Paper prepared for the Bounty-Pitcairn Conference, Angwin 2012

Draft only-comments welcome-not for citation

Ned Young, Creator of the Linguistic Landscape Pitcairn Island[1]

Peter Mühlhäusler

University of Adelaide

Introduction

You will of course recall my telling you about my visit to Barbados in 1989 as a Minister of the Government, and how whilst there, I only spoke Norf'k which was understood at all times. My ability to speak their language of course ensured my being treated with great hospitality and great friendships were forged. The same thing happened in 1999 when Dids and I both went to Trinidad and Tobago. Again, I spoke their language. I know that you will of course remember that at the time I told you about my experiences you were not aware of the connection and dare I say it were somewhat hesitant in agreeing fully with me.

Mrs Gaye Evans, Clark of the Norfolk Island Legislative Assembly, in an email dated 27ᵗʰ October 2011.

I have since investigated this matter, together with my colleague and friend Philip Baker, an expert on St Kitts Creole and have come to the conclusion that there is much evidence for arguing that West Indian Creole, or more specifically the language of Edward Young was a key factor in the formation of the Pitkern language. I shall refer to him as Ned or Ned Young as this was the name by which he was known on Pitcairn as can be seen from the placename *Nedjun,* the place where "the mutineer Edward Young had either his house or his garden (Ross & Moverly 1964 : 178). Ned Young not only contributed pronunciation, words and grammatical constructions of the Pitkern language, he is also responsible for how languages were used and/or were abandoned on Pitcairn Island.

Research questions

Faraclas (et al 2012: 167), when discussing the diffusion of Afro-Atlantic Creole to the Pacific refer to "the relatively well-documented case of the African descended Kittian Creole speaker Edward Young on Pitcairn Island." That this is a well-documented case is far from true. The majority of researchers have simply ignored that languages other than English and Tahitian could have been involved in the formation of Pitkern. This can be seen from the following frequently quoted passage:

"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. " (Reinecke et al 1975 : 590)

A number of researchers identify a few words of West Indian origin and conclude that these forms must have originated with Ned Young, the mutineer born on St. Kitts in the West Indies.[2]

---

[2] This conclusion is far too simplistic. Words of West-Indian origin continued to be added to the Pitkern language a long time after Young had passed away. The West Indian word *alligator* 'avocado' was probably introduced in the 1880s together with the fruit by West Indian crew or American whalers who had encountered this word in the West Indies.

The question I ask for the purposes of this paper is different. I am concerned with the linguistic ecology of Pitcairn Island, the competition and interaction between a number of languages and ways of speaking and the socio-historical forces that led to the well-known outcomes of:

- The continued use of educated English
- Universal literacy in English
- The use of an informal English-based contact language
- The disappearance of the Tahitian language

My argument is that Ned Young played a crucial role in bringing about all of the above and, moreover, he is responsible for the close structural and lexical similarities between St. Kitts Creole English and Pitkern-Norf'k. One of the by-products of my research is a list of 50+ (or about 5% of the total lexicon of Pitkern) forms of St. Kitts origin (see appendix).

Input, uptake and linguistic role models

It is well known that children do not necessarily speak like their mother or their parents, but they make choices that reflect the ways of speaking that they identify with. This can include:

a) the language favoured by their peers: Most migrant children in Australia end up speaking Australian English when they leave school and after three generations maximally their ancestral languages are no longer used in their family;

b) children may switch to a language they regard as more useful, cool or whatever, when they get older;

c) children may invent a new language when there is insufficient guidance from parents and adults and when there is conflicting language input. On many West Indian and Pacific plantations there were many different languages among the slaves and labourers and children ended up creating their own Creole.

The notion of 'mother tongue' is problematic (a) because children are not necessarily socialized by their mothers and (b) they can make other choices. When I discussed this

matter with some of my graduate students I asked an Irish student 'What is your mother tongue?' and she replied 'Irish'. My next question was 'What did your mother speak?' and she answered 'Only English – she hated Irish'.

