PLANTATION LANGUAGES IN FIJI

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January 1985
DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Jeff Siegel
January 1985
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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this thesis is to present a sociolinguistic description of language contact on Fiji's plantations from 1865 to 1920, and to describe language varieties which resulted from this contact. This information is examined in light of various theoretical questions concerning contact varieties such as pidgins, creoles, and koines.

The introduction presents these aims and some of the theoretical questions involved. It also gives a sociolinguistic sketch of Fiji, outlines the organization of the thesis, discusses the sources of data, and presents the transcription used for linguistic examples.

As outlined in the introduction, the main body of the thesis is divided into four parts. Part I (Chapters 1 and 2) consists of theoretical and historical background information. Chapter 1 talks about language contact on plantations in the worldwide context and various scenarios for the development of pidgin and creole languages. Chapter 2 describes language contact in Fiji prior to the plantation era.

Part II (Chapters 3 to 5) concerns the languages of the first plantation labourers in Fiji, the Fijians and the imported Pacific Islanders, who worked on the small sugarcane, cotton, and copra plantations which were first established in the 1860s. Chapter 3 details the recruiting of Fijians and Pacific Islanders to work in the plantations, the origins of these labourers, and their linguistic backgrounds. Chapter 4 examines the roles of Fijian and Melanesian Pidgin English as plantation languages, and discusses why Fijian was the more important. Chapter 5 describes Pidgin Fijian, which was actually the main plantation language.

Part III (Chapters 6 to 8) deals with the languages of the indentured labourers from India, first imported in 1879, who worked mainly on larger sugarcane plantations owned by the Colonial Sugar
Refining Company (CSR). The chapters of this part are parallel in content to those of Part II. Chapter 6 details the origins and linguistic backgrounds of the Indian labourers. Chapter 7 examines the roles of Pidgin Fijian and Hindustani as plantation languages. Chapter 8 describes Pidgin Hindustani, which arose on the larger plantations.

Part IV (Chapters 9 to 12) describes the linguistic legacy of the plantations. Chapter 9 discusses the process of koineization and the development of Fiji Hindustani, the language of the descendants of the Indian plantation labourers. Chapter 10 looks at the languages of the descendants of the Pacific Islands labourers. Chapter 11 covers the current pidgin languages in Fiji which are descendants of plantation pidgins. Finally, Chapter 12 summarizes some of the information brought to light in this work which is relevant to theoretical issues in pidgin and creole studies.

Several short appendices are included which contain the following: a list of informants (Appendix A), details of research undertaken for this study to determine the origins of the Pacific Islands labourers who came to Fiji (Appendix B), anecdotal evidence about language use (Appendices C and E), lists and examples of loanwords (Appendices D, F, and G), and short texts of Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani (Appendix H).
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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used within the text:

AGI: Agent General of Immigration
AH: Acrolectal Hindustani
BFE: Basilectal Fiji English
BGU: Baegu
BH: Basilectal or Bazaar Hindustani
BLE: Baelelea
BLM: Bislama (Beach-la-mar)
(C): Chinese speaker
CPF: Current Pidgin Fijian
CPH: Current Pidgin Hindustani
CSO: Colonial Secretary's Office correspondence
CSR: Colonial Sugar Refining Company
FH: Fiji Hindustani
FT: Fiji Times
FK: Fataleka
GBPP: Great Britain Parliamentary Papers
JF: Jargon Fijian
L1: First language; substrate language
LF: Literary Fijian
MPE: Melanesian Pidgin English
NAF: National Archives of Fiji
NCP: New Caledonian Pidgin English
NM: North Malaitan
NP: Noun phrase
PF: Pidgin Fijian
QCE: Queensland Canefields English
PH: Pidgin Hindustani
PNG: Papua New Guinea
PPF: Plantation Pidgin Fijian
PPH: Plantation Pidgin Hindustani
SC: Supreme Court criminal case
SF: Standard Fijian
SH: Standard Hindi
SIP: Solomon Islands Pidgin
SPP: Samoan Plantation Pidgin
SSJ: South Seas Jargon
TL: Target language
TOB: To'abaita
TP: Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)
VP: Verb phrase

Abbreviations and symbols used in interlinear glosses and in tables:

- separates words in a single gloss
- separates morphemes
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<td>remote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>subject marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>subordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>trial or paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XD</td>
<td>exclusive dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XP</td>
<td>exclusive plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XT</td>
<td>exclusive trial or paucal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The plantation system was one aspect of European colonialism which brought many cultures and languages into contact. The typical plantations were located on tropical or semi-tropical islands or isolated mainland areas. European masters were in control of a large imported labour force, at first slaves and later indentured labourers, drawn from several linguistic groups. Such conditions nurtured the development of pidgin and creole languages in countries in the Caribbean area and in the Pacific and Indian Oceans (Reinecke 1969[1935]:17; Hall 1962:153; Bickerton 1981:2). Similar conditions existed in Fiji, a group of 300 islands in the southwest Pacific (see Map 1) where from 1864 until 1916 approximately 87,000 indentured labourers were imported from other Pacific Islands and India to work on European-owned cotton, copra, and sugarcane plantations.

But in comparison to countries in the Caribbean, and even to other countries in the Pacific, little has been known about the development of pidgins or creoles in Fiji. "Beach-la-mar", a form of pidgin English found throughout the southwest Pacific, was reported as still existing in Fiji in the early '70s (Wurm 1971:1008), but it was not studied in any detail. A pidgin Fijian was also mentioned in an article in the '60s (Hollyman 1962), but its existence was not widely known, and at the 1968 conference on pidgins and creoles in Jamaica, John Reinecke (1971:500) asked, "Why has there been no pidgin Hindi or pidgin Fiji reported from the Fiji Islands?" Since that time, however, both these pidgins have been recorded and described to some extent (Siegel 1972, 1975; Moag 1978). But there was still a need for more detailed studies of Fiji's pidgins, and especially for research into the history of their development (although a good start on pidgin Fijian was made by Geraghty [1978]).
0.1 AIMS

The main aim of this work is to present a general sociolinguistic history of language contact in Fiji, focusing on the plantations and the development of pidgins and other resulting language varieties. Although each of the language varieties discussed in this work could alone be the subject of an individual detailed study, I felt it would be more useful to outline the general picture so that future researchers can fill in the details in the proper perspective.

The importance of historical research in sociolinguistics has been pointed out by Hymes (1971:200): "Painstaking historical work is greatly needed for all pidgins and creoles." Others also note the neglect in this area by linguists. For example, Chaudenson (1977:261) says, "Linguists have tended by and large to neglect, or, in some cases, totally disregard sociohistorical data." And Hancock (1977:279)
adds, "Pidgins have not usually been adequately recorded across their development and as a result a comprehensive diachronic picture is often lacking."

A few recent sociohistorical studies, however, have provided a complete diachronic picture for some pidgins and creoles (e.g. Naro 1978; Mühlhäusler 1979; Baker and Corne 1982) and have shown the importance of this type of research in evaluating various theories of pidgin and creole formation. Holm (1984:100) concludes in his review of Baker and Corne that "sociolinguistic historiography is emerging as an important discipline within sociolinguistics".

Although the primary purpose of this study is to fill in the existing gap in our knowledge of the linguistic situation in the Pacific, the information uncovered also provides useful points of comparison with the development of other pidgins and some insights into theories of pidgin development in general. The sociohistorical information brought to light by this research will be discussed in relation to some of the following questions still being debated in pidgin/creole studies:

- Which language becomes the pidginized language in the typical plantation situation? Is it necessarily the language of the European colonial power (Mintz 1971; Washabaugh and Greenfield 1983)?

- Does evidence from pidgins with lexicons not derived from European languages conform to current theories of pidgin (and creole) structure and development? (Thomason 1980:168)?

- What are the origins of pidginized versions of a language? Do they result from superstrate speakers' conscious simplification (the "baby talk" theory [DeCamp 1971], or "foreigner talk" [Ferguson 1971]), or from substrate speakers' imperfect learning ("broken language" [Ferguson and DeBose 1977])?

- What conditions are necessary for the stabilization of a pidgin? Does it have to be used among three or more substrate groups (Whinnom 1971) or will contact between superstrate and substrate speakers suffice (Moag 1978)?

- What is the life span of a pidgin? Can a pidgin last over a hundred years without expanding or creolizing (DeCamp 1971)?

The results of this research will also be related to other sociolinguistic phenomena which result from language contact, such as dialect mixing or koineization (Samarin 1971; Gambhir 1981) and language attrition (Dorian 1973; Andersen 1982).
0.2 A BRIEF SOCIOLINGUISTIC SKETCH OF FIJI

Fiji was a British colony from 1874 until its independence in 1970. Mainly as a result of the importation of plantation labourers during the colonial period, Fiji is a multi-ethnic society, and the indigenous Fijians are not in the majority. Nearly half the population are descendants of indentured labourers from India, and a significant number of Pacific Islanders who live in Fiji are likewise descendants of imported labourers. Another ethnic group are the Chinese who were, however, free immigrants. In addition, there are the Rotumans from a small island administered by Fiji, but ethnically and linguistically distinct. Finally, there are the Europeans, referring to Caucasian race rather than place of origin, and the people of mixed race, called Part-Europeans in Fiji. The racial breakdown according to the last census (1976) is found in Table 0-1.

Table 0-1: Population of Fiji by ethnic origin, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>4,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>4,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fijians</td>
<td>259,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>292,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Europeans</td>
<td>10,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotumans</td>
<td>7,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Pacific Islanders</td>
<td>6,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>588,068</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The major languages spoken in Fiji are Fijian and Fiji Hindustani (both discussed later in more detail). Also spoken as first languages are Rotuman, Gilbertese, Tongan, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, and English. The colonial language, English, remains as the principal language of government, commerce, and education (Geraghty 1984:32).

0.3 DATA

Two main sources of data were used for this study: documentary evidence and tape-recorded interviews. The two areas provided information on language use, attitudes, and policy, and also texts for linguistic analysis. Information substantiated by its concurrence in
both sources was used to compile the sociolinguistic history and linguistic data presented here.

0.3.1 Documentary sources

The documentary sources were also of two types: published works and archival materials.

0.3.1.1 Published materials

Published materials include historical works, travellers' accounts, and newspapers, especially the Fiji Times (abbreviated FT). These sources often contain valuable observations of the linguistic scene, and the author's point of view is also a good indication of the contemporary attitudes towards language. Since this is a mainly sociolinguistic study, many of these observations are quoted throughout.

0.3.1.2 Archival materials

Archival materials were examined at the Mitchell Library and Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) library, both in Sydney; at the Archives of Business and Labour in Canberra, and at the National Archives of Fiji in Suva. The materials include journals, letters, and official correspondence and reports from the colonial government, various missions, and CSR. The most useful source was the correspondence and minute papers of the Fiji Colonial Secretary's Office. Throughout this work, references to this source are abbreviated CSO, followed by minute paper number/year. Also useful were the reports of the Fiji Supreme Court criminal cases (SC number/year).

0.3.2 Interviews

I conducted fieldwork in Fiji from August 1982 to January 1983 and from July to December 1983. My previous experience in Fiji also helped considerably. In 1968 and 1969 I lived in Togo, an Indian village where I was a school teacher. There I learned to speak Fiji Hindustani and some Fijian. The following year I moved to the nearby town, Nadi, where I taught high school. I returned to Fiji in 1972 to conduct a sociolinguistic survey of the Indian speech community (Siegel 1973), and again in 1975 to teach at the University of the South Pacific and continue work on Fiji Hindustani (Siegel 1975, 1977).

