a matter of a few generations when the Island jargon will disappear altogether*" (Natalie Grube 2010 <itravelnorfolk.com/htdocs/wp-content/.../06/NorfolkDigitalBooklet.pdf>).

For the Norfolk language to survive, the views of the younger generation are crucial. Younger speakers are well aware of the decline of their language and are overwhelmingly keen to see Norfolk revived.

In 2007 the Norfolk Island Central School carried out a survey of how parents felt about languages to be offered in years 7 and 8, and in particular the relative merits of teaching Norfolk rather than other languages such as French or Indonesian. The results were:

22 out of 23 parents want to see the Norfolk language taught and promoted in school
19 out of 23 parents wanted the Norfolk language taught in years 7 and 8.

The views of the students are even more favourable. Of the 104 years 3-6 students who, in 2010, were given a questionnaire by their Norfolk teacher Mrs Suzanne Evans 87 answered that they spoke Norfolk and 93 that they understood it. Significantly, the children demonstrated a very positive attitude towards the language. Mrs. Evans in an email of 28 January 2011 reports:

"We are moving forward.... the school kids I work with - K-6 are always so positive and love their Norfolk - as was reflected in the kids survey.

The children's responses to the question why is it good to study Norfolk include:

It's our culture-we should know our culture;
Because we don't want to lose the language and it is interesting;
Because the language is dying;
Because we live here;
So you're an islander;
Something fun at school;
So you can talk to your parents.

10.6 Norfolk a linguistically vital language?

The writer of this report has worked on the reclamation, maintenance and revival of Australian aboriginal languages for over twenty years. The majority of Aboriginal languages on the Australian mainland are either dead or severely threatened. Of the 250 languages once spoken only about a dozen are still passed on, in their traditional form, to the next generation of speakers and whether any of them will survive for more than two generations is doubtful. The situation for Norfolk, by contrast, is a far more promising one.

A number of vitality measuring instruments are used by linguists and language planners. Best known are the criteria employed by UNESCO:

Factor 1. Intergenerational Language Transmission
Factor 2. Absolute Number of Speakers
Factor 3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population
Factor 4. Trends in Existing Language Domains
Factor 5. Response to New Domains and Media
Factor 6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy

These were used when applying to UNESCO for the recognition of Norfolk as an endangered language). The

information provided resulted in such recognition in 2007.

A different set of criteria (EGIDS) is used by *Ethnologue*:

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

Level	Label	Description
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation.
3	Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.
5	Developing	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status

The EGIDS criteria, when applied to the Norf'k language in its primary country assign it Category 6a (Vigorous) – “the language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.”

Vitality not only means that there is a sufficiently large number of speakers to sustain its continued use but also that the Norf'k language is capable of internal growth and adaptation and not solely reliant on English for structural and lexical expansion.

As regards the latter criterion, the vitality of the language is manifested structurally in a number of means of creating new words and in the maintenance of grammatical complexities. The vitality of Norf'k distinguishes it from most Australian Aboriginal languages, which have lost much of their vitality as a consequence of prolonged assimilation policies. A number of mechanisms are used to create new Norf'k words, including:

- Extension of meaning of existing words to fit new circumstances:

In response to the new condition on Norfolk Island, numerous Pitkern words underwent change or extension of meaning. For example, Pitkern *rumma* candlenut torch changed to collect shellfish at night with a torch. Similarly, Pitkern *popoi, popoe*, a mash made from ripe bananas and boiled taro, given to young children after they are weaned, on Norfolk Island came to mean 'a soft pudding made from bananas and other fruit'. *Mada, Mudda*, in Pitkern was a dumpling made from grated green bananas and boiled in water, but following the relocation to Norfolk Island, Esther Mudda Quintal (b.1832) decided to try boiling them with milk (Wiseman, 1977: np). Over time, the meaning of many other Pitkern words became changed on Norfolk Island, (*shake* means 'to hula, dance in the Norfolk style' and *cully* 'curl' also means 'in bad taste') and very *hawai* 'traditional wooden guttering' acquired the additional meaning 'standpipe (public water supply) in the KAVHA area'.

- Creating new words by means of compounding

Compounding has been used in Norf'k to create new words for new things. It is particularly frequent in naming biological life forms. When the Pitcairners first arrived in 1856 they were scared by the spooky noise made by the wedge-tail shearwater and they called it *ghosebud* 'ghost bird', *Honda rash* 'a condition resulting from excessive motorbike riding', *grab-ar-ball* 'a tree on the golf course that swallows up golf balls' *grass eater* 'a vegetarian, Seventh Day Adventist', *tarpa mouth* sticky beak, *cardoo sullen* 'no hoppers', *wiel bud* 'sooty tern' (arrives at the times the whales are seen), *no gut much peach season lef* 'won't live much longer'.

- Creating new words by adding prefixes or suffixes to existing one.

In Norf'k recent examples are:

park up 'to take time off'; *doo out* 'to push aside'; *pepa up* 'to become excited'; *tick up* 'to buy on credit'; *notty up* '(hair) becoming knotty'; *slorg up* 'to whip up a meal'.

- Using words in more than one word class as in English to fall- a fall or to hammer- a hammer.
As discussed in Mühlhäusler (2008) this is a highly productive process in Norf'k and new items are regularly added to the language. Examples are *golffen* 'to play golf'; *snel taims* 'dire times, times of insufficient supplies (derived from *snel* to cater insufficiently)'; *sehnet* 'to mix sand and paint to protect the exterior of wooden buildings'; *cornet* 'to corn beef'.
- The addition of new nicknames

Norf'k speakers like to play with their language and creating new nicknames is a favourite. Among the many new nicknames that have been added to Norf'k in recent years are: *Houn* or *Tweedtrousers* for Mr Baskerville, a recent KAVHA Manager; *Loppera House* for the large emergency services building at the airport constructed under the directions of an Islander bearing the nickname *Loppy*; *semis Aunt Meg* 'someone decked out in jewels'; *tampon* 'one week in, three weeks out a fly in fly out Norfolk Islander'.

Word play is also in evidence in business names such as *Mussa Buss* 'mobile food outlet *mussa buss* 'almost bursting; the septic tank cleaning firm *Tek-a-wha* 'take what, what with'; *Jes Himmi* Just You And Me; or *Anaana* a locally made had cream from *anaana* 'alertness, confidence, inspiration',

- Maintenance of the complex grammar

Complex constructions are typically lost when languages become moribund. Norf'k demonstrates its vitality by maintaining a very complex pronoun, a complex spatial orientation system and complex rules for generating subordinate sentences.

A description of the complexity of the personal and possessive pronoun system of Norf'k is given in Mühlhäusler (2012:127-156). The conclusions of this paper are:

"One of the principal findings has been that the pronominal system of Norf'k is more complex than its source languages and possibly the most complex of all English-based Pidgins and Creoles."

It can be argued that the complexity of the deictic pronouns of Norf'k is iconic of the complexity of the society in which it is used.

An important distinction is that (unlike in English) between anaphoric and deictic pronouns. The system of anaphoric pronouns can be very small and include both reduced forms and \emptyset as is illustrated by the non-subject anaphoric pronoun *et*, which is an apparent counter-universal to Bresnan's claims about neutralisation.

Deictic systems, by contrast cannot be judged in terms of simplicity but only in terms of social adequacy. The dual pronouns of Norf'k would seem to fulfil its speaker's need for excluding and including parties into their personal and social space and their wish to assert their separate identity in the face of continued challenges from outsiders. The three non-singular first person pronouns *we*, *ucklun* and *ouwa* highlight the importance of distinguishing between island inhabitants with Pitcairner ancestry from others as well as the social identity of members of the Pitcairner group.

Details on the complexity of spatial orientation grammar and sentence subordination are given elsewhere in this report.

Evidence for the vitality of Norf'k also includes active language revival. Old Norf'k words are currently being relearned as printed resources on the history of the language are becoming available.

The two principal dictionaries (Nobbs Palmer 1986 & Buffett 1999) have been reprinted several times and continue to be on sale. Both the Norfolk Islander and Norfolk Online regularly feature discussions about words of the Norf'k language and several Islanders keep extensive notes on the words of their language. Some of the rare words of Norf'k have become available to the public via a publication *Uckluns Norf'k* (Mühlhäusler, 2012) which is used in several households for relearning.

The vitality of the language is further in evidence when looking at its expanding social use:

- Public signage in Norf'k has increased greatly in recent years;
- The language is used at the school both in and outside the classroom;
- The range of literary genres in which the language is used has increased, including short stories, poetry, vaudeville and nursery rhymes;
- Norf'k features on greeting cards, menus, car stickers;
- Norf'k is used in print and electronic media, including social media;
- The regular use of Norf'k on Radio Norfolk (Coyle, 2006);
- Norf'k is featured prominently in tourism promotion and tourism activities. Outsiders increasingly have opportunities to hear the language spoken (Mühlhäusler & Nash 2014).

10.7 What is the history of Norf'k?

Regarding the **external history** of the language, by 1789 communication between Tahitians and visiting British vessels had become institutionalised. A simplified maritime Polynesian Pidgin (Drechsel 2013), combined with some learning of English by the Tahitians and learning of Tahitian by the British constituted the means by which the Bounty crew and the locals could communicate. The Bounty crew employed this mixed Tahitian-English language to taunt Captain Bligh even before the mutiny. On Pitcairn Island after 1789 a mixed-Polynesian-St.Kitts-Creole-English language, Pitkern, came into being as a medium of intercommunication between the British mutineers of HMS Bounty and their Polynesian entourage. The prominent St. Kitts element in Pitkern and Norf'k can be traced to midshipman Ned Young, who was to become one of the principal linguistic socialisers of the new generation of children born on Pitcairn. Pitkern became an in-group language among the first generation born on Pitcairn and continues to be spoken alongside with acrolectal English. The Pitcairners were relocated to Norfolk Island in 1856. Some families re-migrated to Pitcairn in the 1860s, which resulted in the development of two varieties of Pitkern-Norf'k. More on their relationship will be said below.

The continued use of the language is due to its serving a number of functions:

- It is used to talk about natural kinds, emotions and social practices that are difficult to express in Standard English. Over the years it developed into a tool to manage both the natural and the social ecologies of Pitcairn and Norfolk Island. Several plants and birds on Norfolk Island are known by their Norf'k name only to all residents.
- Some practices and events often have no Australian English equivalent e.g. *Norfolk wave* hand sign made by Norfolk Island to passing cars, *food share* the practice of sharing a catch of a fish among the Islanders and *bond* the Government liquor outlet. A list of complex Norf'k expressions is given in Appendix 4.
- It became the language of bonding and expression of a separate identity. It has been argued (Laycock, 1989) that the sense of separate identity developed during the brief relocation of the Pitcairners to Tahiti in 1831 where they felt estranged from Tahitian society and where they experienced the reluctance of the British to accept them as equals. Until the mid-20th century the Pitcairners were referred to as 'natives' by the British.
- The language afforded protection against outsiders, making it difficult for them to manipulate the islanders and to understand how their society worked. It continues to be an esoteric language, meant for the use of Pitcairn descendants.
- In recent years the language has gained economic value in cultural tourism. Visitors appreciate the linguistic differences between Australia and Norfolk.
- Increasingly, partly because of its being taught at school, Norf'k is becoming a language for all long term residents, though some of its more esoteric aspects are still withheld from outsiders;
- The following table summarizes the most important aspects of the history of Pitkern-Norf'k:

Pitkern-Norf'k	Origin 1790 - 1808 (total isolation)	1808 – 1856 (contacts with outsiders)	1856-1900 First stage of movement	1860s Back migration to Pitcairn Island	1900 to 1960s Development of Norf'k	1960s to present Norf'k language	Second stage of movement
	Pitcairn Island (mixture of Tahitian, Tubuaian, English dialects and St Kitts Creole)	Pitcairn Island (increasing contacts with British and American visitors and new residents)	Norfolk Island A separate variety, Norf'k, developed with influence from British English. Possible creolization in isolated parts of Norfolk island.	Pitcairn Island – Pitkern developed in isolation from Norf'k	Norfolk Island Australian and New Zealand English and Melanesian Pidgin English influence – stable diglossia but beginning of language attrition because of Australian assimilation policies.	End of stable diglossia and accelerating language attrition. From the late 1980s to present attempts to revive the language	Pitcairn Islanders increasingly move to New Zealand (NZ English and Pacific English influences) Norfolk Islanders increasingly settle in Australia - new diaspora varieties emerge

The very special circumstances that were involved in the formation and development of Pitkern and Norf'k varieties have made this language unique. It is distinct not only from English but also from other Pacific Pidgin Creoles and English-derived contact languages.

The internal or **linguistic history** of Pitkern and Norf'k is best understood as a response to the unique conditions of culture contact both in its formative and in subsequent years. In the initial phases the language was highly dependent on varieties of English, Tahitian and St. Kitts Creole, the latter two becoming irrelevant by the 1830s. New settlers and visitors from Britain and America, by contrast, remained a source of new words and expressions and, with declining competence and the disappearance of older speakers also a source for grammar and pronunciation, though much less for pragmatics (patterns of language use-see section on the ethnography of communication).

Insufficient data make it impossible to have precise timelines for the development of the grammatical complexities of the language. Labov (1977: 22 – 23) has attempted to reconstruct the processes involved (loss during pidgin stage and regrammaticalization subsequent to creolization) of one Pitkern-Norfolk construction.

He comments on the loss of the English time / tense distinctions and the development the new habitual aspect marker *usa*, *yusa* in Pitkern and Norf'k. These complexities arose independently from English and suggest that the first generation of children creolised the second language contact Pidgin English employed by their mothers.

“This is the English-based creole which was developed by the descendants of the Bounty mutineers and their Tahitian wives. As described by Ross and Moverley (1964), this creole had obviously passed through a stage in which all inflections except *-ing* disappeared. The past is unmarked. In the following example, a Pitcairnese girl is telling how a house was built.

We saw em stick f'a frame down tedside. I get em stick f'a beam outa ship. We put on em pine fa a wall.
We sawed timber for the frame down at the other side of the island. I got the timber for the beams out of a ship. We put on imported boards for the walls.

These invariant verb forms would mark the habitual present in Standard English, but they ambiguously signal the past in Pitcairnese. The habitual present is marked with the auxiliary *usa*.

Hem usa about a weko. Hem usa lehu a brefut an lupu a miti. An usa get a mutepele, an usa hiwe a popoi, an usa about a teate on a jola, and us' stil a pea soup, an usa soak em bean.

They busy themselves with the food. They scrape the breadfruit, and mix up the coconut cream sauce, and get out the coconut meat, and throw away the waste ... and do the sweet potatoes on the grater, and stir the pea soup, and soak the beans.

It seems fairly clear that this *us* is a back-formation from the habitual past used to. There is no past tense meaning associated with it at all, as we can see in the following answer to the question, ‘Do you like chocolate?’

I usa like it. I too like it.
I do like it. I like it very much. “

We know that by 1856 its grammar had been fully established, as it is essentially the same in both Pitkern and Norf'k. Importantly, this complex grammar is not a mechanical mix of English, St. Kitts Creole and Tahitian but a distinct new system. This, incidentally, is one of the reasons, why it is of such importance to linguistic theory.

It is somewhat easier to provide dates for lexical innovation and borrowing as these coincide with external events such as the arrival of Seventh Day Adventist missionaries on Pitcairn, or the establishment of a bean

seed industry, whaling or tourism industry on Norfolk. Many of the words needed for those new domains were created from internal resources, though dependency on English loans is much in evidence in some speaker groups.

10.8 What is the linguistic relationship of Norf'k to and intelligibility with English?

Norf'k has in the past been characterised as broken English⁸ or a dialect of English.

The linguistic studies on Pitcairnese by Ross & Moverley (1964), as well as those of Flint (mostly unpublished and undated, located in the Fryer Collection-University of Queensland at <https://www.library.uq.edu.au/fryer.../Flint>) Harrison (1972, 1986) have established that neither of the above characterisations is valid. Norf'k, like many other English-related contact languages such as Tok Pisin (PNG), Bislama (Vanuatu), Jamaican, Guayanese, Palmerston English, Bass Straits English, Torres Straits Broken or Northern Territory Kriol, is a language distinct from English in pronunciation, lexicon, grammar and pragmatics. Because of its distinct linguistic nature it is not mutually intelligible with English. Depending on topic, speaker, medium and setting, it is estimated that mutual intelligibility can range between 30% and 70%. It is noted that intelligibility between recognised separate languages typically also falls within this range, e.g. Serbian and Croatian, German and Dutch, Danish and Swedish or Dutch and Afrikaans.

10.9 What is the social relationship of Norf'k to English?

The relationship between Norf'k and English has been characterised as one of diglossia (from Greek two languages; bilingual). It describes a situation in which two languages are used under different conditions (in different domains and functions) within a community, often by the same speakers. In most instances, one of these languages is the High variety (used in official communication, written documents, formal discourse, education, religion) and the other one the Low variety. Common examples are High German and Schytzertütsch (Alemannic) in Switzerland, Katarevousa and Dimotiki in Greece until the 1980s or Local Classic Arabic and Koranic Arabic and many Arab countries.

Stable societal diglossia is found in societies that are hierarchically structured and where there is little social mobility or few intergroup marriages. Transitional diglossia occurs when the domains of the Low variety are shrinking or overlapping with those of the High variety. It leads to unstable bilingualism and/or the merging of the two varieties.

Historically, the High variety in most diglossic societies was superimposed through acts of colonialism, centralisation of nation states, missionisation and similar events creating power differential. In the case of Norf'k this was not the case. The variety that came into being on Pitcairn Island always co-existed with Standard English. The linguistic situation of Pitcairn in 1800 is strongly reminiscent of that of St. Kitts: English for religion, education, law and government and communication with outsiders; Pitkern was used as family language, storytelling, social bonding and increasingly a symbol of common identity. The rapid decline of Tahitian (initially the first language of most Pitcairn inhabitants) parallels the rapid decline of African languages on St. Kitts. It is likely that this pattern of language use was due to the mutineer Edward Young from St. Kitts, who was a key linguistic socialiser of the first generation of children born on Pitcairn.

There were always speakers of English on Pitcairn Island and many of them played an important role in promoting a high level of proficiency. The arrival of three British settlers in the 1820s (Buffett, Evans, Nobbs) who intermarried with the Pitcairners and who taught the language in the school helped maintain this situation. It may also have added the convention of using English with spouses not of Bounty origin. Some members of the Nobbs, Evans and Buffett families continued to use English only in the home. Up to about 1960 Norf'k was the dominant language in many Islander families. It was learnt first and when children began to attend school their English skills were limited. The errors they made in English suggest that their first language was Norf'k (Flint: undated manuscript).

Flint (undated, untitled) analysed some examination papers from 1909 and found that:

⁸ The expressions 'killing the Queen' and 'killing the King' were used by teachers in the past.

1. The Norfolk uninflected past tense as in 'It took about four days for it to come to the ground, when it first come to the top, it is very thick both in its leaves and in the stalk'. Flint lists four other constructions:

2. Uninflected third person singular - one more example was found: 'it take the Maize seven days'; more examples of hypercorrection encountered were:

3. An -s was put needlessly (hypercorrection):

'the birds makes great noise'

'our summer winds comes mostly'

4. The characteristic Norfolk 'it' for 'them'.

...our examination papers to Sydney and whoever examines it...

The parts which are the hottest are the central parts...because it is away from the cool sea breeze.

5. Loss of final consonant in word final clusters. The only example additional to Flint's *shaff shaft* was *will tobacco* for 'wild tobacco'.

For old Norfolk Islanders, Norf'k remains the language in which they can express themselves best and in which they are usually thinking:

"I feel that it far easier for myself and some other Islanders to express ourselves in Norfolk, but do not have to have an interpreter to make conversation to a mainlander.

I feel that this has been and still is a definite factor in differences between Island-born people and newcomers, including Administrators and others seconded from Canberra" (Mr. Greg Quintal, submission to Royal Commission on Norfolk island 1975, Canberra National Archives A4627).

As Norfolk Islanders born before the 1960s get older, one can expect that Norf'k will increasingly become dominant for them, a normal consequence of ageing. The current age care afforded by the Norfolk Island Hospital provides an environment, in which the language needs of older people are fully met.

The proportion of younger people whose dominant language is Norf'k has shrunk greatly since the 1960s. Nowadays, in the majority of mixed Pitcairn descendant-non-descendant marriages on Norfolk Island the dominant or sole family language is English. However, language transmission involves more than just learning from parents.