What can one know about the choices made by members of the first generation born on Pitcairn? Consider the case of Thursday October Christian, the first child born on Pitcairn. He married Edward Young's widow at the age of 16 by which time he had become a leader among the new generation, a role that was brought to an early end by his untimely death in Tahiti in 1831. In December 1825 Beechy interviewed Thursday October [3]Christian about the languages used on Pitcairn:

> Q. What language do you commonly speak?
> A. Always English.
> Q. But you understand the Otaheitan?
> A. Yes, but not so well.
> Q. Do the old women speak English?
> A. Yes, but not so well as they understand it, their pronunciation is not good.

Being the oldest male child in a patriarchal society, Thursday's refusal to speak Tahitian must have set an example to the other children. His patchy knowledge of Tahitian is surprising as he was the only member of the first generation of Pitcairners to marry one of the original Tahitian women, (Beechey 1825).

I have dealt with the disappearance of Tahitian on Pitcairn Island in a separate paper (Mühlhäusler 2011), but would like to iterate the fact that the children received Tahitian input from their mothers, did not mean that there was uptake, they did not regard their mothers as linguistic role models for a range of reasons I have discussed in my paper.

---

[3] The choice of this name may reflect the West Indian practice of giving day-names. Whether this name was suggested by Ned Young regrettably cannot be ascertained.

Who then were the linguistic role models for the first generation of children born on Pitcairn Island? My claim is that Ned Young was an important, perhaps the most important role model, both directly and indirectly. This claim is supported by observations such as:

- Young was popular with the women

- Five of Young's seven children were old enough by 1800 to have received significant linguistic input from Young;
- Young married Fletcher Christian's widow, thereby becoming the stepfather of Thursday October, Charles and Mary Anne

- Young was the last remaining officer and the only literate mutineer after Fletcher Christian's alleged death in 1793

- Young promoted the love for literacy by reading to both the Polynesian women and other mutineers

- By teaching Adams to read and write he ensured that literacy would be passed on to the children

Time prevents me from going into details about the above points.

Ned Young, the man

Before exploring the role of Ned as the creator of the linguistic landscape of Pitcairn Island, a few brief notes on the man himself. We know less about Edward Young than we would like to for a number of reasons, including:

> 1. There was a stigma of some sort attached to his birth. He appears to have been an illegitimate child of Sir George Young or his brother Robert, and an African or part African woman.[4] Extensive genealogical research carried out by Mrs MW Heskett for

---

[4] . We should not assume that the mother was a slave. She might well have been a free citizen and perhaps of mixed European-African descent. In most "slave colonies", free blacks (typically of mixed descent) outnumbered Europeans within fifty years. (Philip Baker p.c. 27-7-12)

the linguist Elwyn Flint (University of Queensland) in Britain is singularly inconclusive.

2. Young's diary got lost, only small extracts can be found in Beechey's report on Pitcairn Island and none of these says anything about his origin or the language situation on Pitcairn Island. The passages quoted by Beechey confirm the excellent command Young had of formal English

3. The archives on St Kitts burned down a few years ago – what we do know comes from indirect evidence, secondly sources and logical argumentation.

One theory about Young's origin is that he was born in Peel on the Isle of Manx (see *pitcairn.fatefulvoyage.com/people*) but there is little support for this view. Another one, found in a number of publications is that Edward Young was Sir George's nephew but research by Hesketh-Williams has failed to find any evidence of Sir George ever having described Edward as such. The ultimate source of this suggestion appears to be Belcher (1871) the stepdaughter of Peter Heywood, another midshipman on the *Bounty,* who provided her with information. If Edward had really been the nephew of Sir George, then his father would have to be George's younger brother, Robert who was also a navy man but about whom little else is known. However, given that Sir George (a) is known to have been in the West Indies for at least part of the decade in which Edward was conceived, (b) employed Edward to work on the vessel he commanded, the *Catherine,* in 1784-85, and (c) wrote a letter in 1788 recommending that Edward be employed on the *Bounty,* it seems far more likely that Sir George would have been his father rather than his uncle.