During the recent field work, I tape-recorded over thirty hours of
interviews. Many of these were with old men and women who came to Fiji over 65 years ago as indentured labourers: the one surviving Solomon Islander and sixteen of the surviving Indians. I also interviewed over thirty descendants of indentured labourers, mostly old people who remember something of the plantation era. A list of the informants is given in Appendix A. The interviews were conducted almost entirely in Fiji Hindustani or Fijian or both. In some of the Fijian interviews I was helped by Paula Matili, himself a descendant of Solomon Islands labourers. During these recorded interviews, I obtained information about conditions on the plantations, language use on and off the plantations, and about how the now deceased labourers used to speak.

Some of these recordings also served as a source of linguistic data, especially those of the original indentured labourers. I also made recordings of Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani spoken by Fijians, Indians, and Chinese. In addition, I used recordings of interviews conducted by people from Fiji so that my presence would not interfere. These include earlier recordings of interviews of Indian ex-labourers made by the Fiji National Broadcasting Commission and by Dr Ahmed Ali (for Ali 1979), and recordings made at my request by Vishidhya Nand Sharma and Mele Yee. I also obtained recordings of Fiji English made by Paul Geraghty and a local high school principal.

0.4 ORGANIZATION

This study is divided into four parts: Part I contains background information on language contact on plantations in general (Chapter 1) and in Fiji prior to the plantation era (Chapter 2). Part II is about languages of the first plantation labourers, the Fijians and imported Pacific Islanders who worked on the small sugarcane, cotton, and copra plantations which were first established in the 1860s. Chapter 3 details the recruiting of Fijians and Pacific Islanders to work in the plantations, the origins of these labourers, and their linguistic backgrounds. Chapter 4 examines the roles of Fijian and Melanesian Pidgin English as plantation languages. Chapter 5 describes the Pidgin Fijian which was the main plantation language.

Part III deals with the languages of the indentured labourers from India, first imported in 1879, who worked mainly on larger sugarcane plantations owned by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR). The
chapters of this part are parallel in content to those of Part II. Chapter 6 details the origins and linguistic backgrounds of the Indian labourers. Chapter 7 examines the role of Pidgin Fijian and Hindustani as plantation languages. Chapter 8 describes Pidgin Hindustani.

Part IV is concerned with the linguistic legacy of the plantations. Chapter 9 discusses the process of koineization and the development of Fiji Hindustani, the language of the descendants of the Indian plantation labourers, while Chapter 10 looks at the languages of the descendants of the Pacific Islands labourers. Chapter 11 describes the current pidgin languages in Fiji which are descendants of plantation pidgins. Finally, Chapter 12 summarizes some of the information brought to light in this work which is relevant to theoretical issues in pidgin and creole studies.

0.5 TRANSCRIPTION

This study deals with three linguistic systems--Fijian, Hindi, and North Malaitan--each with a distinct phonology. Only Fijian, however, has a single, widely accepted standard Roman orthography, shown in Table 0-2. This orthography is also used in this work for transcriptions of pidginized varieties of Fijian.

Hindi has several systems of Romanization. The one used in this work is based on that used by G.A. Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India (1903-1927) and by the Central Hindi Directorate (1972), shown in Table 0-3. Note, however, that in the system used here the allophones of /n/ preceding a consonant are not represented orthographically. This system is also used in this work for Fiji Hindustani and pidginized varieties of Hindi.

No widely accepted orthography has yet emerged which covers all the dialects of North Malaitan (see Chapter 3). The one used here is shown in Table 0-4. It is also used to transcribe Wai, a variety spoken by descendants of Malaitan labourers in Fiji (Chapter 10).

Note that in this study diacritics are used only in examples and not in proper nouns, such as place names and names of dialects, that appear within the text. Examples are Ba [Bā] (a province of Fiji) and Chattisgarhi [Chattīsgarhī] (a Hindi dialect).
### Table 0-2: Fijian phonology and orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>bi-</th>
<th>labio-</th>
<th>apico-</th>
<th>apico-</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>dorso-</th>
<th>labio-</th>
<th>glot-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labial</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>velar</td>
<td>velar</td>
<td>tal</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STOPS</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>(kw)</th>
<th>(')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>prenasalized</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(qw)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>(gw)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NASALS</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prenasalized</td>
<td>dr [nɾ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRILL/FLAP</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>prenasalized</td>
<td>dr [nɾ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFRICATES</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>(j)</th>
<th>[tʃ]</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>(z)</td>
<td>[dʒ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRICATIVES</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>(f)</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>(h)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>[β]</td>
<td>c</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LATERAL</th>
<th>l</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLIDES</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Note: Symbols in parentheses are found only in dialects other than Bauan or in loanwords.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonemic vowel length is marked '-' , e.g. ə̀, ɔ́̈.
Table 0-3: Hindi phonology and orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>bi-</th>
<th>labio-</th>
<th>apico-</th>
<th>apico-</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>retro-</th>
<th>dorso-</th>
<th>glot-</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>dental</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>flex</td>
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<td>tal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
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<td>kh</td>
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<td>dh</td>
<td>ḍh</td>
<td>ḍh</td>
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<td>NASALS</td>
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<tr>
<td>GLIDES</td>
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<td>y</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: In Fiji Hindustani, the following occur in free variation for most speakers: /v/ with /b/, /ph/ with /f/, and /ʒ/ with /s/. Also the nasals /n/ and /p/ are not phonemes but along with /η/ are are allophones of /n/ preceding a consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>ï [iː]</td>
<td>ū [uː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i [iː]</td>
<td>u [uː]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>e [eː]</td>
<td>o [ɔː]</td>
<td>a [ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td></td>
<td>ā [a]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthongs: ai, au; phonemic nasalization marked 'ː', e.g. ə, ə
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>bi-</th>
<th>labio-</th>
<th>apico-</th>
<th>apico-</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>dorso-</th>
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<td>s</td>
<td>g/w</td>
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<td>nd</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng/w</td>
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<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
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<td>FLAP/TRILL</td>
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<td>Voiceless</td>
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Note: Phonemes in parentheses are found only in some dialects.

Vowels are the same as for Fijian.
PART I: BACKGROUND

THE PLANTATION SCHEME

Plantations have provided an ideal environment for the growth of pidgin and creole languages, as recognized by Johnson (1975). The plantation system of the past millennia has been crucial in the development of pidgin and creole languages as we know them. In fact, we know of no cases where a "pidgin" has developed in conditions other than those of modern colonial expansion. The plantation system is an essential template in any analysis of social and cultural development. Greek in language and culture was not an exception.

Thus, this study begins with a description of the plantation system and the development of pidgin and creole languages by general reference these topics are presented with specific reference throughout the later chapters.

(a) THE EMERGENCE OF PLANTATIONS

A plantation can be defined as follows: (a) a privately controlled unit of land or a colony or subcolonial region, (b) used for slave labor in monoculture crops or other low-value, low-risk ventures. (c) with a large number of imported and transplantable workers or indentured laborers-specified to a small number of European or African nation-state (and often, also, non-European) (1975:102; Milner 1991:53).

An early on the twelve century, sugar was grown on plantations in the eastern Mediterranean such as Egypt, near Alexandria, under conditions similar to those listed in (a) to (c) above. Until the sixteenth century, these plantations developed into the first European export crop (1975:102). By the early sixteenth century, when the Portuguese, the Spanish, and the British first engaged in trade, the Cape Verde and later the Madagascar and African systems were in place, and these environments were conducive to the development of the Atlantic Ocean, which was the Atlantic Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean trade routes. The Cape Verde and Madagascar systems, together with their African environments and the African and Atlantic Ocean, together with their environments and the African and Atlantic Ocean, together with their environments and the Atlantic Ocean, together with their environments and the African environments.
CHAPTER 1
THE PLANTATION SCENARIO

Plantations have provided an ideal environment for the genesis of pidgin and creole languages, as emphasized by Sankoff (1979:24):

...The plantation system as it was organized in both Atlantic and Pacific areas has been crucial in the development of "pidgin" and "creole" languages as we know them...in fact we know of no cases where a "pidgin" has developed in conditions other than those of modern colonial expansion. The plantation system is so crucial because it was unique in creating a catastrophic break in linguistic tradition that is unparalleled.

This study begins with a description of this plantation system and the development of pidgin and creole languages in general before these topics are presented with specific reference to Fiji in later chapters.

1.1 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PLANTATIONS

A plantation can be defined as follows: (a) a European-controlled unit of land in a tropical or subtropical region, (b) used to raise commercial crops for sale in European markets, (c) with a large number of imported non-European slaves or indentured labourers controlled by a small number of Europeans, (d) all subject to the sovereignty of a European nation-state (Washabaugh and Greenfield 1983:107; Mintz 1971:483).

As early as the twelfth century, sugarcane was grown on islands of the eastern Mediterranean such as Cyprus, under conditions similar to those listed in (a) to (c) above. But all four conditions were not met until the early fifteenth century when Portugal had developed into the first European expansionist nation-state. As they began to open the sea-route to the Orient, the Portuguese discovered off-shore islands in the Atlantic Ocean, such as the Madeiras, the Azores, the Cape Verdes, and later São Tomé and Príncipe. In conjunction with their settlement
of these islands, they set up plantations to grow sugarcane. These were the first plantations according to the above definition (Washabaugh and Greenfield 1983:108-14).

Spain joined Portugal as an expansionist power at the end of the fifteenth century, and was soon followed by France, England, and Holland. Most of the islands in the Caribbean Sea and some in the Indian Ocean (such as Mauritius and Réunion) had plantations (mainly sugarcane) established on them by the mid seventeenth century. Like the Portuguese colonies, these islands, and some isolated mainland areas such as the Guianas in northern South America, differed from other European colonies in that either they had been uninhabited, or they were soon purged of their native inhabitants when the Europeans arrived (Mintz 1971:485).

The establishment of plantations in the Pacific did not come until two centuries later, after 1850. By this time, several changes had taken place in the plantation scene. First, slavery had been abolished, and indentured labour, which some considered merely a new form of slavery (Tinker 1974), had taken its place. Second, England and France had become the major colonial powers, and they were joined by two newcomers, Germany and America. Third, moral attitudes had changed, and decimating native populations was no longer condoned. Since the Pacific colonies (or spheres of influence) were all inhabited before Europeans arrived, plantations were therefore established in the midst of native populations, similar to the situation in less isolated mainland colonies, as in Africa. Plantations in the Pacific area, however, differed from those in other parts of the world in that the Europeans were not always in full control, and were sometimes subject to indigenous landlords or even indigenous governments, as pointed out by Bickerton and Wilson (forthcoming) for Hawaii.

1.2 LANGUAGE CONTACT ON THE PLANTATIONS

Language contact, or the interaction between languages, is not an unusual phenomenon, but the type of language contact which occurred on plantations was unique for several reasons. First, since the labourers usually came from diverse language groups, there were most often a large number of languages involved. Second, nearly all residents of the plantations, both masters and labourers, were immigrants in a new
environment, and therefore cut off from their respective speech communities back home. Third, the "social distance" (Schumann 1978) between masters and labourers on the plantations restricted social interaction between them, and thus also restricted language contact to some extent.

Communication difficulties in ordinary language contact situations are most often solved by resultant bilingualism, but not on plantations. Among the labourers, there were usually too many languages involved, and often no single native language dominant enough to become the common language, or lingua franca (Sankoff 1979:24). The European overseers also could not possibly learn all the languages of their labourers, even if they condescended to try to do so. And the labourers were often unable to learn their masters' language completely because of the restricted social contact.

But to control the plantations, the masters had to make use of a language which they assumed would be known or soon learned to some degree by all the labourers. History shows that the language chosen by the controlling Europeans to run the plantation was also adopted by the labourers as their lingua franca, whether they had learned it properly or not. This lingua franca used by both masters and labourers was the "plantation language".