Findings thus far seem to point to the children as the ultimate decision makers. Whilst many children speak some Norf'k with grandparents and parents, they tend to favour English with their siblings and peers. The younger siblings often use their older ones to interpret for them with the consequence that they have a much-reduced competence in Norf'k. Thus, one of the most outspoken supporters of the language, Mr David Evans, writes in an open letter to school principal about language teaching (*The Norfolk Islander*, 24th March 2001):

Older Norfolk Islander's may well have told you that our language was discouraged at school. However, at home, at work, at play, Norfolk was widely spoken. This is not so today. My eldest sons first three weeks at Play Centre were difficult as he spoke predominantly Norfolk. He is now 19 years old. My ten year old daughter has been exposed to many different people and the same lifestyle and yet her Norfolk speech and understanding is minimal in comparison. My seven year old son hardly speaks any Norfolk at all. Generally speaking, Norf'k has been losing ground as an oral language.

Interestingly, his daughter has begun to speak Norf'k in public when returning from her studies in Australia, and similar choices are being made by other young Norfolk Islanders. Up to the 1960s Norf'k coexisted with English in a stable diglossic situation (Flint 1979). This has changed since, and Harrison (1985) reported a

more diffuse language pattern created as one of the manifestations of the social upheaval that has taken hold of the island in the last thirty years. (idem p. 148).

Though English is increasingly becoming the first language of Norfolk Islanders, proficiency in Norfolk has become revalorised and its function in the speech repertoire of Norfolk islanders continues to be significant:

“Through code-variation mechanisms the Norfolk Island speaker is able to produce a variety of stylistic meanings. Many stem from the we/they code contrast which underlies functional distinctions between Broad Norfolk [Norf’k] and Norfolk English in diglossia. In ideal diglossia, the WE code, Broad Norfolk, being regarded as the normal habitual language between Islanders, conveys associations of informality, warmth and intimacy, personal attachment, solidarity etc. In the same situation use of Norfolk English becomes socially marked and unexpected behaviour, so that it acquires contrasting meanings of formality, impersonal relationships, detachment, non-local values etc.” (Harrison, 1984: 7)

In this diffuse pattern one noted a great deal of overlap in the domains of language use. Norf’k increasingly features in written communication, official documents.

10.10 Are there different kinds of Norf’k?

Norf’k is not a standardized language and like other predominantly oral languages spoken in small communities is spoken in a number of varieties. The principal factors underlying this diversification are:

- Family membership
- Geographical
- Gender
- Age

Linguists such as Harrison (1972, 1986) distinguish between an older Traditional or Broad Norf’k, which is only used by some of the older inhabitants of the island and a modified or anglicised Norf’k, which is much more widely spoken. In recent years, a number of deliberate attempts have been made to reclaim lost words and constructions of Broad Norf’k and without such efforts (e.g. through the school, language camps and written resources) the language would have experienced much attrition. Language teaching and language planning, if focussing on the revival of more traditional ways of speaking, may lead to new forms of the language.

Like many other languages in territories where English is the official language, Norf’k lexicon and grammar, have been influenced by English, and Modified Norf’k (Harrison 1985) began to be spoken side-by-side with Broad Norf’k. Other varieties of Norf’k are the second-language learners’ variety learnt at NICS (Norfolk Island Central School) in a formal classroom setting and at language camps. Some children do not develop their language skills beyond those required at school, whilst others use the taught form as a basis for reconnecting with Norf’k speakers outside the school and for some it has become the language of the playground as well.

Yet another variety is used by Islanders who have lost their ability to speak conventional forms of the language. They employ ‘Instant Norfolk’, a variety which was characterized by Laycock (1990:625) as follows:

“It is the variety spoken by those members of the in-group who have imperfectly acquired PN (mostly as a consequence of having grown up in households where PN was not spoken in their childhood) but who wish to assert their right to membership of the group by the use of the group language, to the extent of which they are capable. The rules for this kind of ‘Instant Norfolk’ are absurdly simple. First only two phonological modifications are essential: the replacement of the diphthongs [ei] and [ou] (English gate and home respectively by [e_]/[i_] and [oe_]/[u_] (Norfolk *giet* and *hoem*, in the Laycock/Buffett orthography).”

Instant Norf'k is better characterised as modified English than modified Norf'k. Formal teaching at NICS has reduced the need for Instant Norf'k.

10.11 Which languages is Norf'k related to?

The language most closely related to Norf'k is Pitkern (also known as Pitcairnesse). The reason for having two varieties is due to the fact that in 1856 the entire 193 strong population of Pitcairn Island was resettled on Norfolk Island. Several families back-migrated to Pitcairn in the 1860s. For almost 150 years there was very little contact between the descendants of these two groups, resulting in considerable linguistic divergence. Both groups experienced some contact with speakers of other languages and language varieties such as missionaries, Pacific Islanders and visitors, which account for some differences.

Norf'k is also related to St. Kitts Creole English, one of the languages used by the mutineer Edward Young. The two languages share a significant number of lexical expressions, the salient diphthongs and triphthongs of Norf'k closely resemble those of St. Kitts Creole, some unusual rules of reduplication are shared with St. Kitts as are numerous morpho-syntactic rules. For these reasons some linguists have classified Norf'k as an Atlantic Creole.

The relationship to English is not straightforward. English (dialects) provide the majority of lexical forms, which is an index of the social dominance of English on Pitcairn Island during the formative years of Pitkern-Norf'k. Far fewer lexical meanings are shared and there are significant differences in phonology and morpho-syntax. From a linguistic perspective, Norf'k cannot be classified as a dialect of English nor a direct daughter-language.

10.12 How distinct are Norf'k and English?

The Norf'k language is neither directly related to English nor mutually intelligible. It is technically characterized as an Anglo-Polynesian-St. Kitts Creole language. Its core grammar is typologically different from English.

The view that Norf'k is just incorrect English has a long history and is one of the root causes of the denigration of the Norf'k language and its users.

Contrastive linguistics is commonly employed to identify differences between languages. As such differences can be the source of learning difficulties for L2 learners, contrastive grammars for English and many other languages exist. One of their limitations tends to be that they emphasise external structural differences rather than the less visible semantic and pragmatic differences. As the latter are central to understanding the world view and cultural traits of speakers, they are given particular emphasis in this regard. Unlike conventional contrastive analysis I will also comment on historical aspects, in particular the context of Tahitian and St Kitts Creole.

Differences between languages can be measured in various ways:

a) pronunciation and phonetics

- The general finding is that the pronunciation, as well as the phonological rules, of Norf'k differ significantly from Australian English. There is close affinity with British dialects of English and British Standard English employed by generations of school teachers and settlers from Britain;
- Pronunciation differences- Norf'k and English have a similar consonant inventory, though interdental voiced and voiceless *th* are missing in conservative Norf'k;
- The vowels and diphthongs of Norf'k and English are very different;
- Stress placement in Norf'k at times differs from English, which decreases intelligibility (e.g. *yesttedy* yesterday);
- Intonation, particularly in traditional varieties of Norf'k significantly differs from English;
- The rules for sound assimilation, vowel reduction and pronunciation of word-final consonants differ in the two languages. Importantly, the final *-t* in English shift is deleted in Norf'k *sheff* not only when standing alone but also in inflected forms such as *sheffen* to be shifting. This means that English and

Norfolk in such instances do not share the same underlying mental image (phonemic image) and therefore cannot be mechanically related to one another by simple conversion rules. This is one of the criteria for identifying distinct languages;

- Vowel length in Norfolk is primarily a stylistic device and rarely used to distinguish words as in English;
- Influence of external role model is evident at different stages in the development of the language, in particular that of American whalers and English settlers and educators. Influence from Australian English is relatively recent and as yet not very pronounced;

A general statement on Norfolk phonetics and phonology was given by Ingram & Mühlhäusler (2004). Details (including instrumental phonetic measurements) can be found in Harrison (1972 and 1986). The pronunciation of about 2,000 Norfolk lexical items was recorded by Flint (unpublished manuscript).

b) Lexicon

About 80% of the lexical forms are derived from a number of English dialects as well as Standard English. However, the range of meanings words have can at times be quite different and lead to misunderstanding, eg. *sor* 'sick', *sling* 'to throw', *gehl* 'girl, woman, wife', *drien* 'running watercourse', *mard* 'mad, annoying', *edge* 'cliff face' and many more. About 5% of the lexicon derives from Tahitian and another 5% from St. Kitts Creole. Up to 10% of Norfolk words are not derived from another language and have presumably been invented deliberately or emerged spontaneously. Examples are *hinkabuss* 'no way', *duruch* 'unclean substance'; *gildagara* 'grime on a surface'; *smegos* 'form of address among adolescent males'; *slogos* 'hurriedly whipped up scones', and *gada* 'sexual intercourse'. Another important class of made up words are anthroponyms such as *Big Jack*, *luusi* 'to weep', *bremam* 'very thin', *snel* 'to cater insufficiently' and about fifty others, most of them socially highly sensitive. A list of the 100 most frequent words in Norfolk can be found in Appendix 1. Norfolk exclamations and other interjections are intriguingly distinct from those found in English and appear to be strongly influenced by Tahitian. As these words are often an expression of emotions they could reveal more about the distinct emotions of Norfolk Islanders. A list of common interjections is given in appendix 3.

The Tahitian words in the Norfolk language reflect a pattern commonly encountered in contact languages: Whereas in Creole languages "the broad semantic domain of European-derived words...may be termed *public*" (Holm 1988 : 82), the domains of non-European derived words are typically private and include sexuality, food preparation and child rearing. Pitkern/Norfolk is no exception to this general principle, though Tahitian –derived words are more strongly in evidence in the domain of taboo, marked and undesirable phenomena than in other Creole languages known to me. The strong link between undesirable objects and practices and the Tahitian culture can be interpreted as a sign of the racism that was very much in evidence in the history of Pitcairn. It is noted that many of the taboo expressions in Pitkern-Norfolk (e.g. sexual terms) would not have been taboo in Tahitian, but in the perception of the fundamentalist Christian community that emerged after 1800 certainly had become dangerous words. Of the approximately 200+ words of Tahitian origin, about 75 words belong to this category, contrasting with 38 names for plants, 15 for parts of plants, 30 fishnames, 21 words referring to food preparation, 16 to domestic implements and 33 to a range of other domains. Particularly interesting is that there are 75 semantically negatively marked words of Tahitian origin and only 11 positively marked ones.

Examples of the former category include:

Tahitian-derived word	Meaning in Pitkern-Norfolk
<i>ama'ula</i> , <i>uma-oola</i> > T. <i>amaura</i> 'ignoramus'	awkward, ungainly or clumsy
<i>buhu</i> > T. <i>puu</i> 'ball, protruberance'	Contusion, swelling from a bump
<i>eeyulla</i> > T. <i>aruaru</i> 'infantile, childish'	adolescent, immature, not dry behind the ears
<i>gari</i> > T. <i>tare</i> 'phlegm'	accumulation of dirt, dust, grime, grease etc.
<i>halu</i> > T. <i>haru</i> 'rob, seize by violence', robber'	person suffering abject poverty, person of no consequence
<i>hapa</i> > T. <i>hapa</i> 'deviation, error, sin,	Crippled, ill, crooked due to one leg being shorter

irregular, crooked'	
<i>hawa</i> > T. <i>hava</i> 'dirty, befouled'	excrement, faeces
<i>hoopaye</i> > T. <i>hupe</i> 'mucous of the nose'	mucous secreted in the nose
<i>howa-howa</i> > T. <i>havahava</i> 'dirty, filthy, befouled'	to soil one's pants from a bowel movement
<i>hua</i> < T. <i>hua</i> 'the testicles of animals'	male genitals
<i>iti</i> > T. <i>iiti</i> 'twitchings before labour pains'	any of the wasting diseases but mainly referring to tuberculosis
<i>laha, lu-hu</i> > T. <i>raha</i> 'downy, hairy'	dandruff
<i>loofee, lufi</i> > Tahitian <i>ruhi</i> 'drowsy'	out of sorts, not well
<i>maioe</i> > T. <i>ma</i> (augmentative) + <i>ioio</i> 'make a noise as little children'	given to whimpering or crying a lot, like a child but not necessarily a child
<i>mahoen, mahone</i> < T. <i>mahoahoa</i> 'sluggish, loitering, idle'	Malingering
<i>Mehoe</i> < T. <i>mehe</i> 'to be hiding or seeking refuge among the bushes'	Insecure, timid
<i>mulloo</i> > T. <i>maro</i> 'narrow piece of cloth worn by men'	sanitary napkin
<i>mutty-mutty, muti</i> > T. <i>mate</i> 'death, illness'	dead, died
<i>nanu, nannoo</i> > T. <i>nanu</i> 'envy, jealousy'	jealous
<i>ootatow</i> > T. <i>utatau</i> 'little yams that grow on the vine'	youth who has reached maturity but is still very small in stature
<i>Podi</i> < T. <i>potii</i> 'girl'	Vagina
<i>Ponapona</i> > T. <i>ponapona</i> 'having joints'	Hard and knobbly
<i>po-o, < ?</i> Tahitian <i>paa paa</i> 'dried up'	barren or infertile soil, dried out (of skin), affected with dry rot
<i>Puu, poo-oo</i> > T. <i>puu</i> 'unripe'	Unripe
<i>tarpou</i> > T. <i>tapao</i> 'sign, mark'	stains on the hands caused from peeling some fruit or vegetables
<i>toohi, tuuhi</i> > T. <i>tuhi</i> 'to curse'	to curse, blaspheme or swear
<i>tye-tye</i> < Tahitian <i>taimai</i> 'bitter, insipid'	tasteless food
<i>Uumeer, oomeear</i> < T. <i>umere</i> 'to brag'	To exaggerate
<i>unna-unna</i>	to lack self-confidence
<i>uuaa</i> > T. <i>uua</i> 'to open and distend, as a flower'	sitting ungraciously, opening of a flower
<i>wa-haloo</i> > ? T. <i>ahuru</i> 'rotten or decayed state'	dilapidated, ramshackle
<i>whawhaha</i> > Tahitian <i>vaha</i> 'mouth'	conceited, full of self-importance
<i>Waawaha</i>	haughty, conceited, arrogant, self-important

Tahitian words are also in evidence in the domain of women's affairs and nursery environment, though some of the following ones are not exclusive to this context.

Habuu	Pregnant
Ipi	Little darling, little fool < Tahitian <i>ipo</i> 'darling'
Maia	Midwife
Maio	Cry, whimper, snivel > Tahitian <i>mimio</i> 'wrinkled face'
Mimi	To urinate < Tahitian <i>mimi</i>
puu puu	To huddle close together

The kitchen and food preparation again was the domain of the women who brought with them detailed knowledge about food found on Pitcairn and food preparation. Their input is still reflected in the Pitkern

and Norf'k languages, though with changed dietary habits, many of these terms have become obsolete, particularly on Norfolk Island. Once the name for food in general was *mataio*, a word still heard occasionally on Pitcairn. Some traditional dishes were:

<i>orlye, olee</i>	'Pitcairn banana dish'
<i>paa'a</i>	'roasted fish'
<i>Pilhai</i>	'boiled pudding'
<i>Poi</i>	'pudding sweet'
<i>Popoi</i>	'dish made with mashed ingredients'
<i>Pote</i>	'cooked in taro leaves'
<i>Tairo</i>	'sauce made with rotten coconut'

Food preparation utensils and equipment words include:

<i>ana,</i>	seat grater
<i>tu'i</i>	stone pounder

Words describing the qualities of the dishes prepared were:

<i>Jamu</i>	'bad-tasting, particularly when the food was
<i>mono-mono, mone-mone</i>	'very tasty'
<i>Nami</i>	'bad, gone rotten'
<i>Taitai</i>	'insipid'

Preparation of food involved activities such as:

<i>papahaia</i>	'to pound food on a wooden block'
<i>Pehe</i>	'to strip banana leaves for making <i>pilhai</i> '
<i>Udi</i>	'to wash, to rinse', especially root vegetables
<i>Wihi</i>	'wrap in a banana leaf to cook'

A final domain are emotion words Tahitian emotions (Heelas 1986) differ considerably from those of the British sailors and there are continuing differences between present-day Pitcairners and Norfolk Islanders and outsiders; some of these are evidenced in language. However, this is a very complex topic and cannot be dealt with here in detail. There are a number of expressions of Tahitian origin such as:

hili – feeling of being pleasantly unemployed
eeyalla – precocious, acting older than one really is
wawaha – haughty, self important
nanu – jealous, envious, grudging

The bulk of emotion words, however, are forms of English origin though they do not necessarily have English meanings.

Words of St. Kitts provenance include:

<i>yorlye</i>	you (pl)
<i>baeng</i>	hit, slam
<i>bubby</i>	breast
<i>dem</i>	the, those
<i>Irish tieti</i>	potato (as opposed to sweet potato)
<i>morga</i>	thin
<i>miekmiek</i>	confusion, fiddle around aimlessly
<i>nasey, nehse</i>	nasty, ugly
<i>barla</i>	castrated pig
<i>borlout</i>	shout

<i>shimmy</i>	singlet or undervest
<i>hide-hoo-up</i>	game of hide-and-seek
<i>moosa</i>	almost

The remaining 10% of words are local coinages or words borrowed from Maori, Mota and Melanesian Pidgin English. This composition is comparable to a number of pidgins and creoles related to, but not mutually intelligible with, English.

Locally coined words involve compounding, reduplication and multifunctionality.

Compounds of Norf'k follow the word-formation patterns found in English and West Indian Creole, though the resulting forms are often unique to Norf'k. Examples are:

Noun + Adjective

<i>baelful</i>	having overeaten
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Noun + Noun

<i>bacca stuff</i>	wild tobacco plant
<i>bag apon</i>	an apron made from discarded sugar bags
<i>baket fish</i>	type of red cod
<i>goesbad</i>	ghostbird, petrel
<i>pine pitch</i>	Norfolk Pine sap

Adjective + Noun

<i>big wortā</i>	open sea
<i>blaeck smael</i>	unpleasant smell
<i>long suite</i>	favourite thing, food etc

Norf'k also has a number of less common and more complex exocentric compounds including:

Noun + Noun

<i>faentail</i>	kind of bird (the birds tail is like a fan)
<i>hard belly</i>	a rather tasteless fish with little flesh
<i>devils guts</i>	a creeper with sharp thorns

Adjective + Noun

<i>Big Jack</i>	to weep (in memory of Jack Evans who tended to be weepy)
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Verb + Noun

<i>wipe-feet</i>	doormat
<i>grarb-ar-lege</i>	bindi, plant with burs that hook in the feet

Whereas Norf'k has borrowed many words from English, when it comes to names for endemic lifeforms, compounding is usually preferred. Two examples are particularly noteworthy:

Compounds with the lexical base *bastard* in initial position to indicate a less useful or uncultivated variety as in:

<i>bastard aienwood</i>	sharkwood tree
<i>bastard oek</i>	kind of oak tree
<i>bastard taala</i>	non edible taro

This construction may be of St. Kitts origin. A similar use of *bastard-* is documented for several West Indian Creoles.

The other example worth special mention are compounds beginning with *hoem* home signaling something of Pitcairn origin as in:

<i>hoem naenwi</i>	dreamfish
<i>hoem oefi</i>	Pitcairn variety of the <i>oefi</i> fish
<i>hoem owl</i>	a kind of cuckoo

Reduplication

Reduplication is rare in English but relatively frequent in Norf'k. It is one part of Norf'k grammar that is significantly different from English. Mühlhäusler (2002) has provided a preliminary analysis of reduplicated forms in Norf'k: Most of these are lexical items borrowed from Tahitian or the result of phonological simplification. Productive reduplication (which follows grammatical rules of the language) is similar to that found in St. Kitts Creole and is still used to make up new expressions. Productive reduplication can either be iconic (it mimics intensity, repletion, or size). Iconic reduplication is frequent in animated Norf'k speech. Of greater interest (because they are not predictable from universal discourse properties) are the following three categories, most likely to have originated in the speech of the St Kitts mutineer, Edward Young.

X-like (x-like) – suggests something is like the adjective or verb that is reduplicated

hili-hili (adj.)

- rolling, undulating, hilly, as rolling hills; rough, choppy, swelly, as a rough sea

Wen safe s hili-hili nor gwen bii ile-ile en kaa duu fguu orn worta

miek-miek (verb)

- to work unsystematically, to muddle around (characteristic behaviour)

Doo arsa me whuthing I bin doo, I moosa de-ed fe ti-ed en all I bin doo who-ull daye es maek-maek

pik-pik (verb)

- to pick at repeatedly

Shi yuusa stideya pikpik simis berd daas fut shi morga es wieh shi es

pik-pik (noun)

- a kind of triggerfish (Pitkern) (Kallgard 1980)
- Norf'k: fish, when cooked its easy to pick flesh from bones

tun-tun (adj.) [tantan]

- changeable, unreliable

I nawa know-a whether fe talk lorng furret ulla nort, shi dar tun-tun!

Deverbal adjective (DA)

(DA) *brek-brek* (adj.)