Young's linguistic abilities

Unfortunately, like Ned Young's provenance his linguistic abilities must remain an informed guess. His repertoire would seem to have included educated English, St. Kitts Creole (informal English) and Tahitian.

Ned Young, being an officer and an educated man could speak educated English. Unfortunately it has not so far proved possible to discover anything about how Young acquired his education. From Cox (1984) it would appear that it was only in the late 18th century that the Moravian and Methodist churches in St Kitts began to provide religious instruction for slaves and free coloureds and it is not even clear that this teaching extended to the provision of basic literacy before the start of the next century. Victoria O'Flaherty (p.c.)[5] informed Philip Baker that there were a few cases of children of mixed racial descent in St Kitts in the late 18th century who were sent to England to be educated and it seems probable that Edward Young was among them.

Direct quotations from Young's diary (begun in late 1793) can be found in Beechy (1832). They confirm his ability to write complex grammatical English as the following passages (Beechy 1832 : 65 & 66) illustrate:

"I thought that if the girls did not agree to give up the heads of the five white men in a peaceable manner, they ought to be taken by force, and buried"

"We did not forget their conduct; and it was agreed among us, that the first female who misbehaved should be put to death; and this punishment was to be repeated on each offence until we could discover the real intentions of the women"

Note the use of the passive, do-support in negative sentences and correct plurals. Also note the stylistic variation 'women-girls-female'.

These passages are in stark contrast with an extract from John Adams' "autobiography" in Ross & Moverley (1964 : 50, note 2):

---

[5] ADD

"...I was born... of poor But honast parrents My father Was Drouned in the Theames thearfore he left Me and 3 More poore Orfing Bot one Was Married and ot of All harmes"

For the purposes of this paper it is not sufficient simply to assess Young's linguistic competence; it is equally important to understand how he used his linguistic repertoire. Again we have very little direct evidence but it would seem that in his last years he advocated moderate and serious language.

In his *Twenty Years Residence on Pitcairn Island*, John Buffett (1846) comments on a volume by the non-conformist preacher Philip Doddridge's *Sermons on Regeneration* first published in 1741 and reprinted numerous times thereafter: 'the last appeared to have been much used, I am inclined to think by Young'. This would seem to imply both in his own readings and in his readings to others. The introduction to this book of sermons concludes with the words:

> 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, (Philip Doddridge 1803, originally 1741).

During their visits to Pitcairn Island in the first half of the 19th century a number of observers commented on the use of language by the Pitcairners, particularly their avoidance of swearing and crude expressions. This use of language may also have been one of the lasting influences of Ned Young.
Buffett (1846) mentions that he read from the Bible to his fellow mutineers and to the women.

"I am inclined to think by Young, as some years before his death he was a great reader of his Bible and used to relate the contents to his wife who is still living, and can now recollect many of the historical parts."

Ned Young probably had a reasonable knowledge of colloquialTahitian:

> It is fair to assume that no other educated European had earlier been able to acquire such a comparatively intimate knowledge of the Tahitian language as he (i.e. Heywood) had done, with the possible exception of Fletcher Christian and Edward Young on remote Pitcairn Island, but those two were never to face civilization again, and thus do not concern us here, (Du Rietz 1986:6).