It is generally assumed that the masters chose to use their own language, and therefore, the plantation language was that of the European colonial power (DeCamp 1971:22; Mintz 1971:484). Although this was not necessarily the case (as will be shown below in section 1.5), it was certainly what occurred in the majority of plantations. One reason was pressure from the colonial power itself. For example, Washabaugh and Greenfield (1983:115) describe how labourers and other immigrants on the Portuguese islands of the Cape Verde archipelago, São Tomé, and Príncipe were constrained to conform to Portuguese culture:

The pressures of this requirement to assimilate to the continental standards of the political authority could not be countered, as they were to be in other parts of the world, by recourse to a traditional "native culture" since there were no native cultures on the previously uninhabited islands. Everyone was an immigrant whose traditional culture and language differed from that of his neighbour. Consequently, if only for the sake of survival, everyone, including the slaves, adopted the Portuguese language...
However, Mintz (1971:482,487) shows that the use of Spanish in the Caribbean resulted from the presence of a large proportion of Spanish settlers who mixed freely with the labourers, and not from any loyalty to Spain. He also shows that in former Spanish colonies, i.e. most of Latin America, relatively standard Spanish has been spoken. On the other hand, in former British, French, and Dutch colonies, which had smaller proportions of settlers and more rigid social barriers, nonstandard versions of the European languages have been spoken. These are mainly creole languages which arose on the plantations—for example: Jamaican Creole English, Haitian Creole French, and Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Negerhollands).

1.3 PLANTATIONS AND PIDGINIZATION

The scenario for the development on a plantation of a creole language, and its pidginized predecessor, is usually something like this: The European plantation language is the "target language" (TL) or superstrate language which a labourer tries to learn. (His own first language (L1) is the substrate language.) But for some reason, the labourer does not learn the TL completely, and acquires only an imperfect version of it, usually influenced by his own language. This imperfect version is said to be "pidginized", but what brings about this "pidginization" is hotly debated by creolists and will be discussed below in section 1.4.

There is more consensus, however, about certain formal characteristics of a pidginized variety. It is typically less complex than either the TL of the L1(s) in certain areas of phonology, morphology, syntax, or lexicon. Manifestations of this comparative "formal simplicity" are "a much smaller total lexicon, strikingly fewer grammatical categories expressed by inflectional and derivational morphology, [and] less allomorphy in general" (Ferguson 1981:12). This characteristic of having a comparatively reduced lexical and

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1The notion of simplicity/complexity in language is not well understood. I use the term "formal" to refer to simplicity in the quantitative rather than the qualitative sense. In other words, an aspect of one variety is less complex than that of another if it has fewer components and fewer rules, or if it is more consistent. It is not necessarily easier to process psychologically.
morphological (and sometimes phonemic) inventory has been also called "impoverishment" by Mühlhäusler (’1974, ’980). A pidginized variety in later stages of development (see below) is also characterized by regularity and lack of markedness. It may develop an increased inventory and more rules, but it is still less complex than either the TL or the L'(s) because the rules are optimized. This comparative regularization has been called "simplification" by Mühlhäusler (’1974, ’980).²

On the plantation, the labourer finds that use of the pidginized version, no matter how imperfect, is the only way to communicate with TL speakers and with other labourers who share no other common language except their own imperfect versions of the TL. Thus, various individually pidginized versions of the TL are used for communication. Eventually, some grammatical or lexical features common to these pidginized versions, but distinct from the TL, may emerge and become socially accepted conventions. The emergence of these conventions, or "crystallization" of the imperfect versions (Sankoff ʼ980:ʼ43), marks the first stage in the developmental continuum of pidgin or creole language.

This first stage is called the "jargon" (Mühlhäusler ʼ1979, ʼ981) or "pre-pidgin continuum" (Hymes ʼ971b:68). It is called a continuum because it is characterized by a high degree of variation, as numerous individual pidginized versions of the TL are in use concurrently. It is called a jargon because certain conventions have emerged which, although not used consistently, identify it as a variety distinct from the TL. The conventions, or "salient linguistic features", are characteristic of not only the jargon, but later stages of development. Finally, it is called a pre-pidgin because most creolists reserve the term "pidgin" for a variety which shows less variation, that is, one which has become "stable" (Mühlhäusler ʼ79:ʼ6), "has achieved autonomy as a norm" (Hymes ʼ71b:84) or which displays a higher degree of "conventionalization" (Sankoff ʼ80:ʼ40).

²In this work "formal simplicity" is a cover term for both impoverishment and simplification as defined by Mühlhäusler. However, these terms (especially "simplification") often imply processes of reduction of complexity. In contrast, "simplicity" designates a state which, although it may be the result of such a process, may also be characteristic of a variety that has not been complex in the first place—as, for example, child language (Traugott ʼ77b; Corder ʼ81).
Most creolists now agree that continued use of a jargon in a dual language contact situation, involving only TL speakers and another language group, will not lead to the development of a stable pidgin. What is necessary for this development is a polyglot contact situation in which the jargon is used as a lingua franca among speakers of two or more different substrate languages rather than only with TL speakers (DeCamp 1971:22; Sankoff 1980:144). This use and resultant stabilization is called "tertiary hybridization" (Whinnom 1971:105-6). A plantation, of course, provides the ideal environment for tertiary hybridization and the development of a fully-fledged "stable pidgin". The polyglot labour force uses the plantation jargon as lingua franca with little interference from the TL because of social distance from the TL speakers on the plantation and geographical isolation from TL speakers off the plantation.

However, not all creolists agree with this theory. For example, Fox (1983:105) maintains that Russonorsk, which arose from contact between Norwegians and Russians, became a stable pidgin without tertiary hybridization. Moag (1978:1471, 1979b:68) also claims that both Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani arose from dual rather than polyglot contact situations, and that plantations had nothing to do with their development. (This claim is examined later in this work.)

No matter how a stable pidgin has become stabilised, however, it can proceed to stages further along the developmental continuum. In the next stage, it may become an "extended pidgin" (Todd 1974) or "expanded pidgin" (Mühlhäusler 1979). This stage results from use of the stable pidgin being extended to new contexts. This extension of use is usually accompanied by linguistic expansion, that is, increased complexity of the grammar and lexicon (Mühlhäusler 1979:63). An expanded pidgin is also characterized by further reduction of irregularity, that is, greater consistency (Mühlhäusler 1980:44-45). An example of an

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3 Stabilization is defined by Hancock (1980:65) as the "establishment of linguistic conventions...whose manifestations will be predictable for at least 90 per cent of any speaker's performance". I do not assume, however, that every aspect of a pidgin is stabilized. By definition, as no one's native language, a pidgin will be influenced, especially in phonology and syntax, by the speaker's first language. But what has stabilised in a stable pidgin is the use of some of the salient linguistic features which began to emerge in the jargon.
expanding pidgin is New Guinea Pidgin or Tok Pisin which spread from the plantations of Samoa to become the lingua franca of New Guinea (Mühlhäuser 1979:65-89).

In the final stage of development, a pidgin may become a "creole", that is a pidginized variety which has become the native language of a group of people. Along with this "nativization" comes further extension of use and linguistic expansion. Tok Pisin is also an example of an expanded pidgin which has acquired native speakers (Sankoff and Laberge 1973).

The stages in a pidgin developmental continuum and the connected processes are given in Figure 1-1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROCESS</th>
<th>STAGE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pidginization</td>
<td>jargon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stabilization</td>
<td>stable pidgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expansion</td>
<td>expanded pidgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nativization</td>
<td>creole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The process of "creolization" comprises three component processes: stabilization, expansion, and nativization. They may come into operation one at a time in different stages of development, but if nativization occurs at an early stage, it is automatically accompanied by expansion and stabilization, and intermediate stages may be skipped. Hence, creolization can take place at any stage of the pidgin developmental continuum. This has been shown by Mühlhäusler (1980:32), as illustrated in Figure 1-2 in which examples are also given of three creoles for which creolization took place at different stages.

Note that in Type 1, all three component creolization processes take place simultaneously, so that a creole develops directly from the jargon stage. This has been illustrated for Hawaiian Creole English by Bickerton (1981:7-11). Other languages which he considers "true" creoles are those which (p.4):
Figure 1-2: Creolization at different stages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROCESS</th>
<th>STAGE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TYPE 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jargon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pidginization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stabilization</td>
<td>stable pidgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expansion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nativization</td>
<td>creole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Hawaiian Creole)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Arose out of a prior pidgin which had not existed for more than a generation.

2. Arose in a population where not more than 20 percent were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80 percent were composed of diverse language groups.

These conditions, restricting creoles to Types 1 and 2, are basically the ones found in plantation societies where expansion does not usually occur before nativization. The labour force outnumbered the masters, and because of the "catastrophic break in linguistic tradition" (Sankoff 1979:24), children born on plantations learn not the language of their parents, but the plantation language. The examples Bickerton gives are mostly creoles that grew out of plantation societies on islands or isolated mainland areas, such as São Tomé, Haiti, Jamaica, Guyana (British Guiana), and Surinam (Dutch Guiana).

Mintz (1971:491) shows that as labourers on plantations in the Caribbean gave up their native tongues, their children learned as their first language either the language of the dominant social group (the masters) or a pidginized version of it which was the plantation language. Therefore, existing pidgins were either replaced by the standard European language or nativized to become creoles. As a result, there are no pidgin languages (as defined above) found today in the area. Pidgin languages are still found, however, in the Pacific and
West Africa. But these are mainly expanded pidgins which were extended to contexts outside the plantations. There is also the difference pointed out by Sankoff (1979:24-25) between the Atlantic plantations which used slave labour and the Pacific plantations which used indentured labour. Slaves stayed on the plantations as did their children. Indentured labourers moved off the plantations or returned home at the end of their contracts; therefore, it was easier for them to maintain their language and culture. Use of an existing pidgin was perpetuated by its being learned by newly imported labourers and by its being spread as a language of wider communication by returned labourers.

1.4 THE ORIGINS OF PIDGINIZED VARIETIES

There are several theories about the origins of the imperfect versions of language which become crystallized to begin the development of a plantation pidgin. The two main ones are the "Altered Model Theory" and the "Imperfect Learning Theory".

1.4.1 The Altered Model Theory

According to the first theory, the speakers of the superstrate language, not those of the substrate languages, are ultimately responsible for the imperfect forms of their own language. TL speakers alter their language in some way, usually by making it less complex, in order to facilitate communication with speakers of other languages. This modification may be on the spot "spontaneous simplification" (Koefoed 1979:42) according to the TL speaker's notions of what "less complex" means. Or it may be according to a conventionalized form of speech, or a "simplified register", considered appropriate for addressing speakers of other languages. This is called "Foreigner Talk" (Ferguson 1971; Ferguson and DeBose 1977). In this work, Foreigner Talk is used as a cover term for both kinds of altered language used by TL speakers in communicating with L1 speakers. A Foreigner Talk register refers to a conventionalized rather than spontaneous version. Thus, according to the Altered Model Theory, Foreigner Talk used by TL speakers and learned by L1 speakers, provides the basis for the
Those who believe that the Altered Model Theory best explains incipient pidginization note that the substantive linguistic features of Foreigner Talk are the same as those of pidginized language, especially the formal simplicity, for example, in reduction of inflections and regularization of those that remain (Ferguson and DeBose 1977:104). Two of the proponents of this theory, Naro (1978) and Moag (1978), point to both historical records and other linguistic features of pidgins to show that they originate from Foreigner Talk. Naro shows how the Portuguese simplified their language in a systematic way in order to teach it to Africans so that they could become interpreters. He claims (Naro 1978:340) that this simplification was done according to the "Factorization Principle": "Express each variant, separately intuited element of meaning by at least one phonologically separate, invariant stress-bearing form." This accounts for several linguistic features of Portuguese pidgin: invariant pronominal forms derived from strong stressed variants, use of emphatic forms, use of infinitive forms with adverbials to indicate tense or aspect.