- broken into small pieces (yet to be further shattered)

Daa oel brek brek thing teket ef yu want

(DA) *huti-huti* (adj.)

- to be torn in many places, to have more than one tear, to have gone into holes (of knitted things)

Dlies orn ieh patkot s hutithuti bat ieh patkot guud, soe I gwen chienj aa lies

- to hurriedly tidy up an area

Tabi ai jes hutihuti thruu ya, den himii staat

(DA) *kraek-kraek* (adj.)

- badly chapped, of hands or feet for example (crack- crack)
- Si waye her harn se crack-crack side shi use-a work semis a maen!*
I know-a waye his feet ell skrep orn a sheet, si et how crack-crack

(DA) *teya-teya* (adj.)

- torn in many places
- Yu nor wunt aye tear-tear cot, yu wunt et? Cos I like et fe I goo fishen*

Deverbal noun (DN)

(DN) (P) *baiti-baiti* (noun, verb)

- an insect that bites multiple times
- a kind of shellfish that causes multiple small lacerations on feet if walked upon (Pitkern)

(DN) *faat-faat* (noun) (Pitkern)

- wild beans (synonym for *lab-lab*.)

Goethesson (1997: 236) the local names musical bean and *faat-faat* derives from the fact that the beans are aperient Etymology: fart

(DN) *uli-uli* (verb, noun)

- to wiggle

Chail, ef yu nor dan uli uli baut in cherch ai gwen fain samsing baeta f yu duu wen wi get hoem

- mosquito larvae (Pitkern only)

Norfolk does not have a reduplicative construction that is becoming common in Australian English, i.e. the reduplication of a noun or adjective to indicate that one is dealing with the real thing: This is food-food, love –love, yummy-yummy.

Syntax refers to the way words are strung together into larger constructions such as phrases and sentences. Whilst English and Norfolk share some syntactic properties there are a very large number of differences.

The differences between Norfolk and English are far reaching. Importantly, they are found in the core components including:

- expressing simple questions and commands
- pronoun grammar
- possessives and benefactives
- rules of sentence coordination
- the grammar of number
- articles and noun modifiers
- the rules for the copula (to be)

Norfolk and English share a basic Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) word order in declarative sentences. Unlike some creoles, Norfolk has a complex grammar of subordinating sentences, which differs from English in significant ways. Both English and Norfolk have word classes, though multiple word class membership is more common in Norfolk and the difference between predicative adjectives and verbs (as in Tahitian and St. Kitts Creole) less pronounced.

Some differences are suggestive of simplification; English has two ways of expressing stages of comparison of adjectives, depending on the number of syllables. Norf'k has only one:

wuss - wussa – wusses bad-worse- worst
meyameya - memyameyara – meyameyares withered - more withered - most withered
morga - morgara – morgares lean - leaner - leanest

Other differences combine simplification with complication. In English possession is signaled by means of –s for human/animate nouns as in *dad's chair* or *dog's breakfast* and by means of 'for' other nouns: a sign of the times, a branch of a tree. In Norf'k all classes of nouns can have the possessive marker –s as in *pains lem* 'branch of a pine tree', *chairs lege* 'leg of a chair', *dads shimmy* 'dad's vest'. There is, however, another possessive construction involving the preposition *fer* (typically combined with –s). The difference between these two constructions will be discussed below, as it is indicative of the Norfolk Islanders' different concepts of ownership and control.

In comparing languages one can appeal to the principle that languages do not differ as much in what they can express than what they have to express: English has to express the difference between singular and plural nouns - Norf'k does not have to but has means to do it; English has to express tense, Norf'k does not; Norf'k has to mark location and direction. English 'to Kingston' is translated as *doun ar Toun*, English 'to Cooks monument' is *out Cook*. Norf'k distinguishes singular, dual and plural pronouns; English only singular and plural, to name some examples.

Languages also differ in the grammatical means needed to express certain ideas.

The passive construction is an interesting example as passives are quite rare in contact Englishes. English 'it is made on Norfolk' translates as *se meket orn Norfolk*, without auxiliary verb.

Yes/no Interrogative sentences in Norf'k are distinguished declarative ones (with few exceptions such as *ell* / 'may I') by intonation only, unlike English:

Yu kamen? Are you coming? Did you come?

Norf'k imperative sentences again are distinguished from declarative ones by intonation only:

Yorlye cum look orn: (you pl) Come and look! Unlike in English the presence of the second person pronoun is the preferred construction.

Wh-interrogatives with questions words (such as *who? when? what?* in English) employ a set of Norf'k interrogatives such as

<i>Foot?</i>	Why?
<i>Bout?</i>	Where?
<i>Whattime?</i>	When?
<i>Whathing?</i>	What?
<i>Webaut?</i>	Where?

The system is complicated by merged expressions such as *wies* where is?

English has compulsory tense for verbs in main clauses; in Norf'k tense is optional and often implied by context:

Dem ell come they are, were will be able to come

Norf'k tense differs from English in a very significant way: Gleißner (n.d: 61-62) notes that:

“Tense in Norfolk is apparently not seen with respect to the moment of utterance, but in relation to the time of the main event that is talked about. In order to express that an event took place prior or later with respect to the time frame – or will take place in the future, if the time frame refers to the moment of speaking –, particles are made use of. Like all verbal markers of Norfolk tense markers precede the verb”.

Tense and aspects can be signaled by means of a large number of grammatical markers such as *bin* past continuous *se* past completed or *gwen* future as in:

Hi bin out fer lorngtime he has been gone for quite a while
Dem se hoem They have arrived home
I gwen rumma morla I will collect periwinkles tomorrow

Norf'k, like English, has a continuous marker (-en)

Dem aartaren they are, were admiring

One of the salient differences between English and Norf'k verb grammar concerns the Norf'k equivalent of the English copula to be:

Norf'k does not require a copula with predicative adjectives:

I goed I am well

The copula *ess* is required for nominal predicates:

Ess sweetan this is a sweet item
Dem ess big sullen they are grown ups

With predicates indicating change of state or completion the particle *se* is used:

I se goed I am well now (after having recovered from an illness),
Dem se fatu they are knackered
Mais Harry se big now my Harry has grown up

Some adjectives are never used without *se*, for instance:

<i>Se rusty</i>	it is rusty
<i>Se deede</i>	dead
<i>Se fatu</i>	exhausted

Generally speaking, tense, modality and aspect in Norf'k is complex and in many ways very different from English.

Only a few brief comments can be made about the syntax of complex sentences. Norf'k differs from most other contact Englishes in having a large number of them, allowing its users to express complex connections between ideas and to emphasise and de-emphasise content. The rules for constructing complex sentences markedly differ from English, as can be illustrated with the following examples;

Relative sentences, i.e. subordinate sentences introduced by relativizers such as ‘who, which, that’ in English. In Norf'k there are no overt relativisers. Instead the relative clause simply follows the noun to be modified as in:

Mickey de one use a werk deya nou. Mickey is the one who works there now
Gut one track leaden into et. There is a path that leads into it

Whereas English uses subordination for both restrictive (further specifying the noun that is modified) and non-restrictive (simply providing additional information about the noun modified) relative sentences, Norf'k expresses the latter by simply conjoining sentences.

Adverbial sentences are subordinated sentences that provide specific information about the when, why, how etc. of an action or state. English examples are:

He left before he had finished his meal.
 The dog barked, because the burglar made a noise.
 She acted as if she was cross.

Unlike many creoles and contact Englishes, Norf'k possesses a large number of forms that introduce adverbial clauses. They include:

Time: *aafra* after, *wail* while *wen* when, *wenaewa* whenever, *biifor* before, *tal* until, *suuunes* as soon as, *lornges* as long as, *faastaim* when first
 Cause and effect: *ko(s)* because, *sait* because, *miek* because
 Opposition: *orlthoe* although, *dumain* although
 Conditional: *(s)ef* if, *wedha* whether, *swaeda* whether, *spoesen* if, suppose, *watef* what if, *anles* unless
 Manner: *semes (wieh)* like, *sef* like if
 Place: *said* where
 Purpose and result: *soe* so that, *bembeya* lest

Examples of some of these used to introduce subordinate sentences are:

Faastaim ai sii yu ai se fried When I saw you first I was afraid
Ai se bun f sun said ai bin in ar sun I got sunburnt because or where I was in the sun
Duumain dem nor kam daun wi gwena haew auas paati Even if they dont come daun to us we shall have our party
wii work ap gen a fens bembeya dem chies ucklun 'we walked towards the fence so that they (the cows) could not chase us'.

In some instances Norf'k does not introduce complementizers to introduce adverbial sentences but employs verb serialization (a construction not commonly encountered in English. An example is:

Orl ucklun goe out trai ouwas luk 'all of us Norfolk Islanders went out to try our luck'.

These are only some areas of syntax where Norf'k and English differ. Descriptive accounts of other areas of Norf'k syntax can be found in Buffett & Laycock (1988), Harrison (1972), and Mühlhäusler & Nash (2013). Cumulatively such accounts confirm that we are dealing with an independent language and not a simplified or slightly modified form of English.

The greatest differences between Norf'k and English are in evidence in the area of **semantics and pragmatics**: The close similarity of English and Norf'k word forms should not be taken as evidence for sameness of meaning. In fact, a large number of seemingly English-like Norf'k words and expressions differ in denotative as well as connotative meaning.

In addition to densely populated semantic fields pertaining to the physical environment (e.g. names for banana varieties and parts of bananas) there are a couple of specific semantic fields, which are central to the world view of Norfolk Islanders. These are the semantics of spatial orientation and the semantics of possession.

Unlike English spatial orientation, which is always relative to the speaker (up from, down from, left of, right of, far from, near etc the speaker) Norf'k has two complementary spatial orientation systems, one similar to English, the other an absolute system similar to spatial orientation systems in Polynesian languages. To talk about places, distance and direction are expressed in relation to absolute reference points. The most important one is *daun* the Kingston area, *up* Mount Pit, and (for some speakers) *een* Burnt Pine). To express location and direction speakers using this absolute system employ a mental map of Norfolk Island. This map extends to the surrounding Ocean where Norfolk islanders traditionally fish. Thus, commenting on the two Norfolk Island fishing ground names *Up the Northwest* and *Down to the East* Nash (2009a: 128) observes that the use of the spatial prepositions on the vertical axis in these offshore fishing ground names, i.e. *up* and *down* from the main reference point of Kingston, agree with the suggestion of an absolute spatial orientation system. The journey to Philip Island usually begins at Kingston Pier.

A comparison between Norf'k and language English shows major differences in the way that people talk about and conceptualise location. This can be illustrated with the responses to questions about location.

E: Where are you two going? We are going to Kingston, to Anson Bay, to the airport, to Pitcairn Island, to Aunt Em's place.

N: *Bout yorlye gwen? Himii gwen Doun ar Toun, out Anson, roun ar droem, up Pitcairn, up Aunt Em's.*

E: Where do you live? In Middlegate, in Duncombe Bay

N: *Bout you lew? Up Meddlegate, out Duncombe.*

E: What do you call this place? Kingston, Cooks Monument?

N: *What name des side? Doun ar Toun, out Cooks*

In other words, where English employs generic locational and directional prepositions or markers such as *in* and *to*, with an option for further specification such as I am going up to Middlegate. The choice of these specifiers is determined by the relative location of the speaker vis-à-vis the location talked about.

Norf'k, by contrast, employs obligatory prepositions or markers that specify the location vis-à-vis fixed reference points. To go to the Norfolk island Central School (NICS) from Kingston is translated as *go up ar school*. Exactly the same expression is used when travelling from the Palm Glen area (situated in *up in ar stick*), as the school is always up in relation to Kingston, no matter where your journey begins. The principal markers are *doun*, *out*, *up*, *cross* and *roun*. A similar absolute use of spatial prepositions is also encountered in Pitkern from where it presumably was brought and adapted to the specific topological conditions of Norfolk Island. Many place names virtually never appear without a spatial determiner:

Norf'k	English
<i>Out Yenna</i>	Out yonder
<i>Out ar Station</i>	Out at the Cable Station
<i>Out ar Mission</i>	Out at the Melanesian Mission
<i>Out ar Windmill</i>	Out at the Windmill
<i>Down a Town</i>	Kingston
<i>Round Country</i>	The area around the airport
<i>Up in ar stick</i>	Up in the mountainous wooded area

<i>Up Chats</i>	Up at Chats house
<i>Cross ar Water</i>	Across the water (place near Cascade)
<i>Up BPs</i>	Up in Middlegate where the old BP petrol station was located

Location of houses and their subsequent names are often introduced by the use of a topographical descriptor, e.g. *up Chats*, *down Hookys*.

Possession

Possessives are a part of grammar where English and Norf'k differ in a number of significant ways:

formally - English signals possession either by means of a possessive -s added to a noun signifying possessor or by means of the preposition 'of'. Norfolk employs the following options:

Noun + Noun juxtaposed, an old and rare construction except when it relates to a communal ownership such as *Taro Ground* the swampy area of Kingston:

Noun + s

Noun *fer* Noun (+ s)

In Norf'k the rules for selecting 's or *fer* are not sensitive (as in English) to whether one is dealing with an animate or an inanimate noun (see above).

Grammatical choice is usually a reflection of semantic differences. The choice between 's and *fer* in Norf'k is a matter of complexity. It is reminiscent of the Polynesian choice between 'a' and 'o' possession, but not identical. The most general statement that can be made is that it is sensitive to the perceived or real control the possessor has of the relationship with what he or she possesses. There is little one can do about the relationship with one's parents / ancestors, but one can control the relationship with one's material possessions, dispose of them, bequeath them etc.

Again, generally speaking, the 's is chosen when the relationship is beyond the owner's control, the *fer* construction, where there is control.

Whereas the choice of the English possessive markers -s and of is determined by factors such as the animacy of the possessor or the length of the phrase referring to the possessor, the choice between the -s and the *fer* possessive markers in Norf'k is determined by the nature of the relationship between possessor and what is possessed. In other words, in English it is a grammatical matter, in Norf'k a semantic (like in Polynesian languages) matter. **The semantics of possession (particularly, but not exclusively, in traditional Broad Norf'k) are closely linked to cultural concepts of ownership, mutual obligations and custodianship.** The grammar is highly complex, but some examples will help bring out how relationship between possessor and possessed is expressed. Thus, one can contrast *daa side fe ucklun* our place, name of Youth Centre, *thaenks fe ucklun* our thanks, or *Pine fer Robinsons* a pine tree associated with someone from the Robinson family used as a landmark by fishermen.

Contrast this with:

<i>Ouwas side</i>	Our family home
<i>Dons tintoela</i>	Don's darling friend
<i>Greg side</i>	Greg's home
<i>Uckluns Norf'k</i>	Our Norf'k language

Rachel Nebauer (personal communication, October 2014) informs me that:

Both *f'* and *side* are interchangeable however I think there are differences in degree of ownership and also a higher degree of spatial delineation. *Stegside* is much more prolific than *daa side f' Stegs*. There is an absoluteness about the use of *side* and knowledge of ownership is widely known and incontestable. The use of *side* generally comes with a very long period of ownership, and behind are mostly generations of ownership. These places are often owned by very proud island families of Pitkern descent where family, family land, history and heritage are very important aspects of identity. These places are more likely to be passed on in the typical island tradition than they are to be sold.

The *fer* possession marker is also used as a distancing device in both time and topological and personal space:

- When owners have passed on, the property is most likely to be referred to with *side fer*. Thus, the house called 'Orsom' is *dar side fer Nellie and Chuck's* and *Pully's side*, after his death, is called *side fer Pully's*:
- Intimate knowledge about ownership of land is found mainly among members of particular residential areas such as *Rocky Point Sullun*, for those who live at Rocky Point, *Anson Bay Sullen*, for people from Anson Bay and *Cascade Sullen* for those who live at Cascade. They are more likely to refer to a property in their area with the 's construction, whereas Islanders from more distant areas prefer the *fer* construction;
- Property belonging to a related Islander is generally referred to with the 's construction, property belonging to a distant relative or a non-Pitcairner is usually referred to with the *fer* construction.

11 Norfolk Islander Identity

The question 'who do Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn descent identify with?' has a long history. When the Pitcairn Islanders had their first contacts with the outside world in 1808 the following conversation took place between Captain Folger and several young Island men:

"He [Folger] ... told them that he was an American from Boston. This they did not immediately understand. With great earnestness they said, 'You are an American; you come from America; where is America? Is it in Ireland?'

Captain Folger ... inquired, 'Who are you?' – 'We are Englishmen.' – 'Where were you born?' – 'On that island which you see.' – 'How then are you Englishmen, if you were born on that island, which the English do not own, and never possessed?' – 'We are Englishmen because our father was an Englishmen.' – 'Who is your father?' – With a very interesting simplicity they answered, 'Aleck'. – 'Who is Aleck?' – 'Don't you know Aleck?' – 'How should I know Aleck?' – 'Well then, did you know Captain Bligh of the Bounty?'

The identification of the Islanders as English rather than Polynesian was a deliberate act of identity of John Adams. Adams also invited two Englishmen, Buffett and Evans to settle on Pitcairn to keep up English ways of life and the English language on Pitcairn. They were subsequently joined by another English speaker, the Irishman, Nobbs.

"Nobbs was particularly significant in promoting an English/ British identity for the Pitcairn community. This was made manifest for the anthem that he wrote (at an unknown date), which was "sung on Pitcairn for many years as the national anthem" to the tune of *Rousseu's* dram (Nobbs, 1984: 113). The song's lyrics represent the celebration of the Queen's birthday, an event that was to become one of the main festivities in the Pitcairn calendar, as in its opening verse:

*"Mid the mighty Southern Ocean
Stands an isolated rock
Blanched by surf's commotion
Riven by the lightning's shock*

*Hark those strains to heaven ascending
From those slopes of vivid green
Old and young voices blending
God preserve Britannia's Queen."* (Hayward, 2006: 29)

The identification of Pitcairn Islanders with English people probably came to an end in 1831 when the entire population experienced a traumatic resettlement in Tahiti. This experience, on the one hand, led the Pitcairners to the conviction that they definitely did not want to identify with Tahiti. On the other hand, they also experienced the unwillingness of the European resident in Tahiti to accept them as white people or even Englishmen. For the next hundred years or so, the Pitcairners were commonly referred to as 'natives'. Laycock (1989) has argued that the Pitcairners' brief sojourn in Tahiti led to a linguistic and cultural act of identity that asserted the uniqueness of the Pitcairners as a special race of people.

The term English, by that time had become more ambivalent. On the one hand, it stood for the Norfolk Islanders continuing identification with Britain, on the other it had come to mean 'outsider', and it is still used in this meaning in both Pitcairn and Norfolk Island:

Around the same time, the term '*ucklun* 'we islanders', had become firmly established in the language (Klingel 1999, Mühlhäusler 2014). Its most likely origin is the expression 'our clan', a hypothesis supported by the fact that two Scotsmen were among the mutineers. *Ucklun* (and its variants *ucklen*, *aklan*, *utlun* etc.) the expression *ucklun en dem* 'we and the others' continue to be used on both Pitcairn and Norfolk. *Ucklun en dem* is the name of an e-publication produced by Pitcairn Islanders and could be translated as 'we and the rest of the world'.

The pronoun *ucklun* 'we' is one of the most common words of the Norfolk language. It is used only with reference to persons of Pitcairn descent (unlike *we* which can refer to mixed groups) and thus constantly reinforces the sense of Pitcairn descendant identity. It is employed in a number of ways to signal and strengthen this identity (details in Mühlhäusler 2014).

Ritzau (2006) distinguishes between two discourses about Norfolk Islander identity, one political, one cultural.

The common components of the political discourses have been summarized under the heading of 'topic' in the section on the Ethnography of Speaking. Detailed accounts of the political discourses about identity have been the subject of two academic theses (Ritzau 2006 and Low 2012)-analysing these is not part of the brief of this report.

Cultural discourses about identity are selective in all cultures, including that of the Pitcairn descendants on Norfolk Island. What is selected can change over time: In the case of the discourses of the Pitcairn descendants, the contribution of the Polynesian women to their identity has been downplayed, the contribution of Edward Young's St Kitts creole culture has been generally ignored., whilst Tahitian dishes were prepared, children's games from St Kitts were practiced and Polynesian ways of child rearing were continued. Once Tahitian culture was revalorized it became part of the overt cultural discourse. (a caveat: Almost all historical records feature the voices of male islanders-the discourses of the female islanders may well have been very different)

Cultural discourses have been particularly strong in the diaspora. The fact that the revalorization of Tahitian culture began with the temporary emigration of many Norfolk Islanders to Sydney and other centres on Australia's East Coast after the Great Depression is a case in point. Importantly, many Norfolk Islanders chose to identify with fellow Pacific Islanders rather than Australians, as their joining the Polynesian Club in Sydney and vigorous participation in its activities demonstrates. Hayward (2006: 58-59) relates "the beginning of a conscious embrace of a pan-Pacific identity for Norfolk Islanders, predominately focused on

Polynesian aspects,” which “did not occur until in the late 1930s and did not acquire significant political momentum until the 1980s, when Norfolk Island began to be represented at Pacific Arts Festivals.”