Nevertheless his mastery of Tahitian was probably not very advanced and his imperfect grasp of pronunciation and meaning of words may be one of the reasons, why words of Tahitian provenance in Pitkern often differ in these respects from their source language. Examples are given in the appendix. Young would also have been familiar with the Tahitian words used by the Bounty crew as an the act of defiance during the period before the mutiny. That Tahitian was used in this way has been argued by Dening (1997):

> There, in such an ambivalent space, even the language of the crew began to change. What stuck in the memory of those who tried to describe Christian on the morning of the mutiny was the sort of Tahitian -English Pidgin he was using. '*mammoo*' (mama), 'silence,' they remember him shouting. While it is difficult to point to anything stronger that hints in James Morrison's and Peter Heywood's accounts of the mutiny,, there is a suggestion that the crew of the Bounty has been marked by something more than tattoos at Tahiti. They had begun to intersperse Tahitian words in their speech with one another. By the time Edwards had collected them in the *Pandora* , this pidgin had made them bilingual. It was a highly threatening strangeness to Edwards, and he promised

extreme punishment, even gagging, if a word of Tahitian was spoken. On the Bounty, their pidgin would not have been to exclude others' understanding what they were saying, but to underscore a relationship changed by their Tahitian experience. It bred familiarity. It lessened distinction between them and increased distance between their present and their former selves. It blurred the genres of their sailors' talk. Bligh might rage at their seamanship, but it was more than their incompetence that angered him. They were touched and changed by something outside their wooden walls. They showed it on their skin and in their speech. (Dening 1997:57-8)

Ned Young would have become familiar with the Tahitian variety of the Maritime Polynesian Pidgin (Drechsel forthcoming) when interacting with the locals during the stay of the Bounty in Tahiti when the British and Tahitians were equals. There is a puzzle, however, only about a handful of words recorded for the Pidgin ended up in the vocabulary of Pitkern.

Ned Young's knowledge of St. Kitts Creole can be deduced from the significant number of words and constructions of Kittian provenance in Pitkern-Norf'k. It is true that Fletcher Christian had travelled in the West Indies and may have picked up the occasional creole expression, but

- He is unlikely to have picked up a significant number of words and expressions;
- There was no particular reason for him to use them on Pitcairn;
- I have no evidence that Fletcher Christian spent significant amounts of time on St. Kitts and acquired expressions not current in other West Indian Islands.

Thanks to Baker and Bruyn's (eds. 1999) reader, which contains more than a dozen linguistic papers dealing with the language of eleven texts written by Samuel Augustus Mathews on St. Kitts in the late 18th century, we have a reasonable idea what the informal or creole variety of English spoken on St. Kitts was like. In addition, a wordlist of

contemporary St. Kitts was compiled by Baker (MS n.d.). A a technical comparative analysis of Pitkern-Norf'k and St. Kitts Creole has been made by Mühlhäusler & Baker (2012)

We have virtually no direct evidence of Ned Young 's informal language, as he would not have written down this oral form of speech. The only expression that qualifies is 'girls' for 'women' in the above texts. In this meaning it is still used in Pitkern and Norf'k. However there are about fifty other words that could only be attributed to Ned Young (see appendix). The language situation in St Kitts in the late 18th century is roughly as follows: white plantation owners and upper class British spoke English, educated English, black slaves spoke St Kitts Creole and African languages. White children and mixed children were socialized in Creole, African languages were rarely passed on to the next generation, and most of the African slave children grew up speaking Creole.

Edward Young probably grew up with St. Kitts Creole as his first language in the first five to ten years of his life, having an African or mixed race Mother and presumably an African nursemaid and play mates. Once he got a formal education, educated English became his dominant language. Ned Young was not necessarily aware that he spoke two languages and in the late 18th century there was no discipline of linguistics that could have provided reasons why the form of speech used by the African slaves and informally by white settlers should be regarded as a separate Creole language. Rather, he would have become familiar with the concept that there was a repertoire of High (H) and a Low (L) English varieties (lects) . What determined their choice were factors such as race, age, level of formality and topic. He would have been aware, however, that some African slaves also spoke different African languages, which were of limited use for communication and usually not acquired in full by their children.

Ned Young, like other free Kittians followed what linguists call a diglossic (two forms of speech) pattern of language use of the following kind:

High :   English

Used in church and education, by white persons and for reading and writing official business

Low   :   St. Kitts Creole

Used to speak with black Kittians and children, in story telling, informal and family communication, or when talking about local events etc.