The use of invariant, emphatic independent pronouns has also been mentioned by Moag (1978:1473). He cites the exclusive use of these pronouns in Pidgin Fijian as evidence that it resulted from "Fijians deliberately simplifying their own language rather than from inept attempts of outgroup members to reproduce the Fijian around them".

Goodman (1964:124) also gives several examples from creole French which could support the Altered Model Theory. First, nearly all creole French pronouns are derived from the accented, disjunctive French forms. Second, many French periphrastic constructions indicating tense and aspect are found. Third, a large portion of the creole verb stems are derived from French infinitives and/or past participles. He says that these features "are indicative of a deliberate effort by speakers of French to avoid or simplify inflectional complexities of their language."

4 This theory has also been called the "Baby Talk Theory" by DeCamp (1971:19). He mentions Jespersen (1922), Bloomfield (1933), and Hall (1966) as proponents of this theory, which he says is easily refuted. But Koefoed (1979:42) points out that these authors have not held the extreme view described by DeCamp.
1.4.2 The Imperfect Learning Theory

According to the second, more widely accepted theory, learners' imperfect productions of the TL provide the basis for the pidgin language. Scholars studying second language acquisition have shown that on the basis of restricted "input", that is, limited exposure to the TL, learners create in their own minds systems which differ from those in the minds of TL speakers. Psycholinguists use the term "interlanguage" to refer to these internal representations of the structure of the language as used by learners (Selinker 1972; Andersen 1983:7). Interlanguage, however, is not static; it is constantly being revised by learners as they receive more exposure to the TL.

Typically, with more time learners receive more input, and eventually their interlanguage systems approach the systems of TL speakers, and the second language is acquired more perfectly. On the plantations, however, social conditions continue to restrict the learners' access to the TL. As described above, the labourers' interaction with the European masters is limited, and because of the isolation of the plantations, labourers do not have access to any other native speakers of the language. Thus, they continue not to receive adequate input from the TL and are not exposed to its use in a full range of contexts.

Learners' attitudes towards the TL and its speakers are also an important factor. Even if input is not restricted, learners' degree of acquisition of the TL may vary along a continuum depending on their "orientation". Those with an "integrative orientation", that is, with motivation to assimilate with the society of the TL speakers, will be more likely to learn the TL adequately than those with a "segregative orientation" (Meisel 1983; Schumann and Stauble 1983). For example, Washabaugh and Greenfield (1983:116-17) show that because the slaves on the Portuguese island plantations were forced to learn the Portuguese language while at the same time were shunned by Portuguese society, they "rejected the cultural world" of their masters. As a result the language which they spoke, while superficially Portuguese in its lexicon, retained traits of African languages.

5 Also segregative rather than integrative orientation of TL speakers would influence them to use Foreigner Talk.
Although the term "pidginization" was first used to label the sociolinguistic process that may result in a pidgin language (Hymes 1971b:84), more recently it has been extended to include the psycholinguistic process involved in second language learning (Andersen 1983:8). For example, Bickerton (1977:49) defines pidginization as "second language learning with restricted input". According to sociolinguistic theory, a learner's production of the incompletely acquired TL is called "broken language", here a technical rather than descriptive term (Ferguson and DeBose 1977:108). If psycholinguistic theory is taken into account, Broken Language is most probably the output corresponding to the existing interlanguage of the speaker.

Those who subscribe to the Learner's Continuum Theory say that it is Broken Language which gets crystallized to begin the development of a pidgin. They also point to the similarity between the linguistic characteristics of Broken Language and pidgins, especially in formal simplicity in comparison to the TL, for example, in "omission of inflections..., overgeneralization of morphological and syntactic patterns, [and] preference for general and undifferentiated lexical items" (Ferguson and DeBose 1977:108).

Another feature of Broken Language is mixture, resulting from the transfer of features from the learner's first language into his version of the TL (Andersen 1983:7). This transfer includes phonological substitutions, and mismatches of grammatical categories and ranges of meaning of lexical items (Ferguson and DeBose 1977:108). The fact that similar mixture, or substrate influence, is also evident in pidgin languages is one of the strongest arguments for the Imperfect Learning Theory. This has been shown by Bickerton (1977:54), who considers early pidginization as the gradual relexification and restructuring of the learner's first language.

Although writers such as Naro (1978) and Manessy (1977) have claimed that some pidgins do not show any substrate influence, there is evidence that many do, and that some features of pidginized varieties are better attributed to Broken Language than to Foreigner Talk. For example, Broken Language may exhibit two main types of restructuring. The first is "re-analysis", in which the function of a commonly used form has been re-interpreted to have a different function conforming with that of the substrate language. This is frequently found in
pidgins, for example, in Melanesian Pidgin English where the English indirect object "him" has been re-analyzed as a transitive suffix (found in most of the substrate languages) -im.

The second type of restructuring is "recutting", which results from failure to recognize morpheme boundaries. One manifestation of recutting is "fused forms" composed of two or more originally separate morphemes, what Ferguson and DeBose (1977:109) call "prefabricated routines"—that is, chunks of language picked up before their internal structure is differentiated. An example is the creole French lo 'water' in which the article is fused to the noun (French l’eau). As pointed out by Fox (1983:96), it is hard to imagine TL speakers coming up with these forms in an effort to simplify their language, but it is not so hard to imagine them as learners' errors.

Goodman (1964:124) also gives some other examples from creole French which support the Imperfect Learning rather than the Altered Model Theory. He notes that some verbs are clearly derived from French inflected forms, that vestiges of gender are found in some adjectives, and that the incorporated partitive particle shows traces of both number and gender. These would not be expected if a simplified Foreigner Talk had been used.

1.4.3 The Compromise Theory

Goodman (1964:124) actually concludes it is unlikely that either of the two theories can be substantiated to the exclusion of the other. Ferguson and DeBose (1977:109) also indicate that it is often difficult to distinguish Foreigner Talk from Broken Language. In fact, they say, Foreigner Talk may even borrow from Broken Language, and Broken Language may be influenced by Foreigner Talk (p.116). Thus, both probably play a part in the development of a pidgin, and Ferguson and DeBose tentatively define pidginization (p.111) as "the rapid structural modification of a language in certain contact situations in which it serves both as the target of broken language and the source of foreigner talk".

Taking Ferguson and DeBose's definition into account, the classical scenario for the development of a plantation pidgin is as follows: When the language of the European power chosen as the plantation language is pidginized, social distance or segregative
orientation between masters and labourers perpetuates the use of the pidginized varieties. Masters continue to use Foreigner Talk, and labourers do not repair their Broken Language, either because of lack of motivation to do so or because of lack of access to the TL. A stable pidgin develops from the resultant pre-pidgin continuum when labourers who speak mutually unintelligible languages use pidginized forms of the TL among themselves. A creole may emerge if children are born who have only either the plantation jargon or the plantation pidgin as the basis of their first language. But there are other scenarios, depending on choice of plantation language and composition of the labour force.

1.5 ALTERNATIVE SCENARIOS

In another scenario the Europeans in control may opt to choose an existing trade language or other language of wider communication as the plantation language because both they and the labourers are already familiar with it. Often such a language is a variety which has been pidginized in some other environment, and in some cases it has become a recognizable jargon. It has been suggested, for example, that the Portuguese-based trade language of the sixteenth century was subsequently used on early Portuguese plantations (DeCamp 1971:22). Reinecke (1969[1935]:34-35) also shows Hawaiian plantation pidgin English was based on hapa haole, a pre-pidgin or jargon which was used for communication between Hawaiians and English-speaking traders. In these cases, the initial pidginization did not take place on the plantations; rather a pre-pidginized variety became the plantation jargon and later stabilized to become a plantation pidgin or in some instances a creole.

Furthermore, the European masters need not choose a pre-pidginized variety based on their own language. For example, the Germans made use of pidginized English on plantations in their colonies in Cameroon, New Guinea, and Samoa (Mühlhäusler 1978:74). In fact the chosen variety may be based on a non-European language. Bickerton and Wilson (forthcoming) and Day (forthcoming) show how a trade jargon based on Hawaiian became the first plantation language in Hawaii. In another

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\[6\] Day calls it Hawaiian Maritime Pidgin. Bickerton and Wilson call it Pidgin Hawaiian, or use the Hawaiian name 'ōielo pa'i 'ai, and say it may be the same as what Reinecke (1969) refers to as hapa haole.
example, Dutton (forthcoming) shows how a contact language based on simplified Motu (Taylor 1978) provided the basis for the lingua franca adopted for use by British New Guinea Police Constabulary at the end of the nineteenth century. This Police Motu later became the plantation language of the colony.

The choice of a plantation language based on an indigenous language occurred especially in areas where, as Sankoff (1980:145) puts it, "Europeans were very thin on the ground, and much at the mercy of the native population." In such conditions, Europeans attempted to learn the local language, as reported by Clark (1979:25) for early European penetration of the Pacific. But the choice may also be affected by the composition of the labour force. For example, in Hawaii, the first plantation labourers were Hawaiians.

It is possible in such a situation that roles in pidginization are reversed compared to the classical plantation scenario. The indigenous language of the labour force becomes the target language. Broken Language is used by the masters trying to learn the labourers' language, and Foreigner Talk is used by the labourers trying to communicate with the masters. Social distance or segregative orientation still maintain the status quo. But in such an environment development of a stable pidgin would not be expected to occur while there is still only dual language contact. Stabilization may occur later, however, if speakers of other languages join the labour force and the indigenous language continues to be used. This probably occurred in Hawaii with the importation of labourers first from China and later from Japan, the Philippines, and other countries, as pidginized Hawaiian remained the plantation language in many areas until the turn of the century (Day forthcoming; Bickerton and Wilson forthcoming).

This alternative scenario can get under way, of course, only if the initial indigenous labourers all speak one language that can be learned by the European plantation owners. It is still possible, however, if they speak different linguistic varieties, such as regional

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7 This has also been shown in non-plantation environments such as in early trading in America, where Europeans used jargons based on Amerindian languages, such as Chinook Jargon (Silverstein 1972) and Delaware-based Traders' Jargon (Thomason 1980).
dialects, which are subsystems of the same linguistic system. These are varieties which are genetically closely related and therefore typologically similar enough to fulfill at least one of two criteria: (1) they are mutually intelligible; or (2) they share a superposed, genetically related linguistic system, such as a national standard or a regional lingua franca. Thus, if the labourers speak several mutually intelligible dialects, one may be chosen as the plantation language in this scenario. If they speak mutually unintelligible dialects, for example on opposite ends of a dialect chain (or dialect continuum), the superposed lingua franca may be chosen.

As will be shown in the chapters to follow, it was the alternative rather than the classical scenario which led to the development of plantation pidgins in Fiji.

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8 The terms "linguistic system" and "subsystem" often correspond with the terms "language" and "dialect" when they refer to superordinate and subordinate varieties, but not always. What are different subsystems according to the above definition may be considered different languages by their speakers for political and/or cultural reasons, as in the case of Norwegian and Danish.
MAP 2:

VITI
OR
FIJI ISLANDS

SOME MAJOR PRE-COLONIAL STATES:

- BA
- BECA
- BECA DAVU
- CCAKUGROVE
- DREKETI
- MACATA
- MAKUTABA
- MALAMALABA
- NAIRAI
- NAMISI
- NAREKA
- REWA
- SEKUA
- TAVUA
- TAVU
- VUO
- VATU
- WATILA
- WATILIA

MAJOR RIVERS:

1. BA
2. DREKETI
3. MAKUA
4. REWA of WALEVU
5. SIGATOA
6. VATODINA
7. VATIHIKU
8. VATIWAIKA
9. VATIWALAVA

from Domodomo
CHAPTER 2

LANGUAGE CONTACT IN FIJI BEFORE THE PLANTATION ERA

Patterns of communication established in Fiji before the first plantations had an important bearing on later developments. This chapter describes first how Fijians communicated among themselves and with people from other island groups, and then the various phases of contact with Europeans that led up to the plantation era.