Dissatisfaction with the Australian Administration was one of the causes of the reclamation of a Polynesian identity:

“During the 1930s Norfolk Island experiences an economic depression that many felt was inadequately understood and mismanaged by the island’s Australian administration. One outcome of this disillusionment was a revival of interest in aspects of Polynesian culture and the rebellion of Fletcher Christian and the *Bounty* mutineers against the harsh regime of Captain Bligh. This renewed interest was sparked by two complementary factors: the international re-popularisation of the *Bounty* saga in novels and films and the experiences of islanders displaced to Sydney in the 1930s and 1940s.” (Hayward, 2006: 85)

In Sydney, the Polynesian Club provided a venue to develop the reclaimed cultural identity of the Norfolk Islanders:

“In 1942 members of the Polynesian Club began performing open-air concerts in Sydney’s Martin Place, war related fundraisers (for organisations such as Red Cross) and other entertainments for Australian and visiting soldiers. Norfolk Islanders Ivy Buffett and Cora Young were regular and enthusiastic dancers in such events and were also joined on occasion by Aldin Buffett, Dora Buffett, Barbara Christian, Hagar Christian, Sheba Menghetti, Helen Quintal, Vina Quintal, John Young and Vele Young. Together with this pool of nine identified public performers, occasional items in PIM report that sixteen other identified Norfolk Islanders attended the club during the late 1930s-early 1940s. Given the highly infrequent listings of specific names, it can be safely assumed that the number of Norfolk visitors was considerably higher.” (Hayward, 2006: 94)

Again, as increasing numbers of young Norfolk Islanders study on the Australian mainland they uphold and emphasize their distinct identity by cooking, displaying objects from Norfolk Island and increasingly, by speaking Norf’k.

“For people from Norfolk Island living in Australia the expression of Norfolk as ‘home’ is strong within the dominant construct of their cultural identity. Continuing to maintain a cultural identity in circumstances of transition such as geographic mobility highlights the changing nature of social networks.” (Evans, 2013: 23)

As regards living their culture, there were only limited changes to the culture of the Pitcairn Islanders subsequent to their removal to Norfolk Island.

“The cultural performance of Pitcairn identity slowly changes however, as new bodies began to arrive and new ways of being on-island began to develop. These were not radical departures from traditional behaviour, rather an incremental change over time. Although political disputation was beginning to arise this time is a quiet period in the history (and historical record) of the island. It was not until the changes within the community generated by the arriving bodies of new settlers in the 1960s and 1970s that more obvious change began to occur. From my reading of historical information, coupled with information gathered on the island, I believe there is a particular change that has occurred in recent years. This has been a significant change in the descendant attitudes to outsiders, as demonstrated by their claiming of difference and seeking separation in some way from ‘others’.” (Ritzau, 2006: 52-53)

Among the things that did not change was the identification of Norfolk Islanders as British subjects.

“Many Norfolk Islanders have continued to reciprocate in this relationship historically through displays of loyalty, allegiance and sacrifice to the Crown and through symbolic activities that draw on and accentuate continuing links between both Pitcairn and Norfolk Island and Britain. They treated their

monarch as though they were partaking in a continuing personal relationship with her. The personal aspect of this relationship did not completely disappear over the years since the original gift, as is indicated by the continuing loyalty and appeals to the Crown as a 'known' entity, and the continuing high regard that Islanders held for members of the Royal Family". (Low, 2012: 51-52)

In the present dual cultural identification with British and Tahitian culture, there remains little room for identifying with Australia. Norfolk Islanders speaking about their experience of work or study in Australia often comment that they felt like strangers.

Whilst the cultural discourses and the cultural re-enactment of the Mutiny on the Bounty and the Arrival of the Pitcairners on Norfolk reinforce the *kumfrum* 'ancestry' component of identity, the cultural practices of day-by-day living reflect the locally developed adaptation of the mixed British-Polynesian community: isolation, unreliable crops, lack of money and materials resources, absence of a harbour, having to make do. In this domain Norfolk Islanders express their identity by doing, not by talking about doing.

Some of these less salient cultural practices found among most islanders until WW 2 and still found in some island homes have been discussed by Wiseman (1977) and Marrington (1981). Norfolk Islanders of Pitcairn ancestry have lived differently from other groups resident on the island including the Melanesian Mission, Australian administration personnel, and mainlander settlers and residents arriving on Norfolk from the 1960s in search of a tax haven. And whilst Norfolk Islanders may not explicitly ask the question "How do I want to live?" they regard their way of life as a desirable one.

12 Ethnography of speaking and Pragmatics

12.1 General remarks

The ethnography of speaking is a standard method (established by Hymes 1964) of documenting and analysing the communication practices within the wider context of social and cultural practices of a group of speakers.

A number of the cultural rules underlying language use of the Norfolk Islanders are quite distinct those of mainstream British or Australian English, and often a source of misunderstandings as the pragmatics of Norf'k are carried over to English as spoken by Norfolk Islanders. The situation is comparable to that prevailing among English speaking Aboriginal people in South East Queensland (Eades, 1982). Eades demonstrated that the failure of Anglo Australian judges and educators to recognize the distinct Aboriginal rules for using English can lead to miscarriage of justice, sub-optimal educational outcomes and poor intercultural communication. Research on the ethnography of speaking on Norfolk Island is still in progress. The following remarks are based on extensive field notes and observations on particular points by numerous observers.

I shall explore some of the conventional categories such as code, genre, and focus on those areas where British and Australian English differ from Norf'k.:

12.2 Setting and scene

Setting refers to the physical circumstances (place and time), scene to the psychological ones such as sense of seriousness.

Whilst English in Australia is a neutral language, which can be employed in any setting and scene, Norf'k is not. There are a number of rules that govern where Norf'k can or cannot be spoken. Not conforming to these rules is regarded as accountable behaviour, i.e. a reason must be provided why one is doing it.

Norf'k can, and often is, spoken:

- at culturally important events such as Bounty Day, funerals, family gatherings;

- during shared economic or recreational activities of Norfolk Islanders, including fishing, playing Jaero (card game);
- among drivers of tour buses when not surrounded by tourists;
- among women preparing food for tourists;
- during wreath making;
- in the past other shared activities such as whaling and working in the bean shed provided important settings for the use of Norf'k.
- Norf'k features in a number of tourism events and Norf'k is being taught at NICS to children of all backgrounds.

Norf'k is not spoken:

- within the earshot of outsiders: In some families this included spouses of non-Pitcairner origins, in others they were permitted to hear but not encouraged to speak it; 'we were always taught that it was considered rude to speak Norf'k in front of strangers,' (Albert Buffett, personal communication, March 2016). This rule can be relaxed when Islanders want to antagonize outsiders: "at times some Islanders do seem to derive a perverse kind of pleasure in the obscurity which can sometimes be achieved from speaking broad Norf'k in front of non-speakers". (Rachel Borg, Norfolk Online e-news 27 July 2012).
- Norf'k traditionally has not been spoken in the church, the school, Government House.

Norf'k is associated with lighthearted conversations, joking and playing tricks (cussedness). And this, as observed by Rachel Borg, Norfolk Online 27 July 2012, is one of the reasons for its survival.

"If we were to look for one over-riding factor to explain why the Island's language did not disappear into the mist of time or crumble under such sustained pressure to 'speak English properly' and to stop 'murdering her Majesty' it is that to speak Norf'k is a joy. It is too much fun to stop."

Another Islander, Mr. Albert Buffett, similarly says:

"I have always maintained that if French is the 'language of love' then 'Norf'k is the language of laughter', because when listening to a group of Norfolk Islanders talking Norf'k there is always a lot of laughter involved." (Albert Buffett, March 2016).

12.3 Participants

The language has always been an in-group language for use among people of Pitcairner ancestry

12.4 Ends

Speaking Norf'k serves a number of ends:

- to affirm / live one's identity;
- to achieve a match between the contours of language and the contours of the speakers' physical and social environment-many Norfolk Islanders still find it difficult to talk about their island in English only;
- to keep alive, through language, the memory of past events and people;
- to exercise social control. Norfolk Islanders have a number of linguistic devices used to put others in their place. This is not done, as in mainstream English by direct 'to-the-face' utterances but in an indirect manner. Thus, direct threats to a person's face such as overt criticism or suggesting mental inferiority is rarely found in Norf'k. Social control by means of language more commonly is achieved by means of *dem tull* 'rumour' or by quoting another Islander's *thing fer dems* 'so-and-so's saying'.

12.5 Act sequence

Very few conversations or texts produced by Norfolk islanders are in Norf'k only. Being a diglossic community requires frequent code-switching between Norf'k and English.

Where monolingual English speakers employ different styles Norfolk Islanders employ different languages. Code switching is required when the topic changes (e.g. local vs. international) or by a change in the level of formality (English is the more formal, distancing way of expressing ideas).

12.6 Key

The key (or tone) of speaking in the past was serious, a tradition which goes back to the days when the last surviving males on Pitcairn island converted from a life of excess to a fundamentalist kind of Christianity. The two books available on Pitcairn Island between the mutiny and the island being opened to the outside world in 1809 were the Bible and the Reverend Dodderidge's *Practical Discourses on Regeneration* (1742). In this important work, read and quoted by the mutineer Edward Young, we find a passage that expresses their attitude to using language.

"It is a sufficient consolation for our labours, and far more than an equivalent for all, if we may have a testimony in our consciences, that we compose and regulate our discourses in such a manner as may be approved by God, in whose name we speak".

Many of the whalers that visited Pitcairn Island came from a puritanical New England background and reinforced the somber tone that prevailed on Pitcairn in the early 19th century. Present day Norf'k is no longer dominated by 19th century puritanism but has a much wider register of tone ranging from serious to jocular.

12.7 Message form

The verbal code chosen (English or Norf'k) is determined by the rules of diglossia (see above) and code-switching.

No systematic account of the non-verbal behaviour of Norfolk Islanders exists, though there are some anecdotal accounts such as the already mentioned different style of walking, flicking the lower lip (*taio*), and touching.

12.8 Information and truth

12.8.1 General comments

The way information is shared, withheld or distorted is complex and, because the norms of interaction and interpretation are very different from those on the Australian mainland, are a source of potential miscommunication. There are a number of parameters underpinning how information is handled:

- Implicitness - In a small community much more information is shared than in a large one and, consequently, such shared knowledge is often not mentioned. Seemingly simple sentences may convey a great deal of information to an insider but appear trivial or uninformative to an outsider.
- Value and scarcity of information - Like many small communities most information is known to all community members and knowledge that is not widely shared is a valuable commodity. Norfolk Islanders generously share produce and help other community members in need. However, sharing information is highly constrained. Many Islanders have documents relating to their history and language, which have never been seen by other Islanders. The Norf'k language has several expressions meaning 'I am not going to tell you', for instance *I se oop*, *I se sly*, *no larnen*. Such utterances are not rude, rather they are a reminder to the interlocutor that his or her request for information was inappropriate.
- How information is treated depends on who the interlocutors are. Some information is routinely withheld from unsympathetic outsiders, for instance.

12.8.2 Eliciting and providing information

Among the conventions for eliciting information and answering questions are the following:

- It is not necessary to provide an answer;
- An answer can be provided a long time after the question was asked and after the answerer had had sufficient time to consider the matter.
- Answers can be very vague.

None of these responses are necessarily rude. Rather they are a mechanism for avoiding the unhappiness explicit answers may cause.

12.8.3 Truth and Untruth

Murray (1853: 128) writes about the verbal behavior of the Pitcairn Islanders.

“During the whole time I was with them I never heard them indulge in a joke, or other levity: and the practice of it is apt to give offence. They are so accustomed to take what is said in its literal meaning, that irony was always considered a falsehood in spite of explanation. They could not see the propriety of uttering what was not strictly true for any purpose whatsoever.”

This and similar reports would seem to be overstated. Pitcairners, like members of other cultures from time to time withhold or alter the truth. When this occurs within the community it is referred to as *estoli*, *estolley*, *story*, *stolli* or *stoli*. Shapiro, in his handwritten list of Pitkern expressions, noted that *estolley* means ‘it is a story’ or ‘it is a lie’ and that your *tullen’ stolley* is a similar usage. The extension of *story* ‘to lie’ is documented in a number of English dialects but it may have been reinforced by the Pitcairners after 1820, when the use of language was particularly circumspect. Alice Buffett (1999: 30) says that the word ‘lie’ as in ‘not tell the truth’ was regarded as ‘not civil talk’ by the forebears of the Norfolk Islanders from Pitcairn, so rather than say ‘you are lying’ they would say in a more courteous way ‘it is a story’. Tahitians also do not say things so directly and this trait has been written on the Pitcairn Islanders.

Misinforming outsiders is a common practice throughout Polynesia and the story of Margaret Mead’s fabricated information on puberty and sexuality in Samoa which underpinned her famous *Coming of Age in Samoa* is a well known cautionary tale among anthropologists

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coming_of_Age_in_Samoa

The Tahitian practice of *ha’avare* ‘scrupulous lying to outsiders’ (Christian, 2011: 318) and its Pitkern-Norfolk equivalent *hypocrite ar English* or *false face* is the reason not only for a number of conflicting accounts of the mutiny and the turbulent first years of socio-genesis on Pitcairn, but has remained the norm of interaction with outsiders (Hendery et al., 2015). Hunt (1914: 27) also commented on the deliberate misinforming of outsiders:

“Critics in the past have spoken severely regarding their morals. According to some who have written, and many who have spoken, they inherited the vices of both classes of their ancestors, though it is hard to reconcile the comments on this regarding the Norfolkers with those glowing panegyrics with which visitors to Pitcairn used to delight English readers of their narratives. It may be that the “untruthfulness and practiced concealment” with which they have been charged, is, or was, responsible for these discrepancies.”

Professor Raymond Nobbs, a Norfolk Islander, has reflected on this in connection with early accounts of life on Pitcairn Island. He noted (1996: 19-20) that:

“Nothing so excited the first visitors to Pitcairn as the evidence of piety and religious observance ... The piety that Adams instilled in the Pitcairn community became legendary...Small wonder that the Pitcairners should be led to increase their emphasis on piety by the heart-warming chorus of praise which reverberated from the great nations of the world.

However, by the end of the 19th century, this sincerity was being questioned. Some paralleled the Pitcairners’ actions to what Plato had identified in the *Republic*: ‘I wonder if we could construct some

magnificent myth that would itself carry conviction to our whole community'. Whether the Pitcairners sought to defraud the world is beyond this review."

Telling outsiders what they want to hear (gratuitous concurrence) and what the Islanders want them to hear has been a survival strategy, as both islands remain dependent on the goodwill of outsiders. Hunt (1914: 27) comments on this gratuitous concurrence of the Norfolk Islanders':

"They are fairly truthful, but possess that weakness observable throughout the South Seas of being always ready to give such answers as they think will be most pleasing to their questioners."

In the past Norfolk Islanders tended routinely to reply to outsiders' statements and suggestions *true, true*. Gratuitous concurrence can also take the form of providing meaningless answers such as when tourists inquiring about the name of a tree are at times informed that it is a *car whar tree* 'I do not know tree'.

12.8.4 Unresolved disagreements

Norfolk Islanders have a long tradition of individuality. Not wanting to lose an argument is a trait encountered in many small close-knit communities. This is reflected in the many ongoing debates about contested words of the language. Views are divided, for instance, regarding the re-Polynesianisation of the culture: should one use *aru* instead of *bread* 'breadfruit' and refer to the Polynesian women on Pitcairn, half of whom never had offspring, as *foremother*.

Words referring to life forms often have different meanings in different families: There is an ongoing debate what bird the name *sana* refers to or whether *alihau* is 'a bush with small yellow flowers or wild taro'. Placenames, apart from being dangerous can also be contested. "*God's Country* is a general term often used in good-natured ribbing. If one Norfolk Islander talks to another where on Norfolk they live, you will often hear them talk about God's Country. It is a long-running joke, a subtle jibe and an allusion to the fact that they live in the best part of the island." (Nash 2012: 15). There is disagreement about dishes: what are the ingredients of the Pitcairn dish *humpus-bumpus* or the Norfolk dish *mada*?

Frequently etymology is contested: Is *arlee* short for Tahitian *piali* 'slender' or derived from the name of a very slender girl of the name Arlee; does *blaeksmell* 'linger around like a heavy smell' refer to body odour of the Melanesian mission scholars? The writer has collected several passages where islanders using *ouwa* 'we' are told that this is what is displayed on a watch. The disagreements about such matters continue.

As mentioned elsewhere, there are two main spellings for Norf'k and opinions remain divided, with neither party willing to compromise or change their views, with both proponents of the Laycock - Buffett spelling introduced in 1988 and those of traditional spelling claiming that their version spells Norf'k as it sounds.

The writer has collected newspaper articles dating back to the 1930s featuring the debate on whether the arrival of the Pitcairners on Norfolk Island in 1856 should be commemorated as *Anniversary Day* or *Bounty Day* thereby restricting the participation of the descendants of the 'interlopers' Buffett, Evans and Nobbs who settled on Pitcairn in the 1820s. Such disputes often persist over generations as losing, as against rehashing arguments, appears to be culturally discouraged. Detailed documentation is given by Low (2012).

Next to unsettled arguments among the community there are arguments with outsiders. Norfolk Islanders have asserted since their arrival in 1856 that Norfolk Island was a gift from Queen Victoria and that the document shown to them was stolen. This is not the place to comment on the legal rights and wrongs of the argument but the near-universal belief that the Norfolk Islanders are right illustrates two matters:

- Communication is not a simple matter of transferring a message from speaker to hearer. Input in everyday transactions rarely equals intake. What matters is uptake, what the listeners regard as their understanding.
- The uptake the Pitcairners had from the beginning has always been that Norfolk Island was a gift. Outside legal and constitutional experts cannot change this.

12.8.5 Some conclusions on the Ethnography of Speaking Norf'k

There can be no doubt that Norfolk Islanders not only have a distinct language (in the sense of distinct grammar and lexicon) but also that the way language is used by them differs significantly from how Anglo-Australians communicate, as the culture specific norms typically also apply when Norfolk Islanders speak English. The account given here represents ongoing research aimed at leading to practical applications for communication between Norfolk Islanders and Anglo-Australians.