Young was thus bi-lectal, being proficient in the two socially determined varieties and familiar with the rules for their use. He was also aware of the low status and low market value of African languages and their not having a proper ecological niche beyond the first generation of slave speakers. Moreover, he would be familiar with the pidginized form of English and Creole use between 'new chums' and old hands on the plantations.

What struck me is how similar the language ecology of Pitcairn Island is, and probably was in 1799; English was the dominant high language for both the remaining British sailors and the children – by this time the dominant position of the English language had been accepted by the Polynesian women who made an effort to learn it. The women were encouraged to speak to the children in English but would have spoken what is named a bilingual idiolect, a kind of unstable Pidgin with a lot of variation.[6] Edward Young would have used his own St. Kitts informal English when interacting with the children in games

---

[6] . Thursday October Christian was interviewed by Beechy in December 1825 about the languages used on Pitcairn. He provides the following details about the language situation on Pitcairn:
> Q. What language do you commonly speak?
> A. Always English.
> Q. But you understand the Otaheitan?
> A. Yes, but not so well.
> Q. Do the old women speak English?
> A. Yes, but not so well as they understand it, their pronunciation is not good.

and story telling and acrolectal (high or educated) English in written documents, official contexts, education and religion[7].

Young's interaction with children appears to have involved both teaching of biblical and religious texts and recreational story telling. A perusal of the words of St. Kitts origin is interesting:

whoop hide-hoo-up PN 'hide-and-seek', called whoop in SKN

moomoo 'large animal, frightening beast or person', SKN *muumuu* Stupid, dumb.

shimmy ''a child's loose-fitting garment' SKN -1996, 'singlet or undervest' P

Conclusions:

In the popular understanding of US criminal law a jury can find an accused guilty if the prosecution can prove:

- the means – the ability to carry out
- the motive – having reasons to carry out the deed
- and the opportunity – being in the right place at the right time.

I have produced a number of arguments to support the claim that Ned Young was responsible for:

- The continued use of educated English on Pitcairn

- Universal literacy in English

- The use of an informal English-based contact language

- The disappearance of the Tahitian language

Ned Young certainly had the **means** to shape the linguistic landscape of Pitcairn. Following the Fletcher Christian's death in 1793 he was the only mutineer with officer status and the

---

[7] Note that English derived words in Pitkern and Norf'k do not reflect Polynesian pronunciation as a rule unlike English loan words in Tahitian and other Polynesian languages.

associated authority, he was popular with the women and children and a friend and mentor of John Adams. He was proficient in St. Kitts Creole English, educated British English and also knew some Tahitian. He was articulate and literate and had experienced a diglossic community of language users in his childhood.

Ned also had the *opportunity* to shape the linguistic landscape of Pitcairn. He was accepted as a role model by the Polynesian women and John Adams and he lived long enough to influence the linguistic behaviour of the first generation of children born on Pitcairn. Because of universal factors of second language learning and language mixing English-derived contact languages share a significant number of properties. Ned Young's informal English was closer to the pidgin varieties of English used by the women than educated English and therefore an ideal medium of communicating with them. It is noted that subsequent generations of slaves in the West Indies became speakers of Creole English.

Finally, Ned had the *motive.* Towards the end of his life he embraced Christian religion and recognized its role in bringing about peace and the social standards necessary to sustain the well-being of the new island community. Literacy and educated English for him were necessary tools for accessing the scriptures. He probably viewed the continuation of Tahitian as an obstacle and therefore had good reasons for discouraging it. Ned Young did probably not deliberately wish to create the Pitkern language, but in using his informal St. Kitts Creole when communicating with the women, playing with the children and telling stories he nevertheless provided a model for the structures and the rules of use of this language.

What I have said does not mean the case is closed and a great deal of further research is needed. Some more hard information may become available but ultimately, logical rather than empirical argumentation will have to prevail.