2.1 COMMUNICATION AMONG FIJIANS

The Fijian language of today is spoken throughout the Fiji group, but it is not a homogeneous linguistic system. It consists of approximately 300 "communalects" (Pawley and Sayaba 1971:407; Geraghty 1983:17-18), or varieties of a language with little or no variation spoken within recognized communities. These communalects can be grouped into dialects which in turn can be assigned to one of two major dialect divisions, eastern and western (Pawley and Sayaba 1971) (see Map 14 in Appendix F). Some of these dialects share as little as 60 per cent cognate basic vocabulary (Schütz 1972:99), and it is thought that before European contact, dialect diversity was even greater (Geraghty 1984:33).

Communication between speakers of mutually unintelligible dialects took place in the past in a variety of Fijian which was, and still is, the lingua franca of the group. This variety is called Standard Fijian (SF) by Geraghty (1984:33). This SF was most similar to the Fijian

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1 Note that Geraghty's Standard Fijian is not the same as the literary style, supposedly based on the Bauan dialect, which Moag (1978) calls Standard Fijian (see section 2.4).
spoken around the southeast coast of Vitilevu, home of the two leading political powers, Bau and Rewa. Horatio Hale, of the United States Exploring Expedition to Fiji in the 1840s, noted that this variety was recognized as the standard by the Fijians: "On the eastern side of Viti-levu, and particularly in Rewa, the language is said by the natives to be spoken in its greatest purity" (Hale 1968 [1846]:368).

Because of this superordinate indigenous language of wider communication, the subordinate dialects can be considered subsystems of the same language even though some were mutually unintelligible (see section 1.5). In this way Fiji differed from other island groups of the southwest Pacific which were characterized by tremendous linguistic diversity and lacked any language of wider communication before European contact. For example, even today Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides) has over one hundred distinct languages (Tryon 1976) and the Solomon Islands over sixty (Tryon and Hackman 1983) (see section 3.3).

### 2.2 CONTACT WITH OTHER ISLAND GROUPS

Before contact with Europeans, Fijians had contact with other outsiders, people from neighbouring island groups, especially Tongans. Schütz (1984:12) quotes Bennet, a historian and philologist of the early 1800s: "The Tongatabu chiefs regard knowledge of the Fijian language as an accomplishment, and there is much intercourse between the islands." Thus, it appears that Fijian was used to some extent in contact between the Tongans and the Fijians.

Geraghty (1978) suggests that the type of Fijian used with outsiders before Europeans was what he calls "Fijian Foreigner Talk". He describes it as a "drastically simplified form of Standard Fijian" which was "originally reserved for Tongans, Samoans, and other neighbours, who came to trade, build canoes, or fight as mercenaries" (Geraghty 1984:34). This type of Fijian will be further discussed in section 5.4.1.1.

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2This work uses the current preferred spelling for various Fiji place names, as found in Domodomo, the Fiji Museum quarterly (see Map 2): hence, Vitilevu (formerly Viti Levu), Vanualevu (Vanua Levu), and Rabe (Rabi).
2.3 EARLY CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS

Fiji was first sighted by Europeans in 1643 when Abel Tasman's ships passed through the northeastern part of the group (Derrick 1950:32). But no European ship passed through Fijian waters again until Captain Cook's second voyage in 1774. After the famous mutiny on the Bounty in 1789, the launch carrying Captain Bligh and some of his crew passed through the Fiji group and was chased by Fijian canoes. However, the first face-to-face communication between Fijians and Europeans probably did not take place until two years later when the ship Pandora spent five weeks at one of the islands of the Fiji group (probably Matuku) after a voyage to Tahiti to arrest the mutineers who remained there (Derrick 1950:34-5). Captain Bligh himself returned to Fiji in 1792 and took note of a few words of Fijian while anchored off the island of Moce (Schütz 1984:6).

Several other ships visited Fiji before the end of the century, and a few short lists of Fijian words were collected (see Schütz 1984 for details). But prolonged contact and more detailed knowledge of Fijian did not eventuate until the turn of the century when the first Europeans came to live among the Fijians and learned to speak their language.

2.3.1 The first Europeans

Three groups of Europeans first had extended contact with Fijians: the beachcombers, the sandalwood traders, and the bêche-de-mer traders.

2.3.1.1 Beachcombers

Beachcombers were short-term residents of the Pacific islands who arrived either involuntarily (by being shipwrecked or left stranded by their ships) or voluntarily (by deserting from their ships or as stowaways). According to Maude (1968:135), "what differentiated the beachcombers from other immigrants was the fact that they were essentially integrated into, and dependent for their livelihood on, the indigenous communities." Thus, they learned the language and culture of the communities in which they lived. For this reason they were later often employed as interpreters or mediators by captains of visiting ships.

The first beachcombers in Fiji were the victims of the wreck of the Argo in the Lau group in 1800. One of these was Oliver Slater, who
wandered through Fiji for 21 months and ended up at Bua Bay (Vanua Levu), where he saw dense sandalwood thickets near the coast. Later he spread this news around Port Jackson, and this began the sandalwood trade in Fiji (Maude 1968:143).

Another victim of the wreck of the Argo was that infamous character in Fiji history, Charles Savage. After the wreck he went to Tonga, but in 1808 returned to Fiji in the Eliza, which also was wrecked near Nairai. His knowledge of Fijian and Tongan helped save the castaways, and he eventually ended up in Bau where, having introduced firearms, he became quite influential with the powerful paramount chief. Savage stayed at Bau for more than five years and was reported to have spoken the dialects of Fijian fluently (Derrick 1950:45).

By 1811 there were at least 20 beachcombers on Bau. They were a very mixed group, including (besides English speakers) a German, two Chinese, an East Indian, a Tongan, and a Tahitian (Derrick 1950:45n). Eight of these, including Savage, were killed in 1813 while working for sandalwood traders, but other beachcombers took their places. Europeans also settled at Rewa, Lakeba, and Levuka. Still others lived alone as retainers of chiefs at Taveuni, the islands of Lomaiviti, the south and southwest coasts of Vanua Levu, and Kadavu (Maude 1968:143).

Rotuma also had a large number of beachcombers. In 1814 a Hawaiian known as Babahey landed and was later made a high chief. In 1824 there were six whites, and by the 1830s, when Rotuma became a favourite calling spot for whalers, there were at least 70. The Rotumans were known as good seamen and were often taken on as crew (Maude 1968:144).

Some of the earliest information about the Fijian language comes from beachcombers. Samuel Patterson, shipwrecked in 1808 along with Charles Savage on the Eliza, wrote a "narrative" of his adventures (1817) which includes several Fijian words and phrases. The first detailed list of Fijian words and phrases comes from William Lockerby, an American involved in the sandalwood trade, left stranded by his ship in 1808. His journal (Im Thurn and Wharton 1925) indicates how important it was for Europeans to speak Fijian. He reports that after about two months in Fiji, he "spoke the language in a tolerable manner" (p.18), and after he was stranded, he writes:
I paid particular attention to making myself acquainted with their language, and in a few months I could make myself not only understood, but could discourse with them on any subject; which made my wretched situation more tolerable.

Lockerby's word list (published in Dodge 1972) was compiled in 1809, after at least eight or nine months in Fiji. Its purpose was to provide some basic vocabulary to those who wanted to enter the sandalwood trade in Fiji. Lockerby eventually gave the list to William P. Richardson, who captained a sandalwood ship to Fiji and compiled his own list in 1811, using Lockerby's as a starting point (the list appears in Schütz 1984:553-60).

2.3.1.2 Sandalwood traders

The sandalwood trade began in Fiji in 1804 after Slater spread the news of large quantities of the timber at Bua Bay. Intense trade lasted for ten years until the supplies were exhausted at Bua Bay and later at Wailea Bay and Galoa Bay (these three areas were known as the Sandalwood Coast). Between 1804 and 1814, 33 voyages were made by 27 different ships to get sandalwood (based on Munro 1973:88).

The sandalwood trade was the first time that Fijians were involved in providing labour for Europeans. The procedure was that first, the chief was invited on board the ship to receive gifts of the usual trading items: ivory, whales' teeth, iron, or tools such as saws or axes (Im Thurn and Wharton 1925:11). Then, the chief would usually agree to have his people get the sandalwood and to provide a chiefly hostage to insure the safety of the sandalwood ship's men on shore. The work involved cutting down the trees, extracting the heartwood, carrying it down to the shore, and loading it onto the ship. These tasks were difficult because the trees were often located on very steep slopes and in ravines far from the shore. In later years of the trade, Fijians prepared the wood and carried it down to the coast to barter for goods with the traders (Munro 1973:27-8).

As most of the work was carried out under the chief's commands, very little supervision was required of the traders. However, most of them did employ interpreters, or "linguists" as they were called, to help smooth out dealings with the Fijians. These "linguists" were often beachcombers. For example, Lockerby mentions that in their initial trading, they used as an interpreter "a man who had been some time
among the islanders and understood their language" (Im Thurn and Wharton 1925:16), most probably Charles Savage. In fact, when he learned Fijian after being stranded, Lockerby himself became an interpreter for sandalwood traders. Another shipwreck victim who became an interpreter was William S. Cary (reported in Dix 1848:98):

Mr. Cary's acquaintance with the language and customs of the natives enabled him to render important services in the way of trade. As a linguist, assistant trading-master, and companion, he was much esteemed by officers and crew.

Other men learned Fijian on trading voyages and later returned as interpreters. One example is Benjamin Vanderford who, after three voyages to Fiji, was chosen by Commodore Wilkes to be interpreter for the United States Exploring Expedition in the late 1830s (Schütz 1984:14).

2.3.1.3 Bêche-de-mer traders

The dried flesh of bêche-de-mer (also known as trepang or sea cucumber), eaten as a delicacy in China and purportedly an aphrodisiac, was another important item of trade in the Pacific in the nineteenth century. Bêche-de-mer was first collected and cured in Fiji in 1813, but the height of the trade there was from 1824 to 1850. During these years 50 voyages were made to Fiji by 39 ships (Ward 1972:100; Munro 1972:90-1). Also, later in the trade small vessels built in Fiji or brought from Salem were used so that the main trading ship could set up several stations on shore for drying the collected bêche-de-mer.

The bêche-de-mer trade differed from the sandalwood trade in that it lasted longer (30 years), required more Fijian labour for longer periods of time, and required supervision from whites. Thus, it greatly increased cultural contact between Fijians and outsiders. Business could not simply be conducted from the ship; rather, a shore establishment had to be set up for the curing of the bêche-de-mer. The trader had to negotiate with the chief for permission to build this establishment, for the provision of firewood for the curing process, and for Fijian labour to collect and cure the bêche-de-mer. Agreement was reached on payment not only of trade goods like those used for sandalwood, but also of muskets and pistols (Ward 1972:107).

A typical shore establishment had a drying house 30 to 40 metres
long and 6 to 7 metres wide. Twenty to 80 canoes were involved in fishing with an average of 10 men per canoe. Another 15 or 20 men or boys worked on cleaning and boiling while the same number worked on drying. Still another 100 or so were employed cutting firewood (Ward 1972:108). Therefore, altogether between 200 and 250 men were employed at an average establishment. Since the work would go on for months at a time and the establishments were often far from villages, the Fijian labourers built houses on the site for themselves and their dependents.

One of the traders, Captain John H. Eagleston (1833-36), called the bêche-de-mer establishment on Galoa Island "our little city" and described the arrival of the fishing fleet of 30 or 40 canoes as follows (p.328):

On arrival of this fleet with fish, our little island became of great bustle, life and animation; men, women and children of all ages, mothers bearing the younger on their hips, and steadying them with one arm while in the other hand they bore a heavy basket of fish; - all moving for and around the stand occupied by the officer buying, yelling at the top of their voices, Buy my Andru, the term they used for beech de mer, at the same time naming the various articles wanted for exchange...