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Appendices

Appendix I - List of 100 Most Commonly Used Norf'k Words

1.	Arter/aaya artha orn 'to admire'
2.	baali/baeli 'stomach'
3.	baird/bierd/bud 'bird'
4.	bas/bas/bass 'to bust'
5.	bun pine/ban pain/ bunn pine' Burnt Pine'
6.	caerk 'feces, shit'
7.	car waar/cahwah/kawa/kahwah/kawhaa 'do not know, no idea'
8.	comen/cum/kamen 'to come'
9.	crabs uuoo 'unspawned eggs of crab, fig: mind''close resemblance'
10.	croes 'cross'
11.	cushu/ cooshoo/cootoo/cushooe/cussoo/gooshoo/kussoo 'comfortable'
12.	dafi/ daffie/daffy/daefi/daefi 'like that'
13.	dare/dea/deya 'there'
14.	des dei/dess dae/des daey/des day 'today'
15.	dorg/dawg/dog 'dog'
16.	down a town/doen a toe/doen a tuwn/ doewn'a toewn/doewn'a tuwn/dowun a town 'Kingston town'
17.	dumien/domine/dumine/domain/doomine/do mind 'never mind'
18.	ent 'is not'
19.	estolley/stolly/stolley/stolli/stoli 'this is a fabrication, lie'
20.	foot/fut/fuut 'why?'
21.	fraedie/friyed/fraed 'frightening'
22.	g'/go/guu 'to go'
23.	gael/geil/gehl 'woman'
24.	glaed/gleard/glaid/glehd 'glad'
25.	good/gudde/goode/gude/gude 'good'
26.	grabalaeg/grab a laeg/graab'lieg 'bindi, weed noted for its burrs'
27.	guddet/guddett 'have/has had it '
28.	haends (plural)/haan/harn 'hand, arm'
29.	hatta 'better'
30.	hettae/huttae/hetieh 'voila'
31.	hihi/hee-hee 'periwinckle'
32.	hilli/hili/hillie/hilly 'lethargy'
33.	hooey hooey/huehue/hoowi-hoowi/huihui/hoowe-hoowe 'dirty, uncanny'
34.	ho yar 'good gracious'
35.	hutt/hutten 'to hurt'
36.	huwa huwa/howa howa/hawa hawa 'excrement, diarrhea'
37.	iwwi/iwi/iwie 'small'
38.	kardoo 'not good enough'
39.	knoew 'to know'
40.	larn/laan 'to inform, teach'
41.	loen 'lone'
42.	looken orn/look orn 'to look at'
43.	lorngfe 'prep: with, near'
44.	lubbee/lubbe/labi 'to leave alone'
45.	maad/mard 'crazy'
46.	maek/mek/miek' to make, to cause'
47.	mauth/mouth 'mouth'
48.	mine/main 'to mind'
49.	moo moo 'frightening beast'

50.	moosa/muusa ‘almost’
51.	morla ‘tomorrow’
52.	mys/myse/mais ‘my’
53.	nada/nadda/naeda ‘another’
54.	name/niem ‘name’
55.	naersy/nesy/nairsy ‘unpleasant’
56.	Narwi/nawi/naawi ‘to swim’
57.	Normatta ‘no matter’
58.	nort/nought ‘no, not’
59.	onie/oonie/oody/oony/uni/oode ‘only’
60.	oo dae ‘over there’
61.	ooya ‘over here’
62.	pili/pilli/pilly/philly ‘to stick, to be stuck’
63.	plenti/plenty/plente/plen-the ‘many, plenty, much’
64.	plet/plett/plate ‘plate’
65.	poet/poewt/poat/poo-utt ‘posterior’
66.	porpae ‘cherry guava’
67.	potagee ‘unreliable’
68.	randa/raenda/randah ‘porch’
69.	say/she ‘to say’
70.	se/’ completion marker’
71.	ess/es ‘copula introducing noun phrases’
72.	shep/shepp ‘ship’
73.	side/sied/said ‘place, house’
74.	simes/semes/semis/semmes ‘just like’
75.	simmisa‘thing/semes‘thing/simmis‘thing/semis-thing/simisthing ‘same as’
76.	starn/staan ‘to stand, to tolerate’
77.	stick/stik/in a stick ‘trees, forest’
78.	suff/saf ‘sea, surf’
79.	sullun/sullen/salan ‘people’
80.	sum/sam ‘some’
81.	sumbodie/sambodie ‘somebody’
82.	tek/tekk/tekken ‘to take’
83.	thawt/thort/thorts ‘to think, to believe’
84.	thaenk/thaensk/thenk/thenks ‘thank you’
85.	throt ‘throat’
86.	tork/toerken/talk ‘to talk’
87.	tull/tulla/tullen/tal ‘to tell, to inform’
88.	ucklun/ucklan/acklan ‘we, us’
89.	ulla/ala/uller/ullu ‘or’
90.	ummaoolla/ama’ula ‘clumsy’
91.	unnai/unnae/anieh/unay ‘ne c’est pas?’
92.	uwa/uwas/ouwa/ouwas ‘our, us’
93.	use/usea ‘habitually’
94.	waal (adjective, interjection)/well/wal ‘Well!’
95.	waay/weigh/way/waey/wieh ‘way’
96.	wataway/whut a weih/watawieh ‘how are you?’
97.	wathing/wuthing/whathing/wuthen/whuthingwhatthing ‘what?’
98.	wettles/wetls/whittles ‘food’
99.	ya/yah ‘to hear’
100.	yorlye/yorlyi/yoorlie/yorley/yolli ‘you pl.’

Appendix II - Draft submission for UNESCO recognition of Norfolk as an Endangered Language:

Degree of endangerment of the Norfolk Language (Norfolk Island-South Pacific)

1. General Description Norfolk Island and its inhabitants and its language

Norfolk Island is visited by about 30,000 tourists per annum, and before the present slump in visitor numbers it was expected that this figure would increase to 50,000 in the near future. The political status of the island has been a matter of dispute between the Federal Government of Australia, the State of New South Wales and the descendants of the Pitcairn Islanders (O'Collins 2002). The complaints against Australia include the denigration and destruction of the Norfolk language. Pitcairn descendants today comprise fewer than half of the permanent residents of the island.

Norfolk Island was discovered by Captain Cook in 1779, and because of its ample natural resources and isolated position, was made a British penal colony in 1788. The first penal settlement was abandoned in 1814, but a second penal settlement was built in 1825 at a location for the 'extremest punishment short of death' (Hoare 1982:35) and 'a cesspool of sodomy, massacre and exploitation' (Christian 1982:12). Following much criticism, the settlement was closed down in 1854. This is where the story of the Norfolk language begins. Rather than abandon the island the British government decided on what was referred to at the time as 'the experiment' - to settle a small community of simple god-fearing people on an isolated island and watch their moral progress. To this purpose, in 1856 the entire population of Pitcairn Island was relocated to Norfolk Island.

The story of the mutiny on the *Bounty* has been popularised by numerous novels, plays and films, and Pitcairn Island, where the *Bounty* mutineers settled in 1790, has come to stand as a metaphor for a South Sea Utopia. When nine British sailors, twelve Tahitian women and six Tahitian men arrived on Pitcairn, the island was uninhabited. By 1800, following a period of violence, the Englishman John Adams was the sole male survivor with 10 Tahitian women and 23 children. When he died in 1829 the island had become a model Christian community of about 80. As John Adams approached the end of his life he realized that the maintenance of Christian values and the English language required outside help and in the following years three male British subjects settled on the island and married local women. From the mid 1820s all children were instructed in English literacy by native English speakers. The Tahitian language was not encouraged and within a generation died out on Pitcairn.

Earliest references to an English-Tahitian contact language date to 1789 when the British sailors, to taunt their captain, deliberately mixed Tahitian words into their language. On Pitcairn, the Polynesians communicated with the British mutineers in a Pidgin exhibiting a mixture between Tahitian, West Indian Creole and English. Ross and Moverley (1964) characterise what they called Pitcairnese as the outcome of language mixing, and provide numerous details about Tahitian lexicon and grammar, as well as details on dialect features. They provide (pages 49 and 137) details on the provenance and likely dialect affiliation of the mutineers. The imperfect knowledge of Tahitian among the first generation children born on Pitcairn is suggestive of the low esteem in which Tahitian culture and language were held by the mutineers. Tahitians were excluded from land ownership. In spite of very unfavourable demographic conditions (by 1800 there were 10 Tahitian women, 23 mixed-race children and one Englishman) English remained the dominant language (Maude 1964:50). The dominant linguistic socializers were British males, in particular:

- Edward Young, the story teller, who contributed a number of St. Kitts pronunciations and lexemes, [l] for [r] in words such as *stole*, 'story' or *klai* 'cry'; and *morga* 'thin'.
- John Adams, the patriarch, who created the social conditions in which standard acrolectal English, against all demographic odds, could prevail as the dominant language of the community.

As outsiders began to visit the island after 1808, westernisation accelerated and Tahitian ways of clothing, food preparation and food collection declined. Maude (1964:51 - 57) comments on the community's identification with the European side of their heritage and notes several examples of racial friction.

Though Tahitian disappeared in the 1830s, the mixed contact vernacular continued to be used side by side with English in most families. It is not clear to what extent the original white settlers used it and for the first generation women it was probably a convenient means of intercommunication. For the first children born on Pitcairn it became the informal way of speaking. However, ever since the first outsiders settled on Pitcairn in the 1820s and took control of the domains of education and religion, the language was restricted to non-official domains and functions and occupied the low position in a stable diglossic situation, where English was the superordinate language and where an increasing number of outside settlers did not even have to learn Pitkern. According to Laycock (1989:622), the revaluation of the Pitkern language occurred in 1831 when, because of food and water shortages, the entire community attempted to resettle in Tahiti. This disastrous experiment ended after five months. Infectious diseases ravaged the Pitcairners and they were disgusted with the low moral state of their hosts as well as some of the British sailors they met. **The Pitkern language thus became a symbol of non-identity with outsiders as well as a positive marker of a separate community**, though it certainly continued to be subordinate to English.

In 1839 the population had grown to 100, and by 1850 it had reached 156. In 1853, as fish became scarce and the island degraded, the inhabitants solicited the aid of the British Government to transfer them to another island. In 1856 all 194 Pitcairn Islanders were relocated to Norfolk, but a number of families returned to Pitcairn shortly afterwards to be joined there by various newcomers over the years.

2. Social history of the Norf'k language

Life on Norfolk for Pitcairners in the first couple of decades after their relocation to Norfolk Island in 1856 underwent little changes. If anything, the isolation from the outside world was even greater and the spiritual and educational well-being of the Pitcairners remained in the hands of the reverent George Hunn Nobbs, helped mostly by members of his family. The Norf'k language in those days was the dominant and in at least some families the first language of the Pitcairners. In 1859 an outsider from Hertfordshire, England, Thomas Rossiter, was appointed by the Australian government as a schoolmaster with the aim of improving "the tone of the children" (Mercer 1981:4). The intention of the government was reflected by Governor Young in 1862:

... it is indispensable to continue Mr. Rossiter's service for years to come ... Upon the school must be placed the main dependence from preventing these interesting colonists from relapsing into the listlessness which the climate and abundance with which they are surrounded are so apt to superinduce; without it there might ensue a complete forgetfulness of the habits and pursuits of civilised life.

One notes, that 'the experiment' required constant intervention by the experimenters. Strict control of Norfolk education was somewhat relaxed when two consecutive headmasters of islander background were employed between 1884 and 1906 but as early as 1897 an expert from the Australian mainland had recommended the appointment of a headmaster from New South Wales, which eventuated in 1906 and which has become the common procedure to date. As the teachers came from mainland Australia and did not speak Norf'k, they showed far less sympathy for the language than earlier members of staff and over the following years the education system became the principal means of assimilating the community to mainstream Australian English ways of speaking. The annual reports by headmasters and New South Wales school inspectors illustrate clearly the persecution of the Norf'k language.⁹

In 1912 Mr. Ray inspected the Norfolk Island Public School and in his report to the New South Wales Education Department made extensive comments on the problems of teaching English:

English: Much difficulty is experienced in teaching English. The chief obstacle is the prevalence of the Norfolk Island "language" outside school. This jargon, which is the everyday medium of conversation,

⁹ *Originals of these internal reports are located in the Mitchell Library Sydney and copies in the Flint collection of the Fryer Library, University of Queensland and the School Library, Norfolk Island Central School.*

between the islanders and adults as well as children and is in no respect a language, it is not even a 'patois'. It is said to be a mixture of English and Tahitian. As a matter of fact bad English, spoken by the Bounty men and imperfectly imitated by the Tahitians.

The usual greeting is 'whatawayou?' derived from 'In what way are you', or as we would say, 'How are you' - The reply is frequently 'Wallthankyer' - 'Well thank you'.

The word for "people" is "sallen" which comes from 'sillen' and the Tahitian women's way of saying 'children'. In like manner 'all of you' is corrupted into 'yorlya'.

Again, the islanders rarely use the plural of nouns or the past tense of verbs when trying to speak English. 'I send him two case orange yesterday' is typical.

This jargon is so habitual in the homes (most of them) and elsewhere that children inschool are painfully slow when they try to speak good English. When a question is put or a suggestion is made to them it is plain their first impulse is to answer in their jargon. They then have to translate their ideas into English which they deliver in a jerky stilted manner.

In written composition, too, they lapse into the common faults found in their speech.

A lad who was a candidate for the Pacific Cable Service failed in English composition. He passed in all other subjects.

During an address to parents on the 13th instant, I pointed out that the continuance of the use of the Norfolk Island language was likely to hinder the progress of their children and seriously hamper them when in competition with others in afterlife. I advocated the suppression of the language in their homes. The people appeared sympathetic, but it remains to be seen whether the reform will be carried out.

At any rate the use of 'Norfolk Island' in or about the school grounds should be prohibited.

From 1914 until about 1930 headmaster's report after headmaster's report makes similar critical comments about the Norfolk language. A.A. Matthews who was headmaster in 1914 was no exception:

The different classes were examined at the end of the quarter and fairly satisfactory results were obtained. I must admit the results are far below the standard reached by New South Wales youngsters, but still there has been all round improvement.

The teachers here work at a great disadvantage. The little ones come to school scarcely able to talk or understand any English. The Norfolk Island 'jargon' is almost exclusively spoken in their homes, and I have known cases where children have been ridiculed by the Islanders for speaking proper English.

The Islanders are proud of their 'language' as they call it, and in some cases openly tell you it is useless for the teachers to try to get rid of it. I feel sure, however, that with steady insistence against its use at school and careful teaching it will ultimately disappear. The good work done by the upper classes in English warrants my belief.

Passmore, who was appointed headmaster in 1915, entertained in his unpublished diary (probably written in 1916) a rather negative view of the language matter:

The dialect is of comparative recent growth. Very little of it came from Tahiti. Most of the words are corruptions of English. 'Sullen' for 'children' and 'larn' 'to tell'. 'Larn a little sullen no do da', 'Tell the little children not to do that'. If you pretend not to understand the lingo as most English people do in self-defence you will hear one say sneeringly 'He's agamonin he car was it!!' 'Car' is the negative of 'to do' and 'to know'. It means 'I cannot' or 'I do not know' and is the same for all persons. The parent who

hears his child speak in correct English in his own home will cry angrily, "Oh! You wawaha" and the child will shrink as under a curse. 'Wawaha' is one of the Tahitian words and means 'proud' or 'traitor' ... The early people came under the influence of an English teacher sent out by the Home Government but when he died his place was taken by one of his pupils. I knew him well, and an excellent man he was but he allowed the dialect to be used in the school to the almost total exclusion of English, hence, I think the present situation. As a concession to Island prejudice one of the members of the staff of the school is a Norfolk and this naturally helps to foster the lingo ...

and, he continues:

I love these people but I hate their language because of its limitations and for another reason in which my opinion has been lately corroborated by Professor Adams. He says that peoples' language determines their moral character. If the Norfolk dialect could be wiped out I am convinced that there would be a moral uplift.

This is not the place to present the full set of derogatory remarks on the Norfolk language, nor the strategies employed by different headmasters and teachers to eradicate the language (corporal punishment was very common to discourage the use of Norfolk). **By 1930, these efforts began to bear fruit and the first source mentioning that Norfolk was becoming an endangered language appeared in the Pacific Islands Monthly of 26 August 1932 (p.11).** Its writer mentions several of the reasons for this endangerment which are presented below.

One of the reasons given is the increasing number of outsiders (referred to as mainlanders on Norfolk) who come to settle. The latest available statistics for Norfolk Island (census for 2001) indicate that Islanders of Pitcairn descent are not only a minority of the population of the island, comprising 1574 permanent residents plus about 500 tourists and 500 TEPs (temporary entry persons) at any one time, but have also become a minority among the permanent residents (about 47%). No reliable statistics are available for residents of mixed Pitcairner-mainlander descent but informed observers confirm that marriages within the Pitcairner community are becoming rare. The language in mixed households is almost always English.

A second reason given is 'the passing of the eldest generation', who were social and linguistic role models. The absence of Norfolk-speaking role models continues to be a major problem. The majority of economically successful islanders are monolingual English speakers; the overwhelming majority of teachers are recruited from the Australian mainland, as are the clergy. The global youth culture is increasingly embraced by the younger generation, though there are a small number of locally produced songs and an annual song competition. Some of these are in the Norfolk language.

The author also comments that education policies have had the intended effect of making the islanders ashamed of their language:

As it is, for some mistaken reason, they seem ashamed to live as their fathers and mothers did and to speak the tongue that is a thousand times superior to the ugly English they learn in the State school (Anon. 1932:11).

The eradication of the Norfolk language was no longer official education policy after 1930 but as Harrison (1972:22) remarked:

... one gathers that teachers at the local school who are usually mainlanders appointed by the New South Wales government, think that their pupils' regular use of Norfolk outside the classroom is a drawback to their progress. Many parents, also, being anxious for their children to receive a sound education, feel that if they naturally talk and think in Norfolk instead of English their schoolwork is likely to suffer.

The result of all of these factors was a further decline in use and status of Norf'k and by the end of the 1960s, English became the dominant language for most children both inside and outside the classroom and this has continued to date.

The decline of Norf'k illustrates how deliberate linguicide combined with neglect and linguistic and social assimilation has led to the decrease of power of an already powerless language.

The revival of the Norf'k language in recent years is due to a range of factors. As more and more Norfolk islanders went to study or work on the Australian mainland, and as the number of tourists and temporary residents from Australia increased, a new pride and sense of identity developed, combined at times with a feeling of antagonism against Australian policies. Language occupies a central place in this attitude. In the late 1980s two publications appeared (Nobbs Palmer 1986 and Buffet & Laycock 1988) designed not only to document the language but to preserve it and to increase its use. Around the same time community members began to give lessons in Norf'k at the Central School and the status of the language has since been enhanced in a number of ways, including:

- its use in the Assembly and for official government functions;
- its mainstream position in the education system;
- its use in song writing, poetry reading and other cultural events;
- meetings of community members to discuss questions of language revival.

The extent to which these developments will lead to a further revival of the language remains to be seen. Positive feelings and the sense of identity alone are unlikely to reverse the decline of Norf'k and the availability of materials again may help preserve but not revive the language. Moreover, the recent positive attitudes towards Norf'k are fragile. In the wake of two much publicised murder cases on the island, the language has been labelled a "'dialect for murder' (The Australian June 2 2004 p. 3). Such stereotyping highlights the continuing powerlessness of Norf'k vis à vis English, a major reason why the shift to English continues.

3 Nine criteria for language endangerment

3.1 Intergenerational Language Transmission

Intergenerational transmission of Norf'k was the norm until the 1950s but has been weakened considerably by

- out marriage with Australians and New Zealanders. The dominant language of mixed families is English and children in such households often miss out on learning Norf'k in early childhood.
- Families where both parents are of Pitcairner background are in the minority and children from those families find it necessary to use English with their peer group even where parents encourage the use of Norf'k.
- There are at present fewer than ten households where children still learn Norf'k as their first language.
- There is no language nest scheme where children could grow up with Norf'k as their first language

3.2 Absolute number of speakers of Norf'k

Norf'k is not a standardized focussed language. There are considerable differences in pronunciation, lexicon and grammar between families and individuals. Because of its diglossic relationship with English there is a considerable amount of code switching (this has probably been the case since its inception) and code-mixing (a more recent phenomenon. What counts for Norf'k is difficult to determine. Laycock (1990) distinguishes between:

- Type A: Traditional broad Norf'k. This variety is not mutually intelligible with English and exhibits strong syntactic influence of West Indian (St Kitts) Creole and Tahitian. Its lexicon (particularly lexical

semantics) combines Tahitian, English dialects and St Kitts Creole and, moreover, contains a significant number of words coined during the Pitcairners' residence on Norfolk Island.

- Type B: Modified Norf'k, a form of speech that is essentially English in its syntax, and which uses only certain salient Norf'k constructions, characteristic lexicon and Norf'k pronunciation (phonology).
- Type C: Instant Norf'k whose rules are "absurdly simple. First only two phonological modifications are essential: the replacement of the diphthongs [ei] and [ou] (English *gate* and *home* respectively) by [eɛ]/[iɛ] and [œɛ]/[uɛ] (Norfolk *giet* and *hoem*, in the Laycock / Buffett orthography). Second, characteristic lexicon (such as *salan'* person', *naawi* swim'-less than fifty words needs to be used with high frequency, along with conversational tags such as *daas et!* 'that's it!'. Thirdly, the speech requires some sprinkling of a few features of PN syntax..." (Laycock 1990: 625)

Most Pitcairn descendants will use Modified Norf'k or Instant Norf'k. The number of speakers of traditional broad Norf'k is probably fewer than fifty, most of whom are over the age of sixty. There are no language questions in the Norfolk island census and asking direct questions about language competency is not appropriate.

3.3 Proportion of speakers in the total population

The majority of Pitcairn descendants (about 800) will use varieties B or C. The proportion of Broad Norf'k speakers in the island's total population is perhaps 2% and shrinking.

3.4 Trends in existing language domains

The domain of traditional broad Norf'k has been the workplace and the home. The shift from primary industry (fishing, whaling, vegetable and fruit growing) to tourism has reduced the opportunities for using Norf'k in the workplace. The problem is compounded by the fact that most businesses also employ non-Pitcairner residents and temporary workers from overseas. In mixed groups English is used.

The use of Norf'k in the home has diminished as a result of mixed marriages, peer pressure and the replacement of traditional family entertainment (games, story telling) by electronic media.

3.5 Response to new domains and media

There is an observable trend for Norf'k to become more publicly visible and for it to be used in domains previously reserved for English, for instance for religious expression (sermons, scripture translation), oral and written use in the Norfolk Island Assembly, public signage, T-shirts, souvenirs and advertising. Much of this use is symbolic and deliberate. The use of Norf'k expressions (though rarely longer connected passages of writing) in the island's two newspapers has increased significantly over the last decade and there are a number of booklets featuring poetry and nursery rhymes. A radio programme in Modified Norf'k is broadcast each Sunday morning and songs in the Norf'k language most days. There is a wish by the teachers of the Norfolk central school to develop electronic resources in the language.