Language can be called a memory of the past. The large number of words and constructions of St Kitts provenance in Pitkern demonstrate the importance of a single speaker in the formation of this language. More important to me are the ways different languages have been used. The linguistic landscape of Pitcairn Island mirrors that of Ned Young's place of birth and must be regarded as the result of both intentional and non-intentional language planning on his part.

REFERENCES

Buffett, John, 1846 Narrative of 20 Years' residence on Pitcairn's Island, *The Friend* (Honolulu) 4 1-2, 20 – 21, 24- 28, 34-35,50 – 51,66-68

Cox   1984   *Free coloreds in the slave societies of St Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Christian, Glynn, 1999*Fragile Paradise.* Sydney: Doubleday.

Dening, G. 1997 *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language.* Cambridge: CUP.

Doddridge, Philip 1803, originally 1741 *Practical Discourses on Regeneration.* Boston: E Lincoln-Waterstreet.

Drechsel, Emanuel (forthcoming) *Language Contact in the Early Colonial Pacific*, Cambridge :CUP

Du Rietz, Rolf E. 1986 *Peter Heywood's Tahitian vocabulary and the narratives by James Morrison: Some notes on their origin and history.* Uppsala, Sweden: Dahlia Books.

Faraclas, Nicholas; Corum, Micah; Arrindell, Rhoda & Pierre, Jean Ourdy 2012 'Societés de cohabitation and the similarities between English lexifier Creoles of the Atlantic and the Pacific' pp149 – 184 in N. Faraclas (ed) *Agency in the Emergence of Creole Languages*, Amsterdam : Benjamins

Harrison, Shirley 1972 'The languages of Norfolk Island.'   Masters   thesis,   Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.

Laycock, Donald, 1990 'The Interpretation of Variation in Pitcairn-Norfolk,' in *Development and Diversity: Language Variation across Time and Space: A Festschrift for Charles-James N. Baileyy,* Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Mühlhäusler, Peter 2011 'The Tahitian language on Pitcairn Island and its contribution to Pitkern/Norf'k', in *Islands of History*

Reinecke, John E., Stanley M. Tsuzaki, David DeCamp, I. F. Hancock and R. E. Wood 1975   *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages.* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.

Silverman, David, 1967 *Pitcairn Island.* Cleveland & New York: The World Publishing Co.

Appendix 1: Pitkern-Norf'k words of St. Kitts provenance

Philip Baker and I managed to enlarge the list of he list of words and grammatical properties of St. Kitts origin to more than fifty items, or about 5% of the commonly used words in the language. They **shimmy** ''a child's loose-fitting garment' SKN -1996, 'singlet or undervest' P fall into the following categories:

- Atlantic features attested both in St Kitts-Nevis (SKN) and Pitcairn and/or Norfolk Island (PNF) but not known to occur in any other Pacific contact language

1. **all you** 'you (pl)' *aa(l)yu* SKN 1793+, *yorlyi* PN 1972

2. **bang** 'hit (as a punishment)' *id.* SK 1793+, 'strike, hit, slam' PN

3. **bubby** 'breast' *id.* SKN 1793+, PK 1964, also DNL

4. **dem** 'the, those' *id.* SKN 1793+, PIN -1997- also DNL

5. Irish potato 'potato (as opposed to sweet potato)' SKN 1991, PIN -1997-

6. maga 'thin' *maaga* SK 1991, *morga* PK 1964

7. mekmek 'confusion' SKN date?, 'fiddle around aimlessly' -1998 PN 'mess around, unsystematically only do what is absolutely necesssary'

8. me one *me wawn* 'by myself' PK 1951   'just me' 1972 check PN   mi wɔn "I alone'

9. nasey 'nasty', *id.* SKN 1793+, *nehse* PN

10. santapi *sanapee* 'centipede' SKN (but santapee more usual in Caribbean) 'star fish' [PN], CHECK DJE (Jam sea centipede)