Such shore stations were established first along the north coast of Vanua Levu and later in northern and eastern Vitilevu, the Yasawas, and some of the smaller eastern islands. Resident Europeans were often hired as interpreters or curing supervisors. Thus, in general the bêche-de-mer trade brought about the first long-term contact in Fiji, and it was very much like a typical plantation situation.

The bêche-de-mer trade had other effects also. First of all, a large number of part-European (Fiji term for mixed race) children were produced. Secondly, contact was established with other non-European races from the Pacific. For example, the crew of the Clay in 1828 included four "Manillamen" (as Malays were called), seven Tahitians, two Caroline islanders, and one "Bengalla" (Ward 1972:113). Many of these men stayed on in Fiji. Furthermore, Fijians were taken to other islands. For example, in 1853, 70 to 80 were recruited to go to New Caledonia (Ward 1972:113).

3 The general term for bêche-de-mer in Standard Fijian is drī, but Turbet (1942:148) lists seven terms for different varieties.
During the bêche-de-mer trading period, several other Fijian phrase and word lists were compiled. Joseph P. Gaimard, the zoologist in d'Urville's 1827 expedition made a French-Fijian list (Schütz 1984:570-77). William Endicott, shipwrecked in 1831, wrote another list (Endicott 1923). And Joseph W. Osborne, clerk of the American ship Emerald between 1833 and 1836, wrote yet another (Geraghty 1978:63-67).

2.3.2 Language use in the early contact period

2.3.2.1 Use of English

During the early years of the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trade, the Fijians may have picked up a few words of English as in the example in the section above: "Buy my andru". But very few English words were used regularly until the arrival of the missionaries. For example, Fijian words rather than English were used for new cultural items such as dakai 'bow' for musket and matau 'stone adze' for axe. One early word said to be an English borrowing is bulumakau 'cattle', but it may have come to Fiji via Tongan (Schütz 1978:4).

English, from all appearances, was rarely used as a contact language in Fiji in the first half of the nineteenth century. It must have been unusual to find non-Europeans in Fiji who spoke English because writers would comment if they happened to come across one who did. For example, Lockerby mentions a young chief, called Coconut Jack, who could speak a few words of English (Dodge 1972:196). Eagleton (1833-36:371) remarks that he met a chief off Lakeba who knew English, as he had been a pilot and an interpreter on a ship. At Lakeba in 1832 a Tongan chief, "Tooboo" (probably the same one), gave a note in English to Eagleton written "in a very plain hand". The note, produced word for word by Eagleton (p.436), is as follows:

(1) Capt i beg to you sor you please give me Chest hand good musket i very want musket hand Chest no you want give me Chest you give good musket hand Chest i no you want give me two you give you plese Capt i tell you i got poor man here i no got little thing here me sit tongatoboo i give you all my thing hand my name twobos I Tongatobas man

This chief's remarkable ability to speak English was also noted by Mrs Wallis, wife of the captain of a bêche-de-mer ship who lived at
Viwa. She calls him Tubou Toutai and says that he had been to Sydney where he picked up his English. She gives the following example (Wallis 1851:161):

(2) Mrs. Wallis, I got one nice mat in Bau for you; spose you come Bau, I give him to you; spose you no come Bau, I come Vewa, I fetch him you.

Another Tonga man came to Mrs Wallis' door in 1845 (p.58) and the following interaction takes place:

(3) "Good morning, ma'am; you sewing, sir?"
"Where did you learn your English?" said I.
"Oh, me live with one mission in Tonga; I learn English, I wash, my wife he iron; suppose you want wash, me wash."

Mrs Wallis also quotes a long speech by Tommy, a Fijian from Tavea who was a member of the crew of her husband's bêche-de-mer ship, The Star:

(4) ...when I go shore to buy yams, the chief he no be at the town. I send boy tell a chief to come home Capt Wallis he send boat here to buy yams and pig. Tavea man and I go in house where we wait long time for chief. By and by man come in house, he all scared, he say Andrew killed...Then woman go on hill, come back and say, Andrew no kill, he go away in boat...

In 1842, a visitor to Fiji met Cokanauto, known as Phillips, a Rewa chief who had been on Eagleston's bêche-de-mer ship and later taken to Tahiti. The following speech is reported (Erskine 1853:461):

(5) How do you do? Ah! you come see me; all white men see me; man belongen ebery place see me; me like um man belongen noder place.4

Although the examples above are said to be English, they are obviously no ordinary English. The writers who quoted them, like many others of the period, did not distinguish between various types of English, at least in their writing (see Clark 1979:33). Other writers,

4See Clark 1979:31 for more detailed comments about this quotation.
however, say that islanders spoke "broken English" or "a little English", to show that it was not standard. But with the exception of example (1) above, these examples do not illustrate merely idiosyncratic broken English. They also show the influence of Jargon English (Mühlhäusler 1979:56-8) or South Seas Jargon (Clark 1979:32-5), an English-based pre-pidgin continuum (see section 1.3) which arose in Pacific in the first half of the 19th century, mainly as the result of whaling and the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades.

Some of the "English" used by non-Europeans in Fiji contains examples of features which had become conventions, or salient linguistic features, of South Seas Jargon (SSJ): (a) a predicate marker, here realized as "he"; (b) use of "belong" (later used in possessive constructions); (c) a verbal transitive suffix, here realized as "him" or "um"; (d) "suppose" or "spose" as the protactic clause marker 'if'; and (e) "no" as a preverbal negative marker.

Therefore, evidence exists that SSJ was used to some extent in Fiji, but it appears that it was a novelty and known only by those who had been involved with Europeans in maritime activities. In the above examples, all the speakers had been abroad in ships sailing around the Pacific. Berthold Seemann (1862:36), the botanist with the 1860 British expedition to Fiji to investigate an offer of cession, also reports that Rotumans living on the island of Taveuni could all speak a little English. Rotumans' contacts with sailors and experience as crew members have been mentioned above (section 2.3.1.1). Part-Europeans were also reported to speak some English. Mrs Smythe, wife of Colonel W.J. Smythe, leader of the 1860 British expedition, writes (1864:19):

The natives, of course, do not speak a word of English; and what little knowledge of our language the half-castes have picked up is confined to a familiarity with the nautical idiom spoken by the white man on the beach.

Many part-Europeans at the time were involved in ship-building and sailing.

In other parts of the Pacific, however, varieties of SSJ were more widely used in association with the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades, and developed into more conventionalized varieties such as Sandalwood English (Clark 1979:36-38). Shineberg (1967:79,84) writes that Sandalwood English or "beach la mar" English, one of the ancestors of
Melanesian Pidgin, became the lingua franca during the sandalwood trade in Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and the Loyalty Islands. This trade took place from 1825 to 1865, later than the Fiji sandalwood period, but partly coinciding with the bêche-de-mer period.

The sandalwood trade in Vanuatu and New Caledonia differed from the Fiji trade in several respects. First of all, it lasted for a much longer period and involved much more contact. Between 1841 and 1855, approximately 195 trading voyages were made to the area. From 1855 to 1860, 31 ships were making voyages for sandalwood and from 1860 to 1865, 24 ships (based on Shineberg 1967:219-245). Second, the trade involved many language groups, and there was no interpreter who could know all the languages. Third, members of one language group were often contracted as labourers to work in the area of another language group. For example, in 1842 Tanna men were taken to the Isle of Pines for three months and in 1860 there were at least 150 labourers from other islands working on Santo (Shineberg 1967:191-2).

The language diversity of the island groups west of Fiji did not allow trade to be carried out using any indigenous language. Rather, people of different language groups had to learn some English. And when people of these different groups found themselves together, in sandalwood depots, bêche-de-mer curing stations, or plantations, their only common language was often the SSJ that they had picked up. As this jargon was used as a lingua franca among themselves, it began to develop into a stable pidgin language.

2.3.2 Use of Fijian

The linguistic situation with regard to trading was very different in Fiji. First, although some language diversity existed, there was an indigenous lingua franca, Standard Fijian, which could be used not only by the traders, but by the labourers if they happened to be from different dialect groups. Second, at the start of the trade there were already European residents who could act as interpreters. Third, Europeans were "thin on the ground" (see section 1.5), and subject to the will of the Fijians. Therefore, Fijian, rather than any form of English, was used as the language of the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades. And that is why few Fijians learned English and few English words came into Fijian at this early stage.
Whereas the Fijians did not use a lot of English in their Fijian during the early contact years, the foreigners used a lot of Fijian in their English. This is evident in some of the first published accounts of life in Fiji. Some examples are as follows (glosses in square brackets are mine):

(6) A boat has gone to "sara sara" ['look at'] the reefs.  
(Wallis 1851:195)

(7) The people again clapped their hands and tama'd, that is made a noise like a subdued bark...
(Smythe 1864:27)

(8) They had started back and arrived safe with the manumanu ['bird'] the next morning.  (Erskine 1853:422)

(9) A large root of Somo-Somo angona [yaqona 'kava'], and a small piece of the "mali bakola" (human flesh) was presented as a kind of preliminary to the tukutuku (speech). (Erskine 1853:430)

In addition to such accounts, the word and phrase lists collected by Lockerby and others give some indication of the kind of Fijian used by Europeans in the early contact period. Like some of the English recorded by Europeans in the examples above, some of the entries in the lists are obviously no ordinary Fijian. Schütz (1974:445) first points out that some of the phrases in Lockerby's list are "rather pidginized". (This would not be surprising since in the quotation in section 2.3.1.1 Lockerby says he learned Fijian in only a few months.) In a more detailed analysis of several word lists, Geraghty (1978) suggests that the "Foreigner Talk" which was used with Tongans and other neighbours was subsequently extended to use with Europeans. In Chapter 5, I claim that the lists give some indication of not only how Fijians may have talked to foreigners, but how these foreigners talked to Fijians. I suggest the pidginized phrases represent examples of an unstabilized jargon or pre-pidgin continuum which I call Jargon Fijian.

An example follows from Richardson's 1811 list (Schütz 1984:554). This example and others later in this work are written first as they appeared in the original word list, then in brackets with standard Fijian orthography. The gloss is that of the author of the list. In some instances, the Standard Fijian (SF) equivalent is given.
As in South Seas Jargon, certain conventions developed in Jargon Fijian which later became salient linguistic features of a stabilized pidgin. Some of these features can be seen in the example above: (a) overgeneralized use of the aspect marker sa; (b) use of independent pronouns (ko iko 'you' and ko au 'I') rather than subject-marking pronouns; (c) replacement of the preverbal lai with the head verb lako; and (d) sarasara 'look on, be a spectator' instead of raica 'see (it)' (Geraghty 1978:59-61). Jargon Fijian is discussed in more detail in section 5.4.1.

2.4 THE MISSIONARIES

The first European missionaries from the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, David Cross and William Cargill, arrived with their families at Lakeba in 1835. They had both been in Tonga and had learned Tongan which, at that time, was commonly spoken on Lakeba, where many Tongans lived. They had also studied Fijian from a Tongan on Vava'u while waiting for the ship for Fiji. The missionaries knew the importance of learning the indigenous language and providing written materials. Fijians would not immediately accept Christian doctrines, but they were perfectly willing to be taught to read and write in their own language. Cargill quickly started work on his Fijian Grammar, based on the Lauan dialect spoken on Lakeba (Schütz and Geraghty 1980). More missionaries arrived with a printing press in 1838, and in 1839 the first book was printed in Fiji.