3.6 Materials for language education and literacy

The Norf'k language has never been taught as a mainstream subject at the Norfolk island central school and educational materials that would satisfy the requirements of the NSW language teaching syllabus are not available. Mrs Suzanne Evans and Mrs Gaye Evans have produced a small number of booklets, word books, work sheets and exercises and use Buffett (1998), which is not easy to use with beginning learners. Eira, Magdalena and Mühlhäusler (2002, 2003) constitute an attempt to provide a more accessible resources for language teachers.

The question as to how to represent the Norf'k language in writing has yet to be settled. The Buffett / Laycock writing system of 1988 is used by some writers and teachers but being near phonetic, it is felt to be too redundant by others. Most published texts employ a number of strategies and tend to be non-consistent. The fact that the proficiency of Norf'k users varies greatly and that, moreover, there are considerable group and individual differences in pronunciation has prevented agreement on spelling. Very little material for literacy teaching is available at this point in time.

3.7 Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies

For most of its history the Norf'k language was not recognised as a separate linguistic system but treated as a substandard variety of English, a jargon, a pidgin or a dialect. Its continued use on Norfolk Island was regarded as undesirable and the school was seen as the main instrument of getting rid of the Norf'k language. As Norf'k was not used by the Churches or the Government no special policies needed to be put in place.

Until the replacement of Australia's assimilation policies with multicultural policies in 1972 Norf'k was actively or implicitly discouraged by the education system. After 1972 there was a period of neglect by the school, followed by more tolerance and appreciation. From the 1980s informal language classes were given by community members at the school and from the mid-1990s Norf'k has been taught regularly as an integral part of Norfolk Studies. Given that most students no little or no Norf'k the time allocated for the teaching of Norf'k is a fraction of what is needed for language revival. The fact that Norf'k was not recognized as a language limited the school's ability to mainstream it. Without addressing the question of official recognition the Australian Government Review of the Annual Reports of the Department of Transport and Regional Services and the Department of the Environment and Heritage of July 2004 observes:

"Not only is the language of the Pitcairn Island descendants an important part of Australia's multicultural heritage, the language plays an important role in the development and maintenance of personal and group identity on the island"(p 87).

and

'The Committee respects the strong desire of many Island residents to preserve the traditions of the Pitcairn descendants, in particular their language...The Committee believes that, consistent with its responsibilities for the Territory, the Federal Government should appropriately support the efforts of those in the Norfolk community who are dedicated to preserving the language of the Pitcairn Island descendants, primarily through the relatively recent introduction of a language programme at the Island's school" (pp 87-88)

In December 2004 the Norfolk Island Assembly unanimously passed an Act giving official recognition to Norf'k (see attached details). Its new status has opened up many possibilities for promoting the language, including mainstreaming it in the school and official public signage.

3.8 Community Members Attitudes Towards Norf'k

Positive attitudes towards Norfolk are shared by both Pitcairn descendants and other inhabitants of Norfolk Islands. For the Pitcairn descendants Norf'k is a core cultural value and a marker of their identity. There is a strong wish to revive the use of the language and to make its knowledge shared by all inhabitants.

3.9 Amount and quality of documentation

The early stages of Norf'k (prior to 1950) are very poorly documented. Mühlhäusler (Professor of Linguistics at the University of Adelaide who has worked with the Norfolk Island Community since 1997) has compiled a near exhaustive collection of language samples from archival and printed sources as well as the transcripts of recordings made by Flint (1960s), Harrison (1970s) and Zettersten (late 1960s). He has recorded a small body of language materials in the 1990s himself. At present, this is not an adequate database for more detailed linguistic documentation and there is an urgent need to compile a representative corpus of the Norf'k language, and to extend the very small number of existing texts and translations of decontextualized English sentences to a variety of text types, in particular informal ones such as spontaneous conversations.

The most comprehensive published account of Norf'k is that by Buffett (1998). It consists of a grammar (prepared with the help of the late Dr Don Laycock of the Australian National University), a proposal for a

writing system and a vocabulary. One of its limitations is that the language samples come from a single fluent speaker and that they are usually of sentence length or shorter.

As regards speaker types the greatest urgency is to obtain a representative sample of the language as it is used among the oldest generation (70+) speaking traditional Norfolk. It is among speakers of this generation that family speech differences are likely to be greatest. There are a small number of speakers in the age group 40 – 70 whose speech has not yet been recorded, other than for a brief word list for preliminary phonetic analysis. A subset of this group that has as yet to be documented are second generation mainlanders, a number of whom have acquired reasonable competence in Norf'k (but are not generally encouraged to use it). The speech of children and adolescents has never been recorded.

The range of speech / text types is constrained by the fact that Norf'k is in a diglossic relationship with English and that it is not employed in all domains and functions.

As regards the media in which NF is used it is important to supplement voice recordings with video recordings (though the social acceptability of this technique on Norfolk is problematic - an attempt by the local TV station to record the stories of old islanders met with considerable opposition) Written and printed examples of Norf'k are rare. From time to time islanders use Norf'k for private letter writing. Letters to the local press tend to be in English, as is all official correspondence. It seems possible to obtain further samples of private correspondence. In its written form Norf'k usually exhibits a great deal of an individual, spontaneous creation, which can provide insights into the viability of the language.

Ethnographic information on language use (diglossia) and the relationship of Norf'k to its wider language ecology is patchy. Phonetic analysis and phonetic details are patchy and not representative. Studies of speech evaluation, attitudes and phenomena such as hypercorrection and code-switching are largely absent. Special semantic fields such as ethno-botany or fish names are underrepresented.

One of the missing components in all existing accounts of Norf'k has been an examination of the influence of Old Tahitian. Documents of Tahitian as spoken before 1800 have become available in Tahiti. There is very considerable interest in the Norfolk Island community in rediscovering their Tahitian roots. A scrutiny of the earliest documents on Tahitian may resolve the issue of the numerous Norf'k words with an opaque etymology.

In sum, there is a clear need for more, good quality and applicable documentation on the language.

4 Involvement of Linguists

Most linguists who have worked on Norf'k have been concerned with the question of the origins of the language (Flint, Laycock, Mühlhäusler) and/or its linguistic nature (Harrison, Gleißner, Laycock). A particularly widely debated issue is whether Norf'k is a Creole language (Gleißner, Laycock and numerous secondary sources). Involvement of linguists with practical aspects of the language dates to the late 1980s when Dr Laycock was employed by Mrs Buffett to help her develop a writing system and a guide to the grammar of Norf'k. Following Dr. Laycock's untimely death in 1988 there was a period of neglect by linguists until Prof. Mühlhäusler (a former student of Dr Laycock's) resumed work on the Norf'k language in 1997. He has visited the Island every year since then and has become directly involved in the revival of the Norf'k language. In particular:

- He prepared a draft language plan for the island in 2000, drawing on his longstanding experience in language planning (Mühlhäusler 2002) and he advised on the language legislation of 2004.
- He provided a scholarship for a Norfolk Islander (Ms Suzanne Evans) to study applied linguistics (language teaching and language maintenance) in Adelaide. Ms Suzanne Evans has been teaching Norf'k since her return in 2002 and she has also produced teaching materials. There are plans to train additional teachers in Adelaide.
- He has produced a school grammar and draft dictionary for the Norfolk Island Central School

- He has helped the school librarian to build up a collection of resources for teaching and learning about the Norfolk language and is helping the Museum with a language exhibition
- He has prepared (2005), jointly with the Norfolk Museum Trust, The Norfolk Government and the Norfolk Island Central School a major submission for funding the revival of the Norfolk language, in particular training of Norfolk Islanders.

5 Conclusions

It seems unavoidable that the Norfolk language will further decline unless major steps are undertaken now to reverse its decline. There is a great deal of appreciation of the Norfolk language and community wide agreement that it should be strengthened. What is currently lacking is island-based expertise and resources. There is a very small pool of people, no clear employment opportunities for language workers and financial resources for language focused activities (teaching, documentation, public signage) are very restricted. The official recognition of the language in 2004 has created the legal basis for teaching the language in the school and for promoting its use in the public domain. What is needed most is training in language documentation, language teaching and language revival of Norfolk Islanders and an effective action plan

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Appendix III - Interjections and exclamations in Norf'k

Norf'k interjection/ exclamation	Meaning and use	Putative origin
aa	<i>interj.</i> indicating strong agreement (Buffett) “Daa bai faa d’baes, anieh?” “Aa” (That’s by the best, isn’t it?” “Absolutely”	English?
aamen	emphatic exclamation of finality (Buffett) “Aamen t’daa” (Let there be no question about that.)	English <i>Amen</i> . Christian usage.
aha	<i>interj.</i> indicates agreement, or that something is understood. (Buffett) “Kam himii staat – Aha.” (Come on, let’s go. – Agreed)	English ?
a’haa	<i>interj.</i> (1.) fondness on meeting a friend (Buffett) “A’haa ai bin pain f’yuu” (How wonderful to be with you again. I have pined for you) (2.) exclamation of triumph or victory (Buffett) “A’haa, hetieh” (Wonderful, found at last!) (3.) agreement (Buffett) “Yu haepi lorngf’ daa? (Are you happy with that agreement?) “A’haa” (Agreed) a greeting, acknowledgement of fondness on meeting a friend, lover, favoured child, etc. (Nebauer-Borg “Ahaa, haeset” (subject unspoken, seen in context) “Ahaa, haes mais toela/mais fish/rohn eig”	Tahitian <i>ahaa</i> – ‘interjection of fondness on meeting a friend’. Interjection may have merged with others. Also used by islanders as in English, i.e. ‘eureka’, ‘here it is’, ‘it is found’, etc. (Nebauer-Borg)
ai	aye, expression of assent (Buffett) “Mam, wi el gu ap Mini gohlf des aaft’nuun, elwimam?” (Mum, may we go up to Minigolf this afternoon, please may we, Mum?) “Ai” (Alright.)	English <i>aye</i> cf. <i>aight</i> , English slang contraction of ‘all right’
bae	<i>interj.</i> exclamation of victory as in “Bae! ailaan yuu!” (See! I told you so!) (Buffett)	Tahitian ? <i>hae</i> – ‘an exclamation of excitement to some action, commonly some violent action, such as seizing upon a man or beast.’
chuuchuu	<i>interj.</i> my, my! Exclamation of admiration. (Buffett)	
cooshoo	Very well. Never felt better. Refers to one’s state of health (Nobbs Palmer) “Hey whutta-waye?” (Hi, how are you?) “I cooshoo, thanks!” (I’m very well, thank you!	English <i>cushy</i> (<i>coll.</i> Comfortable, Well-positioned, From ‘Well-cushioned’) Introduced to Norf’k after the Second World War when soldiers were repatriated and allocated and

		given comfortable accommodation.
deya	<i>exclamation</i> There! Look what's happened! (Buffett) " <i>Deya, yu s staban s'brek aa glas</i> "	English there
du lai	<i>exclamation</i> of agreement	English
dunnoa	beyond comprehension. (Nobbs Palmer) " <i>Wal, I dunnoa!</i> " (It's beyond me!) or (I'm dashed if I know!)	English Contraction of <i>I don't know</i>
enwaa	<i>interj.</i> – absolutely! (Buffett) " <i>Yu gwen dresap f'Baunti</i> (Will you be wearing period costume for Anniversary [Bounty] Day?) " <i>Enwaa!</i> " (Absolutely!) (1.) what do you think! (Nobbs Palmer) " <i>Yu thought shi se get all his money out-a-hem?</i> " (Do you think she has succeeded in getting hold of all his money?) " <i>Enwha!</i> " (What do you think!) (2.) of course. (Nobbs Palmer) " <i>Shi still whawhaha es awa?</i> " (Is she still as conceited as ever?) " <i>Enwha!</i> " (Of course!) (3.) aver. (Nobbs Palmer) " <i>Yu thought hi still use-a goo-a fe her?</i> " (Do you think he is still seeing her?) " <i>Enwha!</i> " (I'm positive!)	
estolley	(1.) It's a story, an untruth. (Nobbs Palmer) " <i>I bin hiah tull yu ell cook gude.</i> " (2.) a lie or fib (Nobbs Palmer) " <i>Estolley! Ent me de one larna hem ways you!</i> " (It's a lie! It wasn't me who told him where you were!)	
fars-boo-utt	Boat fastened! A term used during the old whaling days, the cry: " <i>Fars-boo-utt</i> " being used to alert other boats that a whale had been harpooned. It is worth mentioning that they only had lifeboats and at times the harpooned whale would tow the boat to which it was fastened for miles, during all this, the men in the other boats had to try (by rowing!) to keep within distance to help, if necessary. Nowadays, " <i>Fars-boo-utt!</i> " is used to draw attention to anything out of the ordinary. (How about that!) or (Take a look at that!) (Nobbs Palmer)	English Contraction and inversion of <i>Boat fastened</i> Nautical
fer	<i>interj.</i> exclamation of disagreement. What rubbish etc. (Buffett) " <i>Fer! Estoli!</i> " (What rubbish! That is not the truth at all!)	
foepoe	<i>interj.</i> – prefix to a variety of expressions of impatience or frustration or anger. (Buffett)	

	<i>"Foepoe shugaret!"</i> (Curse and hang the thing!)	
gajan	<i>interj.</i> blow it all! heaven only knows! (Buffett) (1.) <i>"Oe gajan, yu mus' kil mii f' fraitan."</i> (Oh blow it all, you almost killed me with fright.) (2.) <i>"Gujan worn noe wathing yu gwen du neks. Trai' duu guud."</i> (Heaven only knows what you're going to do next. Aim to do some good.	English ? <i>gudgeon</i> (1.) 'a person who is easily duped or cheated' (2.) <i>Nautical'</i> a socket attached to the stern frame of a vessel, for holding the pintle of a rudder' (www.dictionary.com)
gijan	<i>interj.</i> (1.) exclamation of frustration (Buffett) <i>"Oe gijan ai kaa wathing f' duu baut daa."</i> (Oh my goodness I really don't know how to resolve this matter.) (2.) it is beyond me (Buffett) <i>"Oe gijan, du aas' mii, hau wud ai noe!"</i> (Oh for heaven's sake please don't ask me, how would I know?)	
goodatun	couldn't be better, excellent. (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"Hey, whutta-waye?"</i> (Hi, how are you?) <i>"Goodatun"</i> (Couldn't be better!)	English ? Originated around WWII, now rarely used
goo de-ed	go and die, not used literally but used similarly to: (Go to blazes!) (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"Goo de-ed!"</i>	English <i>Go dead</i>
gudan	<i>interj.</i> I'm glad (vindictive) that's good! Take that! (Buffett) <i>"Ai sor. (I'm sick)</i> <i>Gudan"</i> (That's good.)	English ? <i>Good one</i>
guddett	got it. (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"Myse in-a-eye es Paul Newman"</i> (My pin-up is Paul Newman) <i>"Yu guddett!"</i> (You've got it!)	English <i>Got it</i>
ha	<i>interj.</i> exclamation expressing (1.) derision: huh! (Buffett) <i>"Ha, yu nor mus gides wieh yu thort."</i> (Huh! You're not as good as you thought.) (2.) triumph: hooray (Buffett) <i>"Ha! Hi se brek his oen time record, wael dan hem."</i> (Hooray, he's broken his own time record. Well done for him.) (3.) surprise, etc. all depending upon the tone of voice in which it is uttered. (Buffett) <i>"Ha! Daas yu s'kam hoem f'hohlade! Oe de guud."</i> (Well I never, is that you come home for the	English ?

	holidays. What a lovely surprise.)	
haa	<i>interj.</i> exclamation of (1.) confirmation (Buffett) “Haa!” (I agree exactly.) (2.) surprise (Buffett) “Haa. Aise kech yuu!” (Haa! Got you!)	English ?
haenget	hang-it-all. (Nobbs Palmer) “Haenget child, dunna troublesome!” (Hang-it-all child, stop being troublesome!) <i>interj.</i> Oh hang! Exclamation of annoyance. (Buffett)	English <i>Hang it</i>
hahaa	<i>interj.</i> exclamation of victory, surprise, or defiance, depending upon the intonation and circumstances. (Buffett) (1.) “Hahaa!” (I’ve won!) (2.) “Hahaa!” (I didn’t expect you.) (3.) “Hahaa!” (Oh no you don’t.)	English ?
Haluae	<i>interj.</i> an exclamation used to express either (1.) amazement or intense admiration ?) (Buffett) “Haluae! Yu se graabet!” (Oh gosh, what’s the matter now! You suddenly act as if you’re insulted! What has offended you or (2.) ridicule, depending on the circumstances, and intonation – usually a loud, or very audible voice is used because it is usually intended to draw attention. (Buffett) “Haluae! Yu se gat a nyuu kaa en si hau guud. Wael dan f’yu.” (My word, you’ve got a new car, and isn’t is lovely! Well done for you.)	English ? <i>Hallo</i> used to attract attention, with slight change in meaning in the Norf’k
heppy	probably a definition of Hell but it is not considered cursing. Used in the same context as “Heavens”. (Nobbs Palmer) “Hey, look orn dar oo dere waye se dress! car know-a shi gut plenty money when yu si some-a dem clorthe shi use-a goo-a about een!” (Hi, take a look at the way she’s dressed! Looking at her, no one would believe she is comfortably off!) “Heppy, true es yu talk et!” (Good heavens, isn’t that the truth!)	
hetieh	exclamation of surprise, contempt, sarcasm. (Harrison)	Tahitian ? <i>atae</i> – ‘a word used in various exclamations of wonder, surprise, affection, disgust, according to the nature of the subject, and the tone

		of voice'
hinkabus	<p>(1.) I think not! (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"I hiah tull you en dar oodere coo-utten."</i> (I heard tell you're courting that one over there.) <i>"Tulle s jock, I hinkabus!"</i> (I think not, you're joking, of course!)</p> <p>(2.) no way! (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"I\Himme goo cookem hoo-um nanwi fe ou-wus supper."</i> (Let's go and cook the dream fish for our dinner.) <i>"I hinkabus, ef I it et now, I nor gwen sleep who-ull night!"</i> (No way, if I eat them this late I won't sleep a wink!)</p>	* Nickname of a character in <i>Summer at Buckhorn</i> by Anna Maria Rose Wright
hoeyaa	<p><i>interj.</i> an expression of surprise. (Buffett) <i>"Hoeyaa si daa udeya s'flaiof' baik"</i> (Oh my goodness, look over there, that person has fallen off the bike.) an exclamation, such as 'Good gracious'. (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"Hoyah! Si how red waye dar oodere se dye de hair. I wuss her I nor gwen side gut any bull!"</i> (Good gracious! Look how red she's had her hair dyed. If I were her I wouldn't go near a bull!)</p>	
ho	<p>an exclamation, pronounced as in "hot" with a silent 't' (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"Si yu look how gude"</i> (Gee, you look nice!)</p> <p><i>"Ho, dunna fool me!"</i> (Hoa, stop flattering me!)</p> <p><i>interj.</i> an expression of disbelief. (Buffett) <i>"Hoh! Ai nor bliiwet"</i> (Surely not! I find that hard to believe.)</p>	
hootchilailai	<i>interj.</i> Emphatic expression of surprise	
iino	<i>interj.</i> emphatic no (Nebauer-Borg)	<i>ii</i> attested in Tahitian as "an interjection to express almost any emotion, depending on the tone of voice; it is frequently used by women and children to express surprise at something unpleasant or different" (Ross & Moverley) T. <i>ii</i> + E. no/yeah
iiyea	<i>interj.</i> emphatic yes (Nebauer-Borg)	
inau	<p><i>interj.</i> emphatic concurrence, my very word! (Buffett) <i>"Yu laik 'hoemnaenwi?"</i> (Do you like</p>	T. <i>i</i> + E. no (Nebauer-Borg) Nebauer-Borg: "Peter Mühlhäusler