11. tother '(the) other' *turrer* SKN 1793+, ADD PK/NF forms

12. we '1pl oblique' id. SKN 1996, ADD PK/NF

13. barrow 'castrated pig' *borra, barrow* SK 1925, *baala* NF 1972   cf fatten barrow

<mark>**14. bawl** 'shout' *id.* SKN 1793+, *borlaut*</mark>

15. fowl 'general name for hens, cocks, chickens, etc.' *id.* SKN -1955-, *id.* NF 2002

16. hog 'pig' *hog* SKN 1793+, *horg* PN

17 shimmy ''a child's loose-fitting garment' SKN -1996, 'singlet or undervest' P

18. whoop hide-hoo-up PN 'hide-and-seek', called whoop in SKN, possibly related to the 2nd and 3rd syllables of the PN form SOED notes *whoop* 'a form of the game of hide-and-seek' (1798).

- Worldwide features attested in both SKN and PN but not in Melanesian Pidgin English:

19 dem   'their' -1997- also DNL

20 dem '3rd Pl' SKN 1793+, pn 1940s

21 mos 'almost' *mus* PN 1940s, *mos* SKN 1793+

22 what side PN, SK   'where'

- Worldwide features attested in both PN and SKN but also in Melanesian Pidgin English

23 all about 'everywhere'

24 bin [past marker] SKN 1793+, PN 1938

<mark>25 by and by (time adverbial not a preverbal marker). SKN 'soon', PN bambeya 'later on'</mark>

26 dead 'die' SKN 1996, PN 1951

27. for INF

28. full up [v]'to fill'

29. got 'have'

30. long 'with' SKN

31 never   PAST COMPLETIVE

32. no negative copula PK 1821, NF -1871

33. one indef article

34. one time '(at) once'

35. sweet 'delicious (of food or drinks)' PN, 'tasty' + 'to please' SK. Applied to both savoury and sweet foods considered tasty, e.g. NF ˆsweet as a trumpeter's tail' (name of a fish sp.)

36. suppose 'if' PK 1821

37. what for 'why' PK 1821, NF -1871

38. Ø equative copula PK 1821

39. shaddock   (mentioned by Beechy in 1832)

40. yahoo 'an alternative name for the monkey' SKN, NF 'noisy reveller'

- Sea creatures

Throughout Young's time on Pitcairn there were no boats available for fishing. Only line fishing, standing on rocks, was practised. Thus the potential for Young to have supplied the names of fishes is largely limited to those species that might have been caught with a fishing rod close to the Pitcairn shore.

40. big eye 'fish spp' (apparently *Apogon spp* in both PN and SKN. The species found at Norfolk and St Kitts both have an unusually large eye for their size, which does of course mean that the name "big eye" would have been a rather obvious one to give them in both locations. Nevertheless, Young would have been the only mutineer who would be familiar with a very similar fish of this name.

41. goatfish

42. kingfish

43. parrot fish

44. sea hedgehog

45. snapper In the Caribbean, the name "snapper" is applied to various *Lutjanus spp* of fish. In the SW Pacific, "snapper" is applied to several fish spp not closely related to *Lutjanus* but nevertheless similar in size and appearance, including the *Chrysophrys auratus. The name* **red snapper** is applied to the latter in PN, and to a sp of *Lutjanus* in SKN. Rockfish of the *Sebastes spp* are sometimes known as Pacific red snappers.

46. thick lip

47. yellowtail

- Other possibilities which remain to be confirmed.

48. SKN *han* and PN *hand* are applied to both the hand and (lower) arm. While this appears to suggest SKN as the likely source, note that Tahitian also has a single word for hand/(lower) arm, and see next entry.

49. Both SKN and PN also have a single word for 'foot' and '(lower) leg' but the SKN word is *foot* while the PN word is *leg*. Tahitian also has a single word for foot and (lower) leg. Taken together with the preceding item, it seems more likely that both may have been calqued from Tahitian although there may have been some influence from SKN.