Since the missionaries were at first not allowed on the chiefly island of Bau, in 1839 they decided to move to Rewa, a nearby area which was also a seat of power with a high population density. In 1843, they chose the Bauan dialect, mainly for political reasons, as the standard literary medium. Since Bauan is almost identical with Standard Fijian (SF), it is generally assumed that Literary Fijian (LF)
and SF are also the same (for example, Moag 1978). But Geraghty (1984:35) points out that the language that became LF is Bauan in name only and differs in a number of ways from the language of Bau, mainly because no missionary was allowed to reside on the island until 1853, by which time, Geraghty says, "the foundations of literary Fijian had long been laid". Thus, he concludes, "What had become literary Fijian was, quite simply, Fijian as the missionaries spoke it."

One important difference between the varieties is that /k/ in LF corresponds to /o/ in SF and Bauan in some frequently occurring forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LF</th>
<th>SF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laki</td>
<td>lai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These k- forms are also found in various dialects, such as Lauan, the dialect which the missionaries first learned and which they drew upon in creating LF (Geraghty 1984:36).5

This Literary Fijian was of course the style used in the culmination of the missionaries' linguistic studies, David Hazlewood's dictionary and grammar of Fijian, published in 1850. As a result, any European who wished to learn the language properly had a reference book available. He would learn LF rather than SF, but at least he would learn a more correct version than the pidginized forms used by some of the early settlers and traders. However, as we will see later, some "incorrect" linguistic habits were not so easily lost by the Europeans.

The early missionaries helped establish Fijian as the language used for communication between Europeans and Fijians not only by making it more accessible for study but also by using it exclusively for all teaching and proselytizing to Fijians. This policy of using Fijian in religion and education was also adopted by other denominations. It

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5 In addition, Geraghty (personal communication, 28/1/83) reports that ko and ki are also found in Meke Fijian, the variety of wider communication used for poetry and song. He also points out that the proper article ko can be found in Bua, the main area of the sandalwood trade, as well as in several other areas of Fiji.
continued for over 70 years and was eventually extended to include churches and schools for not only Fijians but other Pacific Islanders who came to Fiji as plantation labourers.
PART II: LANGUAGES FROM THE PACIFIC

The plantation era in the early 1800s was a time of long-term European contact on islands and started growing from small green such as sugar cane and tapping. The early 1800s saw a rapid increase in the number of plantations, 18th and 19th century planters had increased dramatically as a result of the Mexican Civil War, and many Australians and New Zealanders came to Fiji to buy and make their fortunes on sugar plantations. With the sugar market collapsed, the planters who survived—such as steam tramps such as Singapore, tropes, and cane, and by painting outside.

Most of the early plantation were run by individuals rather than companies and were relatively small. Some even sold 20 acres, and very fewer than 20 laborers. At first, sugar laborers were Javanese, and communication patterns established during this colonial and 18th-century lifestyle were paramount. Other languages were mainly imported from other Pacific islands. The native people with their various forms of different languages are the people who speak or children. This chapter describes these languages and attitudes.

L expected.

The role of language on plantations was underestimated or insignificant. In most literature about Fiji, the argument reason (1893) states, "The planters were generally unable to work as planters." Most (1893) continued that important reasons primarily did not work between 1850, when it was apparent that plantations became "a large-scale success in the plantation economy."

Thus, there were planted interactively about certain they should not and should. People are well under their own work.
CHAPTER 3
LABOURERS FROM THE PACIFIC

The plantation era in Fiji began in the early 1860s when a few long-term European residents obtained land and started growing cash crops such as cotton and sugarcane. The mid 1860s saw a rapid increase in the number of plantations, as the world cotton prices had increased dramatically as a result of the American Civil War, and many Australians and New Zealanders came to Fiji to try and make their fortunes as cotton planters. When the cotton market collapsed, the planters who survived turned to other crops such as sugarcane, copra, and tea, and to raising cattle.

Most of the early plantations were run by individuals rather than companies and were relatively small, often less than 20 acres, and with fewer than 20 labourers. At first, these labourers were Fijians, and communication patterns established during the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades were continued. Later, however, labourers were mainly imported from other Pacific islands. They brought with them literally scores of different languages, and the linguistic plot began to thicken. This chapter describes these plantation labourers, first the Fijians, then the Pacific Islanders, and the language diversity that began with the plantation era.

3.1 FIJIAN LABOURERS

The role of Fijian labour on plantations has been dismissed as insignificant in most literature about Fiji. For example, Derrick (1950:168) writes: "In Fiji, the natives were generally unwilling to work on plantations." Moag (1978:1471) concludes that significant linguistic contacts did not occur between Fijians and other groups on the plantations because "Fijians were rarely employed on the plantations". It is true planters started importing labour because they could not get enough Fijians to work under their conditions (such
as under three-year contracts), but as will be shown here, the number of Fijian plantation labourers was nevertheless significant, especially in the early years of the plantation era.

3.1.1 The first plantations

As Britain had not yet established control in Fiji in the early days of the plantation era, setting up a plantation was very similar to setting up a sandalwood or bêche-de-mer station. Once a suitable location was found, it was necessary to negotiate with the local chief for the purchase of the land and for labourers to clear it and build houses (see Forbes 1875:97). The situation with regard to plantation labour was summed up in a contemporary guide for prospective planters (Pechey 1870:45): "The first settlers and planters in Fiji had no occasion to look further than their own islands for labour to any extent."

One of the early plantations belonged to the Ryder brothers from New Zealand. In 1864, they purchased Mago island (in the Lau group) from long-term resident A. Hennings. The reminiscences of G.L. Ryder (Ryder n.d.) give us a good idea of what starting a plantation was like. In order to get labourers, the new owners called a meeting with the residents of the four villages on the island. It was agreed that five men from each village would come each week to work on the plantation in exchange for food and wages. But this agreement soon fell through as the men became tired of the work. Later, Tui Cakau, the chief of the area, arrived on the island and was persuaded to help. He ordered his men along with the Mago men, approximately 60 in all, to complete the job of clearing the land.

3.1.2 Recruiting of Fijian labourers

In many cases the local Fijian population could not provide enough labour for the plantation, and the planter had to look elsewhere. This was especially true on islands such as Taveuni, where there were many plantations and very few Fijian villages (Pechey 1870:47). When Ma'afu, the Tongan chief who controlled the Lau group, removed all the people of Mago to Vanuabalavu, the Ryder brothers went to Ra (northeastern Vitilevu) to recruit labourers (Ryder n.d.). They were obtained by giving a gift to the chief of the area and offering a parcel of trade for each man provided. Thus, a good number of the
Fijian labourers went not of their own free will, but at the command of the chief.

Records of the number of Fijian contract labourers are scarce. One source is the *Fiji Times* shipping reports from late 1869 (when the newspaper began publication) and the early 1870s. These reports announce the arrival at Levuka (the old capital and main port) of ships carrying Fijian labourers, most often giving the number and the place where they were recruited. The reports show that over twenty ships were active in recruiting labourers, especially from Ra and the Yasawa group. The recruits were taken to Levuka to be distributed to plantations by agents such as Cripps and Moeller. Figures for 1871-1873 are given in Table 3-1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of ships</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of voyages</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of origin</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ra</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasawas</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewa</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>1130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Fiji Times* shipping reports

3.1.3 Use of the Fijian language

The expenses for a newcomer to set up a cotton plantation in 1868 were given by a writer in *The Fiji Weekly News and Planters Journal* as shown in Table 3-2 (adapted from Wall 1923:12): Note that the services of an interpreter were considered necessary for the newcomer, as Fijian was the language used to run the early plantations. For example, the Ryder brothers first used a long-term resident of the islands named Kamradt as their interpreter (Ryder n.d.). Later they employed Stephen Loomer to help them with recruiting because "he was conversant in the Fiji language". They also hired William Croxon, "who resided many years among the natives and spoke Fijian fluently", to act as interpreter and help with plantation work.
Table 3-2: Cost of establishing a plantation in 1868

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500 acres of land at 6/ (purchase)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Fijians at £ 1 each, expenses</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wages at £ 2 per annum</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food at £ 1 per annum</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knives (clearing)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spades</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interpreter per annum</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fijian chief (to work labour)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotton gin and horse-power</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doors, windows, and flooring for house</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boat</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sundries</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>582</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The general feeling of the time was that to get the most out of the Fijian labour, a planter had to know the Fijian language and customs. As pointed out by Pechey (1870:47):

So much depends on the white man himself—both on his character...and his knowledge of the language and of the native habits, customs, and modes of thought, and all that is included in their language under the term vaka viti [Fiji style].

Another contemporary writer (Britton 1870:14) says that although it is usually no problem to control Fijian labourers, "the position of those, however, who know little of the language, is not so simple". Thus, when yet another contemporary writer (Moss 1870:7) arrived in Fiji, he found his brother-in-law, who was just starting up a plantation, "hard at work acquiring the language".

According to some reports, the planters' families also learned the language. For example, Britton (1870:62) writes:

European children of ten years talk it fluently in a few months. Those who are born among the natives can only be made to speak English with the greatest difficulty, as the Fijian words, nearly all of which have vowel terminations, are so much easier to pronounce. On going to the house of a European planter who has only been in the country a year, it is a very common occurrence to see him send for his son or daughter of six years to interpret between him and the natives.

Another author (Ivimey 1882:556) visiting a planter and his family comments, "Odd to say, the little ones spoke nothing but Fijian,
although fair as any European." What is noteworthy in these observations (besides Ivimey's apparent view on inherited language ability) is that there must have been significant interaction between Europeans and Fijians on some plantations.

3.1.4 Fijian labour after cession

After the cession of Fiji to Great Britain in 1874, the recruiting of Fijian labour was discouraged by the government. The Native Taxation Scheme required Fijians to pay taxes in kind; therefore, they had to stay at their villages to grow the required produce. Various Native Ordinances also restricted recruiting. For example, Native Ordinance No. 11 of 1883 required recruiters to have a licence and restricted them to their home or adjacent districts (Scarr 1980:86). Even so, substantial numbers of Fijians continued to work as contract labourers. For example, in Taveuni alone in 1876 there were 800 Fijian labourers
as opposed to 200 foreign ones (CSO 1688/1876). And in 1878, it was reported to the Colonial Secretary that "the supply of Fijian labour is greater than the demand in Levuka at present" (CSO 294/1878).

Again detailed figures are not available except for a few years, such as 1875 to 1878 shown in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3: Fijian labourers employed by Europeans, 1875-78

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>place of recruitment</th>
<th>1875</th>
<th>1876</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tailevu</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadavu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanualevu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadi</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasawas</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levuka</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>604</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>1249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on CSO 239/1879
Note: The figures for Ra are included in Tailevu or Ba.

The vast majority of these labourers worked in Taveuni, Vanualevu, Rewa, Lau, and Lomaiviti, outside their home areas and among Fijians who spoke different dialects. Therefore, the variety of Fijian that was used on the plantations was most probably the language of wider communication, Standard Fijian.

Figures are even more sketchy for later years, but it is clear that there were still significant numbers of Fijians employed on plantations. For example, in 1893 there were 293 Fijians employed on five plantations in the Ra and Rewa districts (CSO 3046/1893). In 1896 there were 154 employed in Macuata (CSO 2705/1896) and 127 in Rewa (CSO 4243/1896). And in 1898 there were 197 employed in Navua (CSO 579/1898) and 111 in Rewa (CSO 1643/1898).

To jump ahead slightly, reports also show that Fijians, imported Pacific Islanders, and Indians were frequently employed on the same plantations, especially the large company-owned sugarcane estates. For example, from January to June 1882, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company
(CSR) estate in Nausori employed an average of 99 Fijians, 178 Pacific Islanders, and 44 Indians (CSO 2185/1882). The Deuba Estate Sugar Company employed 30 Fijians, 58 Pacific Islanders, and 199 Indians (CSO 1029/1887). As late as 1901, there were a total of 304 Fijians employed on three CSR estates in the Lautoka area (CSO 682/1901).