	<p>dreamfish?)</p> <p><i>"Inau! Ai law' hoemnaenwi."</i> (My very word! I like dreamfish!)</p> <p><i>interj.</i> emphatic exclamation, definitely, absolutely (i.e. Indeed! My word! You bet!) usually preceded by a question (Nebauer-Borg)</p> <p><i>"lanu, yu nor gwen"</i> (Indeed you are not going)</p> <p>(negative emphasis)</p> <p><i>"Inau ai lawet"</i> (Indeed/my word I love it!) (positive emphasis)</p> <p><i>"Yu gata plan?" "Inau kaa wathing f'duu lorgfare!"</i> (My very word! Definitely!) (emphasis)</p>	<p>& Hamson suggest from <i>nei</i>, a particle of emphasis, but I disagree as Flint recorded <i>iinau</i> with a long <i>ii</i> ..."</p>
iye	<i>interj.</i> oops! (Buffett)	<p>Tahitian ?</p> <p><i>Ivi e – 'intj.</i> an exclamation of a warrior when his opponent fell in battle.'</p>
kuuii	a call across the distance	<p>Australian slang <i>coo-ee</i></p> <p>Possible origin – contact between Norfolk and Australian soldiers during WWII (Nebauer-Borg)</p>
la	<p><i>interj.</i> means 'not telling', term used when the name of a person is withheld, as a joke, mainly, from an enquirer (Buffett)</p> <p><i>"Huus daa?"</i> (Who is that?)</p> <p><i>"La"</i> (Not telling)</p>	
look-orn	<p>look at that! (Nobbs Palmer)</p> <p><i>"Hey, look-orn dar!"</i> (Hi, just look at that!)</p>	<p>English</p> <p><i>Look on</i></p>
lukya	<p><i>interj.</i> you take notice! (Buffett)</p> <p><i>"Nau lukya, yu dana tork f'salan! Nort kos dem yuus, yu haewt."</i></p> <p>(Now look here you stop back biting. Not because some others do, you have to join in. Stop it.)</p>	<p>English</p> <p><i>Look you</i></p>
mai-mai	<p><i>interj.</i> a call used to bring pigs to feeding, when pigs were kept in large paddocks on Norfolk. Probably not now used. (Harrison)</p> <p>pig-pig. Used mostly when calling pigs to feed. (Nobbs Palmer)</p>	<p>Tahitian</p> <p><i>maimai</i> – 'a call to pigs, fowls, &c.'</p>
o	<i>interj.</i> answer to a call; a form of reply. The intonation of the voice determines the meaning. (Buffett)	
oe	<p><i>interj.</i> (1.) intensifier. (Buffett)</p> <p><i>"Oe ai nor musa gwen."</i> (I am most certainly not going.)</p> <p><i>"Oe noe yuus yu laaf kos yu wases hem!"</i> (You don't have any room to ridicule because you're as bad as he is.)</p> <p>(2.) exclamation to quiet a child. (Buffett)</p> <p><i>"Oe!"</i> (Be quiet!)</p>	<p>Tahitian ?</p> <p><i>o – 'intj.</i> signifying the thing mentioned is made light of; also an exclamation to quiet a child.'</p>

	<p>(3.) matter made light of (Buffett) <i>"Oe domain."</i> (That's no problem.)</p> <p>(4.) joy, gladness (Buffett) <i>"Oe de guud!"</i> (Oh how wonderful!)</p>	
oedia	<i>interj.</i> oh dear. (Buffett)	English
oediya	<i>interj.</i> emphatic exclamation of concern (Buffett)	<i>Oh dear</i>
ooli-ooli	<p>Referring to anything one doesn't find to one's liking. Disappointing. (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"Wal te me, nor dar ooli-ooli"</i> (Well if you ask me, it wasn't quite what I expected!)</p>	
puri	<p><i>interj.</i> exclamation of disagreement with insincere words or empty talk meaning "what rubbish" or "don't talk nonsense". (Buffett)</p> <p>(1.) bunkum. (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"I car teck deye fe nothing, I like-a paye you furret?"</i> (I can't accept this for nothing! Let me pay you for it?) <i>"Pouri!"</i> (Bunkum!)</p> <p>(2.) nonsense, rubbish or what rot. (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"True es I hiah, I nor bin budge frum hiah cos I thought yu comen out si me!"</i> (As true as I'm standing here, I haven't budged I was so sure you were coming out to see me!) <i>"Ah, pouri!"</i> (What rubbish!)</p>	<p>Tahitian ? <i>pori</i> – 'term of contempt'</p> <p>French ? <i>pourri</i> – 'rotten'</p>
prinke	<p>(1.) praise be, thank heavens. (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"I se dunna hill em irish tayte fe you."</i> (I've finished hilling the potatoes for you.) <i>"Oo-a, prinke!"</i> (Oh, praise be!)</p> <p>– (2.) to be extremely grateful. <i>"Myse Ma bin maek some pilhi en shi send eye down fe you."</i> (My Mum has been making pilhi and she sent this down for you.) <i>"Please tulla yoos Ma, prinke fe me!"</i> (Please tell your Mum, I thank her from the bottom of my heart!)</p>	<p>English Amalgamation of <i>praise</i> and <i>thank you</i></p>
sacl-o	<p>(1.) sail sighted. (Nobbs Palmer) <i>"I ell hiah dem out ar aedge callen out, sacl-o! One a dem boo-ut muss be se harpoon one whale."</i> (I can hear the watchers on the cliff shouting, sail sighted! One of the boats must have harpooned a whale.) N.B. During the early whaling days on Norfolk as soon as a boat fastened onto a whale, a flag was raised alerting the other boats to stand by if help was needed. Families and friends watched</p>	<p>English <i>Sail-ho!</i></p> <p>Nautical</p>

	<p>from the cliff tops in case help was needed from the shore.</p> <p>(2.) Nowadays, the expression “<i>Sael-o</i>” is used to draw one’s attention to anything you might laughable or ridiculous. (What a sight!) (Nobbs Palmer)</p>	
shae	<p>– <i>interj.</i> yuck! (Nebauer-Borg)</p> <p>“<i>Shae, smael aampita</i>”</p> <p>“<i>Shae daa thing yu weya fishen smael hai</i>”</p> <p>“<i>Shae, daa es huihui</i>”</p>	
shedap	<p>– <i>interj.</i> shut up! stop talking, be quiet (not a nice way to command silence.) (Buffett)</p> <p>“<i>Yorlye shedap!</i>” (All of you be quiet.)</p>	English <i>Shut up</i>
sleps	<p><i>interj.</i> slips! Derived from a term used in marbles if a marble slips out of a child’s hand without the child having gripped the marble well enough to have delivered (snitch it) correctly. The developed to humorous wider use applicable to almost any situation where a person fails a first attempt and humorously seeks another attempt by saying</p> <p>“<i>Sleps! Ai sohre paadna, ai naewa serw daa borl guud.</i>”</p> <p>(Slips! Apologies partner, I served that ball without proper concentration.)</p> <p>In other words, could they have a second attempt without penalty, but jokingly inferred. (Buffett)</p> <p>(1.) slip, slips. Used when the person serving a tennis ball or shooting marbles etc. does so without due concentration. (Nobbs Palmer)</p> <p>“<i>Sleps!</i>” (Slips!) meaning: That was a horrible shot, I should have taken more time over it!</p> <p>(2.) slipped. Used when a person unintentionally breaks wind. (Nobbs Palmer)</p> <p>“<i>Ah, sleps!</i>” (I didn’t mean that to happen, it slipped out!)</p>	English <i>Slips</i>
stochi	<p>an exclamation of admiration at a person or thing that is amazingly successful. Strikingly stylish in dress, gait and presentation. Wow. (Buffett)</p> <p>“<i>Stochi! Wes aid aewa yu gwen salan gwen cata orn yuu.</i>”</p> <p>(Wow! Wherever you’re going people will admire you. You’re an eye-catcher.)</p>	
stoens	<p><i>interj.</i> stones. Expresses strong disagreement. (Buffett)</p> <p>“<i>Stoens t’daa!</i>” (I totally reject that! There’s no truth in that!)</p>	<p>English <i>Stones = balls</i> (testicles)</p> <p>Christian, from King James’ Bible, Deuteronomy 23:1 “He that is wounded in the stones, or hath his privy member cut off,</p>

	2 nd person <i>"Uu'uu yu mus' slep orn em lemo"</i>	or expire to relieve pain, etc." – Nebauer-Borg
uu	conversational marker to be dauntless and intrepid (Nebauer-Borg) <i>"Uu ai gwen' miek shua shi naewa duu daa gien, kaa duu"</i>	T: <i>uu</i> – v/n to be dauntless, intrepid Also used in English
uudia	<i>interj.</i> whew dear! expresses exasperation from exhaustion (physical, mental or emotional). (Buffett) (1.) <i>"Uudia, ai se tirij, ai gwen haw' stop for ais'drop"</i> (Oh dear! I'm so exhausted, I will have to stop before I drop!) (2.) <i>Uudia, mais hied s'bigen' spin ai gwan haew 'shet mais ai en dan 'think short let!"</i> (Oh dear! My head is about to spin, I'll have to shut my eyes and forget about what I'm doing for awhile.) (3.) <i>"Uudia, wathen more s' gorn rorng nau, ai kaa tek enemor"</i> (For goodness sake what's gone wrong now, I just cannot take anymore stress.)	English <i>Oh dear</i>
uwa	<i>interj.</i> used to express discomfort or pain (Buffett) <i>"Fut yu 'uwa'?"</i> (Why did you say 'uwa'?) <i>" Kos ai naewa thort ieh siit gwenbii haades wieh es"</i> (Because I didn't expect this seat to be as hard as it is.)	
waa	<i>interj.</i> I beg your pardon? used when one hasn't heard or believed what someone else has said. (Buffett) (1.) <i>"Waa? Wathing yu tal?"</i> (Pardon? I didn't hear what you said.) (2.) <i>"Waa! Daa kaant bii d'wieh!"</i> (Pardon me, that cannot be the case.)	English <i>What</i>
whaa	<i>interj.</i> What's that you say? Incredible! That can't be true. (Buffett)	English <i>What</i>
yae	<i>interj.</i> unpleasant, awful (Nebauer-Borg) <i>"Oe hii es riil yae!"</i>	Probably from 'yucky' or onomatopoeiac
yayu	<i>interj.</i> (1.) stop at once. (Buffett) <i>"Yayu! Yorlye dan miek' nois wail hi torken."</i> (Be quiet at once! Stop making a noise while he's talking.) (2.) here! take this! (Buffett) <i>"Yayu! Tek dieh kos ai staaten."</i> (Here, take this, I'm off!)	English ? <i>Hey you</i>
ye	<i>interj.</i> reply with many functions, depending upon the intonation of the voice. 'Ye' can mean almost anything the speaker wants it to mean, it	English ? <i>Yeah</i> with intensification in meaning

	depends on the way you say it. It can mean an affirmative 'yes' or it can mean 'no' even if 'yes' was said – depending on the intonation of the voice. It can mean 'do you agree' or 'may I' and again it can mean 'don't push your luck!' And it can be a forceful instruction like 'oh yes you will' or meaning 'of course'. (Buffett)	
yeh	<i>interj.</i> yes alright. (Buffett) <i>"Yorlye staat soe yorlye norliet Yeh orlrait."</i> (You all go now in case you're late. Yes alright.)	English Yeah
zaekli or saekli	<i>interj.</i> exclamation of agreement (Buffett)	English Exactly

44/73 of probable English origin

14/73 of possible Tahitian origin

15/73 of unknown origin

Appendix IV - Complex cultural ideas in Norf'k

Draft list (work in progress) of complex cultural concepts in Norf'k:

ana (noun)

"Metal, pointed coconut scraper, used to replace traditional coral instrument." (Source's name unknown)

"1. Ancient Tahiti – a piece of coral

2. Then a piece of serrated iron attached to a plank or stool

3. Today in Tahiti and electric oscillating spiky ball on which the halved coconut is pressed (like an electric citrus juicer)"

(Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

"Coconut gouger, made by the South Sea Islanders from a flay length of metal (iron or steel) about 30cm long and 5cm wide, slightly curved at one end and filed into a teeth-like scraper. The other end is either screwed or nailed onto a flat piece of board, big enough to sit upon. The person using the 'unna' places the wooden portion on a chair or stool, by sitting on this, the gouger is held rigid and the hands are free to hold the coconut. By running (rubbing) the insides of the halved coconut against the teeth of the gouger, it shreds quickly and very efficiently."

(Beryl Nobbs Palmer)

"The 'ana' was traditionally in Tahiti a type of coral used to grate the fresh coconut meat. The Europeans brought iron to the Pacific and this 'ana' was made on Pitcairn Islands from Miro wood and iron (possibly at 'Bang on Iron' where the Bounty Forge was kept.) Today in Tahiti mechanised 'ana' with a series of spikes on a high-speed revolving metal ball make fast work of the job.'

(Source's name unknown)

"A combined seat-grater-husker used in the preparation of coconuts, kumera (sweet potato), yam, taro, green bananas, etc. for Island traditional dishes such as *pilahai/pilhai* or *poi*, etc."

(Alice Buffett)

Alternative spellings: unna, anna

Derivates: 'ana' (verb) – to shred coconut ('anaren d' koknat')

aklan (pronoun)

" 'Our clan' – collectively all of us, us, everyone, everybody" (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

"In their book *The Pitcairnese Language* Ross and Moverley (1964) referred to *uklan* as 'quite the most mysterious word in Pitcairnese'. They go on to suggest that it derives from 'little ones' and that, like Tahitian *ta'ata ri'a* 'little people' *aklan* can be used to mean 'the general run of people'.

A very different origin, the word 'island', is suggested in Holland's brief wordlist of 1954 where he contrasts *uckland* 'people island' *sullen* 'people English'. Shirley Harrison in 1972 favours 'little ones' as the origin, but suggests another possible source – *orlar salan* 'all people, everybody' – and she notes 'both developments come from phrases literally meaning 'all the children', presumably to be connected with the time when children made up most of the population.'

In 1999, Markus Klingel of the University of Freiburg, Germany, wrote a lengthy paper on this question. He came up with a novel conclusion which he regarded as the real McCoy i.e. that the origin is the expression 'our clan', that the word originated with the Scotsman William McCoy who would have pronounced it *aklan*. He argues further that McCoy's daughter Sally was the oldest of the children of Pitcairn, and that she became the means by which this family word passed onto other children and the

whole community. In this process, the word became a marker of Pitcairn identity, which it continues to have to date.

On Norfolk Island the first record was Bishop Montgomery's *utluns* 'all the people'. Subsequent recorders reveal a multitude of spellings: *aklen*, *ukland*, *uklun*, *ucklun*, *aklan*, among many more. The use of *aklan* as a pronoun marker of strong solidarity according to Harrison (1985) is decreasing on Norfolk Island, and Källgård (1993) observed the same for Pitcairn Island."

(Word of the Week)

Alternative spellings: *uklan*, *ucklun*

***apkantri* (adjective)**

"Up country (When the Pitcairn Islanders came to Norfolk they lived in the town (*iin taun*) in the convict-built buildings in Kingston, or *dauntaun*, topographically everything from 'taun' was up ie. 'up the country' so '*apkantri*'. When they travelled they went 'up the road that took them *apkantri*', or '*apkantri roed*' hence the origin of name of 'Country Road'.

In older times Islanders left 'taun' and went up to '*werk in a faens taala aut Taro Ground*' on Friday night and weekend to supply their families for the coming week. They were given land grants and the 1908 evictions meant that eventually almost everybody moved 'up country' and cleaved, built and worked on their grants. Islanders used to continue to variously use the building '*dauntaun*' e.g. *manas* was rented out by Islanders for weeks at a time to go *fisgin*, go *rama* and holiday away from home."

(Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

***apkuks* (adjective)**

"When we were going to school (I'm now 37) is someone asked you 'side him se gorn?' (where has he gone?) and if you didn't like a person or were a little grumpy at them, it was often said 'he se gorn upcooks for winter'. Whilst it was not really a specific place, the inference was that he had gone a long way away (upcooks) for a long and uncomfortable time (winter). Saying someone was 'upcooks for winter' lets the inquirer know that you don't know or don't care where the third party is. This was rarely said with vengeance but was more a disgruntled half-joking and half-serious expression. This is another wonderful example of the colourful shorthand of the Norf'k language.

It is quite possible, as alluded to, that 'upcooks' was out at Captain Cook's landing site, given the directional 'up' which is where it is for most Islanders who lived in Kingston, or in the centre of the island, or in fact on the opposite side of the island to the landing site. The relatively inaccessible, lonely, windswept and uninhabited nature of this part of the island would also suggest that it is a great place to wish your temporary enemy or a person you were cranky with to go to." ('Norfolk resident')

"Indicates that the speaker is non-committal, or lacks knowledge of the whereabouts of a person or thing" (Alice Buffett)

Alternative spellings: *upcooks*, *up cooks*

***a'u* (noun)**

1. bowels, intestines, innards (especially of crabs, sea urchins/eggs and other shellfish)
 2. in Norf'k specifically the soft tail part of the fleshy body of the *hihi*.
 3. figurative seat of emotions – the physical sensation of love, deep affection does actually come from the intestines – base of stomach
- e.g. a) "*Ai law yu rait daun iin mais a'u*"

b) "*yu luk simis yus mam bat yu es yus daedis a'u*" (You look physically (externally) like your mother but in your heart, mind and ways (internally), you are like your father i.e. you hold the deep affections of his heart and mind)"

Note: The figurative use of *a'u* has deep Tahitian connections and explains a concept which no English word can convey, but it is a universal condition which has its physical manifestations in your stomach (intestines) – it is a kind of melting, fuzzy feeling which emanates up and outwards when you look at the favoured child that you adore and love ‘with heart and soul’. (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

***bilitin* (noun)**

“An island internal development, Norfolk’s answer to the ‘boogie monster’, obviously after the tin billy cans, which were used to carry and boil water in, and for a variety of general uses. One particular mischievous use was to scare people off as a practical joke (as in *tintoela* – tin message drum) and to frighten people in a supernatural sense. A pile of spoons in a tin billy was a great device to scare people out of slumber, and on stake out along dark roads at night to scare the wits out of unsuspecting passersby, (particularly effective in days gone by, before cars, when people walked over the island at night to get home), also to silence a group, call them to attention, e.g. a speech at a function. Teresa “Daffy Dill/Dilly” Grube was called ‘Billy Tin’ because mum and dad, Bruno and Vonnie Grube, told their children there was a troll, Billy Tin, who lived under Broken Bridge in JE Road, and the story left its impression on her. The Nobbs boys grew up believing he haunted Bennett’s Flats.”

***dudwe* (noun)**

“Candlenut, candlenut tree. Also known as the tung oil tree.

In the early days on Pitcairn before oil and kerosene lamps the oily nuts (known in English as ‘candlenut tree’ or ‘candlenut oil tree’) were used for lighting. There are many old reports of candlenut torches. In 1821 Ramsey observed that the Pitcairn Islanders stuck nut kernels on wooden skewers and used them for candles, and Captain Beechey (in 1825) wrote after an evening meal ‘three or four torches made of doodoe nuts strung upon the fibres of a palm leaf, were stuck in tin pots at the end of the table, and formed an excellent substitute for candles, except that they gave a considerable heat, and cracked and fired, somewhat to the discomfort [sic] of the persons whose face was near them.’

Bill Wiseman in *Living on Norfolk* (1977) ‘*dudwe* palms used to grow around Cascades on Norfolk . On Pitcairn the oily nuts were threaded on iron spikes and lit to provide illumination. On Norfolk, hungry children would sometimes go down to Cascades after school and pick nuts to eat, but judgment was necessary as the *dudwe* contained a laxative, and too many brought the inevitable penalty.”

(Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

***emans* (adjective, verb)**

“1. Be amongst a group of people but remain detached, show aloofness in this way, be elitist. 2. Be reserved. 3. Be shy.” (Alice Buffett)

“Use to describe a person or persons, who for no apparent reason withdraws from present company. It does not apply to sulking or ill-humour, which leads me to believe that Emuns was actually a person (possibly Edmond) and anyone who behaves in this manner is likened to him. ‘*Yu se emuns?*’ (What’s wrong? What are you doing on your own?) ‘*Dem se emuns*’ (They have gone off on their own, they don’t wish to join us!) apparently means: ‘you or they are acting exactly like Emuns!’” (Beryl Nobbs Palmer)

“To absent oneself (literally or figuratively) from company, be apart whatever the reason (e.g. to be pre-occupied, deep in thought or reflection, feeling unsociable, snobbing, shy, bored, etc.)

Emans is a statement of fact. What makes it emotive, either positive or negative, is the reason for *emans*, the context and the attitude of those involved. You might absent yourself from company for any number of reasons – if you are shy, reserved, sick, tired, conceited, disinterested, sulking, not in the mood for company, don’t like a person or the topic of conversation, want a rest or peace and quiet, etc. ‘*Yu se emans*’ and ‘*Dem se emans*’ simply recognises the absence.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *emuns*

***fatu* (adjective)**

“Physically exhausted, or useless, as a broken piece of machinery” (Beryl Nobbs-Palmer)

“Exhausted, done enough, can’t go any further, not prepared to exert oneself anymore” (Alice Buffett)

“Unable to move from exhaustion, dead, lying out flat, inert due to fatigue. Generally applies to animate objects i.e. people and animals but is also used for objects such as machines and vehicles – useless/irreparable.