50. PN catfish 'octopus'. This word, but meaning 'cuttle-fish', is attested in the Caribbean in 1678 (Schreier & Lavarelo-Schreier 2003: 61). (St Kitts and Jamaica both have the somewhat similar term **seacat** for 'octopus' but this appears to be a calque of Dutch *zeekat*

which has the same meaning.) **Catfish** is current in South African English for 'octopus' and it would thus seem worth noting that the *Bounty*, on its outward journey, underwent extensive repairs at Cape Town lasting 38 days. On present evidence, it is unclear whether **catfish** may have been in use in the Caribbean in the 18th century and thus a word taken to Pitcairn by Ed Young, or whether it was a word acquired by members of the *Bounty*'s crew at Cape Town

51. old man beard SKN A species of shrub, PN lichen growing on trees and fences

52. wussa 'worse in both SKN and PN

53. good 'well'

54. cherimoyer ';custard apple' called tshere , shere on Pitcairn; this fruit may have been introduced in 20th century

55. buss break smash'

56. bun 'burn'

57. moomoo 'large animal, frightening beast or person', SKN *muumuu* Stupid, dumb.

Appendix 2: Words of Tahitian origin, which have undergone significant changes in pronunciation and meaning:

Pitkern -Norf'k form	Tahitian form Davies	Tahitian other sources	Tahitian definition Davies	Tahitian definition other	Pitkern definition	Norf'k definition
ama'ula	*amaura*		n. – "an ignoramus; a contemptuous name for one ignorant of the arts among the natives" n. – "awkwardness, ignorance"		**adj.** – "clumsy"	**adj.** – "awkward, ungainly, clumsy" (Buffett) **adj.** – "clumsy, careless, slovenly (of dress or gait)" (Ross)
'au	*au*		v. – "to		v. – "to	n/a

	aua		scrape together or heap up rubbish" n. – "chips from a sacred canoe"		peel the outer bark from trees (in earlier times, the word was applied especially to the aute-tree, in more recent times to the pulau-tree."	
fatafata	*fatafata*		adj. – "open, not filled up or closed"			n. – "an islet in a natural running stream or water course, whatever the size" (Buffett)
	hapa *hapahapa* *a* *hara*	*hape* (Lemaitre)	n. – "a deviation from a rule; a missing of a mark; error, sin, crime" adj. – "irregular, crooked" n. – "sin, transgression, crime, guilt'	n. – "erreur, faute" adj. – "faux" v. – "se tromper, faire erreur"	adj. – "bad, inefficient, crippled, ill"	adj. – crippled, ill (Ross) adj. – "unequal, or crooked as in hip, due to one leg being shorter than the other" (Buffett) Charles Christian's (b. 1792) nickname
Huti	*oti* *hui*		v. – "to chop" v. – "to pierce"		n. – "mashup, accident"	v. – "to do something in short, sharp movements"
Loli	*rorirori*	*rori*	adj. – "hard, rough, difficult to	v. – "to become hard and	adj. – "wrinkled"	adj. – "wrinkled" (Ross)

			solve; difficult to open or unwravel, as a matter of speech"	tough, as fruit, &c"		
	potii		n. – "a girl"			n. – "vagina" (Buffett)
taapau	*tapao*		n. – "a sign, mark; a figure"			n. – "stains or marks on the hands from peeling certain vegetables and fruit such as green bananas, chokos, sweet potatoes, peaches, etc." (Buffett)
taitai	*taitai*		adj. – "salt, saltish, brackish; also bitter"		adj. – "tasteless; without charm (of people)"	adj. – "tasteless; uninteresting (of a sermon, or people)" (Ross) adj. – "uninteresting; tastless; unentertaining. Applies to food,or people or situations" (Buffett)
uleule	*ureure*		n. – "the destitute poor"			adj. – "disappointing, not that good, not up to expectations" (Buffett)