The distress, disappointment and devastation the Pitcairn Islanders experienced in their return to Tahiti in 1831 has certainly survived in folklore down the generations; it was not the Tahiti they left behind, to them it was now amoral and they were plagued by Spanish influence and venereal disease.

The reduplication is a common way to emphasise the singular.

You would certainly use the F-word (French or English) in the context of *fatou* to describe ‘you have failed, said to someone who gets no fish, or capsizes a boat or motorbike’ [Källgård], and would therefore be considered blasphemous or obscene by many.

I am not sure if *fatou* is used or has been used on Norfolk in this context.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *fatou*, *futtoo*

***hepatutus* (noun)**

“Motivation, initiative, vigour, ‘get up and go’” (Alice Buffett)

“Its meaning thus is something like the opposite of *hili*.” (Word of the Week)

“*Hepitutu* is an incapacitation (like laziness) and is often joked about.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *epatutus*, *epututus*, *hepotutu(s)*

***hili* (noun)**

“A feeling of being pleasantly unenergetic, especially after relaxing for a short while” (Alice Buffett)

“The tired, lethargic feeling of the exertion associated with the hard work of climbing a long, steep incline; your legs get heavy and when you lie down in the grass your body is heavy and sinks into the ground in complete languor. The feeling is blissful and you really don’t want to get up. You will often hear Islanders say *hili* doesn’t quite mean ‘lazy’ and this is why. This word is a very important cultural marker and it’s a very Polynesian concept. Islanders often say ‘*ef yu gat’ hili du faitet*’ i.e. don’t fight it, go with it, enjoy it. Anyone who has been to Tahiti will understand the lethargy, malaise and blissful effects of the South Sea climes. Painters, poets, sailors, writers, adventurers have waxed lyrical about this surreal sensory experience (this is *hili*). In Norfolk, depending on the context it can mean ‘lazy’, as in a person prone too much to going with the inclination to relax into it, and not fight the temptation (‘*es hi tuu hili*’). *Hili* is to be pleasantly relaxed and tired, and seeing no reason why not to snooze under a tree in summer, or in a hammock or a bed on a verandah. There are elements of indulgence in the usage. There is no other word quite like it and no direct translation.

Note: As Beryl says it is not ‘lazy’, a lazy person never changes but a busy, energetic person can get a *hili* from sitting in the hot sun. If you have a bad attack of that drowsy feeling and someone asked – ‘*Watawieh?*’ – ‘*Oe ai gadget storng*’” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *hilly*

***hikaliks/hipaliks* (noun, adjective)**

“To be or feel very agitated, for example as if your stomach is physically full of butterflies due to adrenaline release. It is a psychological state with physical outcomes. Used in two contexts:

1. To be agitated by anger, annoyance (adrenaline rush), to have a fit or turn, i.e. jump around in agitation
2. To be agitated by fear, nerves, excitement (fight or flight), to have stage fright, or be in a situation which causes psychological discomfort

We used it often when I was at school where you were encouraged to step out of comfort zones – public performance, debating, classroom participation. The nervous feelings were acknowledged by ‘*Oe ai gat d’ hikaliks*’” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

***hoem* (noun, adjective)**

“Pitcairn – When the Pitcairners came to Norfolk they continued to refer to Pitcairn as ‘home’; things they came across that was similar to what they left behind at home, or to identify and differentiate between things they knew and new things they used *hoem* as a marker” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

“Belonging to Pitcairn” (Ross & Moverley)

***hoemnanwi* (noun)**

Also known as ‘dream fish’

“On Norfolk the fish are steam-cooked and served with a pouring of cream. And when sleep comes the fun begins. Diners experience the most vivid flights of sub-conscious fantasy and often nightmares – the ones which end with the victim clammy-handed and white-faced, groping for the light switch.”
(Newspaper article, dated Wednesday, February 4th 1970 – courtesy of Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *hoemnanwe*

***hui hui* (adjective)**

“(1) Filthy, unclean, extremely dirty, repulsive, messy (amplified by disorder, things piled here and there)

(2) To feel filthy, dirty, disgusting, ashamed

(3) To retch or almost retch at something unclean, disgustingly dirty, e.g. a toilet, cockroaches or rats in a kitchen, maggots in food

(4) To feel unnerved about some eerie, unseen, unheard or supernatural presence or to shudder at a strange, unnerving and eerie occurrence – a creepy feeling.

(5) To have an uncanny sense of an impending death of someone

The common thread that binds all meanings is the feeling you get whatever the definition (this is universally negative – not anthropologically specific). When something is filthy/unclean, like maggot-ridden rotten fish, or when something is eerie/spooky (like an unseen ghostly presence or happening) your feeling is the same: you shudder, you feel nauseous, you want to run away rather than face it.”
(Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *huwehuwe, huehue, hooey-hooey*

***hukimilish* (noun)**

“Similar to the ‘boogie monster’ that hides under the bed or follows you down a dark road; the monster inside your head. He lurks along cliffs and near wells and other dangerous places, thereby keeping children away. Useful as it plays an important role in child safety.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spelling: *hukamilkish*

***huus yuu* (noun)**

“A very important cultural marker requiring knowledge of your genealogy.

Genealogy was essential to Tahitian culture, especially when everything was transferred verbally inter-generationally; knowledge of *huus yuu* proved inherited rights, e.g. rights to land, chiefly rights, etc. *Huus yuu* brings to account, asks you to be accountable and give reason or to justify your existence and your actions. On Pitcairn rockpools containing *upi*, *haetfish*, etc. were subject to personal ownership, as were trees (e.g. George’s Coconuts), land (Young’s Ground), roaming livestock and plates and other things of value (many of which held the personal mark of their owners – Midshipman Young’s plate holding his mark is in Government House). On Pitcairn and Norfolk *huus yuu* has led to disputes over land ownership.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

***inglish* (adjective), *inglish salan*, *inglishmien* (noun)**

“Strangers, non-islanders. This word has been important in terms of developing cultural identity, a long and complex process which can be seen in the history of the word ‘English’ on Pitcairn and Norfolk. Pitcairn Islanders told Captain Folger in 1808 ‘We are Englishmen because our father was an Englishman.’

In present-day Pitcairn (2009) *inglish* means a meddlesome ‘outsider’ or someone who is fastidious (especially about things like mud). On Norfolk this continued where *Inglish salan* were overdressed or impractically dressed, spoke perfect English, and acted ‘a cut above’ everyone. This was exacerbated by the fact that the ‘outsiders’ or *Inglish salan* were often well-educated, well-paid authority figures who laid down and enforced rules and regulations and introduced colonial-style educational suppression of language and culture. Despite this Islanders have always retained enormous love, loyalty and respect for the British monarchy, and especially Queen Victoria and the pivotal role she played in our history.

The use of *inglish* and *Inglish salan* as a negative term and putdown were prevalent in my parents’ and grandparents’ generation, however a greater cultural mix and cultural equality have somewhat negated this and it is generally heard amongst Islanders ribbing each other for ‘proper’ dress, behaviour, etc.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

“Anyone behaving in an ‘English’ manner – being very ‘proper’, dressing very ‘proper’, speaking English instead of Norf’k, afraid of mud, cleaning fish, getting their hands dirty; general *waawaha* behaviour.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

***iyala* (noun, verb)**

“Pubescence, transitional period from puberty to adulthood, sometimes decried by intolerant adults who may be heard to say *dana iyala* or ‘stop acting as if you’re grown up.’” (Alice Buffett)

“A transitional state of being, from childhood into adolescence, and from adolescence into adulthood. This is why it is sometimes described as precocious, not fit, as a child prematurely behaving as if he/she has passed the rite of passage into adolescence or an adolescent acting as if he/she has passed the rite of passage into adulthood. Most often used contemptuously by an older person relating to a younger person who is precocious and is prematurely acting, behaving, speaking or assuming to be older than he / she actually is.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *iiyaela*, *iiyala*, *eeyulla*, *eyulla*, *eyalloe*

***j’lili* (verb)**

(1) to do

- (2) to prepare spontaneously
- (3) to make a mess of things, botch it up

J'lili is not quite the same as *maet/maetmaet* – both have elements of making a mess, but *j'lili* is more mess up/cock up a job with elements sometimes of incompetence whereas *maetmaet* is to purposely drop standards, make compromises or inadvertently mess up something you normally do well. On a continuum, *j'lili* has more positive, slightly jocular usage, and *maet* slightly more negative. *Maetmaet* also has connotations of flitting backwards and forwards.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

johlaps (noun, verb)

“An old practice of incising fruit (melons particularly) and inserting an effective amount of purgative in order to dissuade culprits from returning to steal more fruit. It is a proven method of safeguarding crops from novice plunder.” (Alice Buffett)

“Salt-petre (a purgative)” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

k'naekas (noun)

“Dark-skinned Pacific Islanders; generally not referring to the Polynesians but the Melanesians (plantation workers). This term was more prevalent amongst my grandparents’ generation and was less used in my mother’s where the term *blaek salan* was used. This term was used by the American whalers to denote the Pacific Islanders. The ethnic backgrounds on the early whaleships were diverse. On the whaleship *Charles W. Morgan* on which Charles Parkin Christian served the crew lists featured Jack, Jim, Teddy, Mois, Thomas and Joaquim Kanaka. These names did not give away the man’s origin. From Polynesian *kanata*, *tangata*, *anata*, *tamata*, *taata* (Tahitian) meaning a person, man, a human person male or female, mankind. The Pacific blackbirders also used this term. Norfolk Islanders worked on the South Sea whalers and in the New Hebrides plantations (Bataille, Grube, Hooker, Schmitz comes from this part of our history. *Kanaka* was a general term used by plantation owners and managers, etc, to refer to the dark-skinned Islanders. Norfolk Islanders did not use it in a derogatory manner; it was a term of admiration or fun, or a simple reference. It would now be politically incorrect to use such terms today; I had to coin *koknat salan* to get around this. Norfolk Islanders are many different shades and it is quite acceptable amongst close family and friends to say ‘*si yu hau blaek*’, retort, ‘*nore muses blaek es sam*’ (generally Islanders who have a bit of colour). (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *kanakas*

kamfram (noun)

- (1) Genealogy, ancestry
- (2) History, culture, etc. The reason for the way things are and the way we do things.

Often heard from old island women” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

nafka (noun, adjective)

“When the early Pitcairners first came they naturally compared everything to home (i.e. Pitcairn). So when they found or used or saw something that was also found, seen or used at home, they called it *hoem naenwi*, *hoem rauti*, *hoem oefi*, etc. When they saw something which was not seen at home they called it a Norfolk i.e. *nafaka berd* (*nafka* or kingfisher bird). This analogy they also extended to themselves. In their hearts the old Pitcairners would always belong to Pitcairn; their home would always be Pitcairn because home is where the heart is. So the Pitcairn Islanders were always Pitcairners and the following generations were Norfolkers.

Hoem and *nafaka* are about splits and separations, both geographical and psychological. You are physically split between old and new, here (Norfolk) and there (Pitcairn) and mentally split between wanting to be here (on Norfolk) with your family, and back at home (on Pitcairn). Even as a Norfolk Islander today I am split three ways in my heart. I love Norfolk, it’s my home, I yearn to go to Pitcairn

because I know this is my ancestral home, and I will be at home and feel at home, and I finally got to our ancestral birthplace where our (T:) *tapuna* (ancestors); originated and felt such a sense of place and belonging to my Polynesian ancestry. I am homesick and heartsick for all three at once and I understand the compulsion of a pilgrim to journey back to the sacred places that are in our hearts and minds.

In time when the community was again split by some returning to Pitcairn it came to what language you spoke – you either spoke Pitcairn (Pitkern) or Norfolk (Norf’k), depending on where you had grown up and spent most of your time. When speaking proper English, as everybody including the people of Pitcairn descent were historically compelled to do you were a ‘Norfolk Islander’ living on ‘Norfolk [Island]’ (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *nafaka*

***pepa* (adjective)**

“To be thrilled by sincere reason or by flattery” (Alice Buffett)

“To be excited, thrilled by a situation or compliment” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Bernie, who is fast approaching his 4 score, believes he has used the word *pepa* or *pepper* and heard it used all his life. Mary thinks she has been aware of it since she came here over 40 years ago.

Both of us agree that it has the connotation of animated, often flirtatious behaviour by someone who either feels flattered by someone’s attention or ‘on a high’ because of some achievement or recognition.

When someone *se pepa* they will often make a little bit of a fool of themselves, such as an old lady or perhaps a teenage girl behaving flirtatiously towards a male who has paid them a compliment or some unexpected attention, or even trying to attract the attention in the first place. It could apply to someone who shows almost excessive excitement about an achievement and continues to show by their lively and somewhat attention-seeking behaviour they really *feel gude*. It even has somewhat sexual connotations in some circumstances. It could be translated as ‘wound up’ (in a happy sense), or even the English term ‘pepped up’ or ‘hot’.

Charles said he would use it about someone who ‘feels good about something’.

Peter says it would be used to describe the body language of someone who is *wawaha* or pleased with themselves, and is trying either not to show it, or is unaware that they are showing it. (Mary and Bernie Christian Bailey)

Alternative spellings: *pepper*

***rama* (noun, verb)**

“To a Norfolk Islander the word *rumma* conjures up a dark night and a couple of stout bags in which to carry periwinkles and crabs. *Rumma* means to gather periwinkles and catch crabs at night.” (Beryl Nobbs Palmer)

“On Pitcairn, the candle made from the candlenut was called *ramma/rumma* from the Tahitian word *rama* – candlenut torch. As candlenut torches were used for fishing at night, the meaning of *rama* changed on Norfolk to ‘fishing at night by torchlight’. On Norfolk this activity is restricted to the foreshore. In Tahiti (Davies 1831) a *rama* was taken in the canoes to go fishing on the waters at night (probably in estuaries, rivers, and sheltered lagoons).

In Tahitian *rama* is a torch (a single or a string of *dudwe*/candlenuts) used by fishermen and was used on Pitcairn as such. On Norfolk it became a verb and adjective rather than a noun ‘to take torches / lanterns to go shore-gathering at night’. The best time is low-tide and full moon as a larger intertidal zone is

exposed allowing a greater area for rolling the rocks over and collecting *hihi*. You can now also *gu rama* in the daytime to collect *hihi* and crabs.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

“On Norfolk the tradition of *rama* is an intrinsic part of island culture and represents family, friendship, sharing and fun. In times of scarcity *gwen rama* supplemented diets and staved off hunger. To *gu rama* is very special and exciting, it is a time of gathering – gathering of people and gathering of delicacies such as *hihi* and crabs, etc. It is especially exciting through the eyes of a child – you got to stay up late, sometimes all night if you could, and there would always be stories, singing and a feast at the end. It is long-awaited because it requires perfect conditions, a moonlit night, low tide and calm seas (therefore no wind). You need a *baket* (or basket) and a torch or lantern. In the old days you walked everywhere so people brought their lamps and went house to house collecting each other and as you walked you sang and talked and laughed. (Kikkik Senior said to me, ‘Norfolk seemed much smaller then, we didn’t have phones, we just called out to one another from the roadside and across the valleys’).

When you got to your favourite *rama* spot (under 100 Acres, Kingston, Bumboras, Ball Bay, etc.) you’d roll the rocks back to get the biggest and best *hihi* (and sometimes crabs and whelks). When you had a bucket-, bag- or basketful, you’d go home, boil them up and pick the *hihi* out with a long pin, needle, safety pin or hat pin – a laborious but fun task made light by many hands and laughter. *Gwen rama* is invariably accompanied by a midnight feast of *hihi* (with cream, lemon juice and white pepper) and hot white bread and butter (made by a person who stayed home or from a bakery on the way home). *Rama* is often a full-night affair, especially if full moon and low tide coincide late at night or in the ‘wee small hours’. You have to stay up or get up in the middle of the night. Shoregathering takes several hours, cooking and picking out *hihi*, feasting along with *talstoli*, laughter, and singing may well mean *borsawa* and *sun-up*. A person waking up to find they have missed *gwen rama* and the ensuing midnight feast and frivolities is *gwen nanu* – be disappointed and a little jealous.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

Alternative spellings: *ramma*, *rumma*

taapai (noun)

“A feeling of not wanting to do something, but knowing you have to. Resisting, having to be pulled along, otherwise known in Norfolk as ‘*gata nor laik*’ – got a ‘not like’.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

waawaha (adjective)

“Haughty, conceited, arrogant, self-important” (Alice Buffett)

“This is a very powerful word which is multifunctional and applies to a wide range of contexts and behavioural circumstances, however the end result or outcome (reaction) is almost always consistently a level or degree of contempt, derision, disgust or light esteem, spoken or unspoken, for the observed behaviour, whether it be directed towards the first person or observed by the first person. The kinds of behaviours are wide-ranging and non-prescriptive because of the subjective nature of personal viewpoints and value systems. The kinds of behaviours often considered *waawaha* are conceit, pretentiousness, showing off, putting on airs, remote, reserved, over-the-top behaviour, ostentatiously dressed up, dolled up, silly or unwitting behaviour, overdressed, prone to putting on airs, higher-than-thou attitudes, proud, haughty, arrogant, self-important, etc. The variant definitions demonstrate which particular behaviour a person associates or relates most highly to of the general list of the *waawaha* kinds of behaviour. The Norfolk context extends beyond what is said (as in Tahitian) to also include what is done.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

yolo (noun, verb)

“(1) Stone slab grater, rectangular, often with slits sawn into the stone to form a grater, especially for root vegetables and green bananas. Very rare now.

(2) To fine grate on a traditional vesicular, rough basalt stone slab grater called the *yolo*, brought to Norfolk from Pitcairn in 1856 by the Pitcairn families.” (Rachel Nebauer-Borg)

"A grating stone hand-hewn from slabs of lava rock on Pitcairn Island. Each household brought one from Pitcairn to Norfolk Island in 1856." (Alice Buffett)

"A traditional volcanic grating stone brought to Norfolk Island by the Pitcairners in 1856, these are irreplaceable, highly treasured family heirlooms. The word *yolo* probably originates from the Islanders' Tahitian ancestry. *Uioro* is a Tahitian word meaning 'to grate, such as taro, potatoes, etc.', and *oro* 'to grate the taro'. The Tahitians also used stone graters which they called '*ofa'i oro*'. Our Tahitian foremothers continued this method of food preparation and it is from them that we inherit many of our traditional dishes and food preparation practices. A similar lava slab is also used in South America, and it is possible, but not proven, that some of these were also left on Pitcairn by American whalers during trade and bartering or brought to the island by George Hunn Nobbs. The Pitcairners also used *tui* (stone pestles) and *popoi* stools (flat pounding stones) for food preparation but there is no evidence that this practice was brought through to Norfolk. The *yolo* stone is particularly good for grating sweet potato, yams, taro and green banana, and is used for the preparation of dishes such as *pilahai*, *mada*, and *griin plan paenkiek*. Despite its laborious nature, dishes made on the *yolo* stone have a kind of flavour that cannot be replicated. Generally women's work, the *yolo* stones are at work late into the night or very early in the morning especially occasions such as family celebrations, Thanksgiving Day and Bounty Day." (Source's name unknown)

Alternative spellings: *yollo*, *jolo*

Derivatives: *yolaren*

Appendix V - A poem by Gustav Quintal¹⁰:

Ucklun

I wish I ell larna yorlye
How hard wi little sullun fine
Fe read en write en talk good English
En talk et out ou-wus mine

Wi go-a de school moos evry daye
Fe try en learn a thing
Wi read, wi write, wi talk en playe
En sometime use-a sing

En when we all goo hoo-um frum school
Wi nawa try en doo
Dem thing ou-wus teacher tulla ucklun
We nawa talk et too

Wi bin examine et again
Wussun fuss ef yu bleawe
Cos yorlye know-a dem English maen
We nawa ell deceiwe

All ou-wus examiners es
Peter, Tom en Jack
Doo yorlye worry ef wi nor
Gut any prize des tack

Now I se dun en I bet
All yorlye glaed es me
En tull dar thing es 'Whawhaha'
En semis waye es me.

We (Islanders)

I wish I could tell you
How hard we children find it
To read, and write and talk good English
And talk it out of our mind

We go to school almost every day
To try to learn things
We read, we write, we talk and play
And sometimes we are singing

And when we all go hom from school
We do not try to do
The things our teachers told us
We do not speak it either

We were examined again
Worse than first if you believe
For you know those foreigners
We can never deceive

Our examiners are
Peter, Tom and Jack
Do not worry if we do not
Get any prize this time round

Now I have finished and I bet
All of you are as glad it's me
Who says this thing is 'Stuck up'
And peculiar like I am.

¹⁰ This is one of several version of this poem –another one can be found in Hayward (2006 : 173-174)