It is true, however, that by the mid 1880s, the number of Fijian labourers was only a fraction of the number of imported ones. Nevertheless, for the first ten years of the plantation era, Fijians were the most important labour force, and for at least 15 years Fijians working alongside imported labourers was the rule rather than the exception. Furthermore, contact between Fijians and other groups on the plantations continued throughout the plantation era, and was an important influence on the plantation languages.

3.2 LABOURERS FROM OTHER PACIFIC ISLANDS

Although many Fijian plantation labourers were available, the supply was not always steady, and planters often found themselves short of labour. Furthermore, some plantation owners wanted labourers they could have more control over, with contracts longer than the twelve months the Fijians would accept. Other Pacific Islanders already employed in Fiji in the early 1860s were found to be good workers—for example, ten Vanuatu men stranded by a sandalwood ship, engaged to work on a plantation on Wakaya (Derrick 1950:169), and some Rotumans on Taveuni (Seemann 1862:36). Berthold Seemann (mentioned in section 2.3.2.1) reports the advantages of imported rather than local labour (1862:413):

Labour can be had to some extent in Fiji, but Polynesians [i.e. Pacific Islanders] will work much better if they are not in their own islands; and hands might be had by running over to Rotuma, Potuma, Were, Ratonga and the New Hebrides; indeed some of the best working men and women I saw in Fiji were obtained from these sources.

By the mid 1860s Fiji planters had also discovered these advantages and started importing large numbers of labourers from other Pacific Islands.
3.2.1 The Pacific Labour Trade

In 1864 the first ship was commissioned to bring labourers to Fiji from the Pacific Islands (although some may have been brought in unofficially before). Fiji, then, joined Queensland, Samoa, and New Caledonia in the labour trade in the southwest Pacific. As the Pacific labour trade has been described in detail by several authors (Parnaby 1964; Legge 1958; Corris 1973; Scarr 1967, 1973, 1980), only a brief outline is given here.

Basically, the labour trade worked as follows: Labour recruiters went to island groups where there was no established European administration: mainly the areas now known as Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, Kiribati (formerly the Gilbert Islands), and the New Guinea Islands region of the present country of Papua New Guinea. Officially, Fiji labourers were supposed to be engaged for a certain period (three to five years), be provided with food and clothing (similar to Fijians'), receive a wage (two to three pounds per year), and get return passage at the end of their contracts. Planters were required to pay the passage money for the labourers engaged: three to five pounds for men from Vanuatu and the Solomons, eight to ten pounds for men from Kiribati.

But the recruits were not always fully aware of the conditions of this agreement, especially in the early days of the labour trade. First, there was the language barrier (described in more detail in section 3.3). Even if the recruiter wanted to explain the conditions to prospective recruits, the many languages of the recruiting areas and the lack of interpreters made communication difficult. Second, in the early years of the trade many labourers were misled into signing up by their chiefs or by the recruiters, as both were often paid for each recruit obtained. Furthermore, abduction, or "blackbirding", of unsuspecting islanders sometimes took place. The misunderstanding, greed, and deceit of the labour trade frequently led to violence, and many recruiters as well as islanders were murdered.

Widespread criticism of the labour trade, especially from missionaries in Vanuatu, was publicised in the Australian press in the late 1860s and early 1870s. The tales of blackbirding and various atrocities found their way back to Britain, and the labour trade became a hot issue in Parliament, especially as British subjects were
involved. The government was under pressure to annex Fiji in order to exert some control on the labour trade. In response, various bills were proposed, and the British Consul in Levuka made several regulations which could not be enforced. The Cakobau government, formed in 1871, also passed some unenforceable regulations.

In 1873 there were at least 1400 British subjects in Fiji (Parnaby 1956:56). A large number of these had come to be planters in the "cotton rush" of the 1860s. But by the mid 1870s when cotton prices had dropped, planters were unable to pay the wages and return passages of over 3000 labourers whose contracts had expired. Britain had to step in; Cakobau's offer of cession was accepted, and in 1874 Fiji became a British colony.

After annexation two ordinances were passed to control the labour trade for Fiji. Under the first, all applications for labour had to be made through the government which arranged for recruiting to be done by the masters of the ships under the supervision of government agents. The second restricted the hours of labour on the plantations, provided for medical care, and set the wages at three pounds per year. This put the Fiji recruiters at a disadvantage because the Queensland wage was six pounds. In addition, the new governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, decided to move away from Pacific labour towards Indian labour, in which the government could have even more control.

Thus, after reaching its peak in the early 1880s, the Fiji labour trade suddenly declined because of both competition and government control. Nevertheless, recruiting of Pacific Islanders for Fiji continued for another quarter century.

3.2.2 Language used for labour recruiting

The linguistic diversity of areas in which the recruiters worked has been mentioned in section 2.1 and is discussed further in section 3.3 below. In short, there was no way the recruiters could learn all the languages of the recruits, and some language of wider communication had to be used if any communication was to take place.

Such a language did exist, at least in Vanuatu and the Loyalty Islands, where most of the recruiting took place in the early years of the trade. This was Sandalwood English, which had become the lingua franca during the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades (see section
2.3.2.1). As pointed out by Shineberg (1967:193), "contract labour for Europeans was a thing familiar to many of the inhabitants of the sandalwood islands before the Queensland and Fiji 'labour trade' got underway". Therefore, many recruits were probably familiar with the Sandalwood English which had developed from South Seas Jargon, and it became the lingua franca of the labour trade as well. Used in the trade and on plantations, Sandalwood English had developed further by the 1870s into a stable pidgin: early Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE) (Clark 1979:39), also known as "Beach-la-mar".

The many contemporary books and articles written about the controversial labour trade contain references to "English" used for communication between recruiters and Pacific Islanders. But as pointed out in section 2.3.2.1, writers usually did not distinguish between varieties of English. Some accounts say the islanders spoke English, or even good English, but when samples are given, they are clearly a form of early MPE. For example, in 1877 the government agent on the Bobtail Nag (Giles 1968:41n) describes a Tanna man who "announced in very good English" that he wanted to go to Queensland. On being asked who should receive the trade items given for signing up, he said:

(1) Me no care, me no belong this fellow place, man here no good—rogue.

The use of "fellow" as a suffix to a pre-nominal modifier in addition to other SSJ features mentioned in section 2.3.2.1 identify this "very good English" as MPE. These features are among the 30 given by Clark (1979:10-11) in his comparative study of varieties of MPE. They are listed here in Table 3-4 (the forms in one modern version of MPE, Tok Pisin, are also included).

It is clear that some recruiters also spoke to the islanders in MPE, as in the following quoted speech of the recruiter (first mate) on the Bobtail Nag (Giles 1968:41n):

(2) Yes, suppose you let him some boy go along Queensland, we buy him altogether [yams], my word, good fellow. Very good, you let him boy come, good fellow place, --, he no work along a sugar, you savey, he work along o' bully-me-cow..."

This example includes additional features from Clark's list: "along"
Table 3-4: Clark’s (1979:10-18) comparative features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English origin</th>
<th>function, gloss</th>
<th>Tok Pisin form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all (1)</td>
<td>3rd person plural pronoun</td>
<td>ol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all (2)</td>
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<td>prenominal quantifier: 'all'</td>
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<td>prep: 'with (comitative)'</td>
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<td>along (2)</td>
<td>prep: 'to, at, from, with'</td>
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<td>past or anterior tense marker</td>
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<td>verb: 'eat', noun: 'food'</td>
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<td>verb: 'strike, beat'</td>
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<td>man bush</td>
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<td>plenty</td>
<td>pre-nominal quantifier: 'many, much'</td>
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<td>verb: 'know, understand'</td>
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<td>conjunction: 'if'</td>
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<tr>
<td>too much</td>
<td>adverb: 'very, very much'</td>
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<td>what name</td>
<td>'what, which'</td>
<td>wanem</td>
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<td>where</td>
<td>relative clause marker</td>
<td>we</td>
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<td>you me</td>
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used as a locative preposition 'to' or 'at', "altogether" meaning 'all', "savey" meaning 'know', and "bully-me-cow" [bullamacow] 'cattle'.

Evidence also exists to show that MPE was used in recruiting specifically for Fiji. The Government Agent on the Oamaru writes: "While I had an Interpreter I told him to inform intending Recruits and when I had not, I done the best I could in broken English."¹ Here are some examples relating to early recruiting specifically for Fiji. The first are from testimony given in 1869 by recruits who arrived in Fiji on the schooner Daphne². Some potential recruits say:

¹Journal no. 39, E.Reilly, 1 July to 6 December, 1882, NAF
²GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468, incl.4 in no.38
(3) No, no like go ship.

But the captain of the Daphne, Lemoin, replies:

(4) No, no, you stop ship, by and by you come back...

Later Charlie, "a native of Amota Lava [Mota Lava] who speaks English" (and a well known recruiter in the labour trade) says:

(5) You no go long way, you stop Tanna, by and by you come back.

But once in Tanna, Lemoin says:

(6) Plenty men here, you go Fiji.

John B. Thurston also used English with MPE features to recruit labourers for Fiji during a voyage to Vanuatu, as shown in the following examples from his journal (Thurston 1871). He asks one man (p.16):

(7) Well, what name you got?

Later he says of one prospective recruit (p.53):

(8) Learning that Taveuni was a place "close up salt water" he appeared to be pleased, but he declined himself to visit the Garden of Fiji.

Forbes (1875:251) gives the following more detailed account:

Sometimes curious dialogues, unintelligible as the pigeon English of Shanghai to the uninitiated, take place between the trader and the native, thus:--
Loquitur Trader: "You likee come work Fiji?"

Native (laughing): "Me no savy" (Don't know).

T.: "Fiji very good. Plenty kai-kai bull-y-macow (beef to eat); big fellow yam, big fellow cocoa-nut; very good Fiji."

N.: "How many yam (years)? Too muchy work Fiji; no good."

T. (holding up four fingers): "S'pose you come by-and-by? Tanna man plenty trade, muskets, powder, plenty sulu (waist cloth)."

N.: Me go; very good. Small fellow ship-a-ship no likee; me go next time."

These examples include additional features of MPE from Clark's list: "stop" meaning 'be (at a place)', "by and by" used as a future tense marker, "plenty" used as a quantifier 'many, much', "what name" for 'what', "got" for 'have', and "kai-kai" meaning 'food'. Other features not listed by Clark are "close up" meaning 'near', "salt water" used for 'sea', and "sulu" meaning 'waistcloth, sarong'. This last item is actually from the Fijian isulu 'cloth', but it was commonly used in MPE (see Churchill 1911:50).

3.2.3 Origins of Pacific Islands labourers in Fiji

Between 1865 and 1911, approximately 27,027 Pacific Islanders became indentured labourers in Fiji. This number was worked out by demographic research done in conjunction with this study, as detailed in Appendix B. These men and women came from nearly every island of Vanuatu, the Solomons, the New Guinea Islands region, and Kiribati (see Maps 4 to 7). The numbers from each of these areas are shown by year in Table 3-4. The numbers from each island (grouped into modern administrative divisions) are shown for twelve-year periods in Tables 3-6 to 3-9.

More than half of them came from Vanuatu, which was the most important recruiting area in early years of the trade. But in the later years, the Solomon Islands became the major area, providing over 90 per cent of the labourers in the last dozen years of the trade.

The island which was by far the most important source of labour was Malaita in the Solomons (Table 3-7). It provided over 5000 labourers, nearly a fifth of the total. In the final years of the labour trade, more than 80 per cent of the labourers came from Malaita.
Table 3-5: Origins of Pacific Island Labourers in Fiji

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<th>N.Guinea Islands</th>
<th>Kiribati</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mota</td>
<td>11 0.1</td>
<td>11 --</td>
<td>11 --</td>
<td>11 --</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valua</td>
<td>45 0.3</td>
<td>2 0.1</td>
<td>47 0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ureparapara</td>
<td>9 0.1</td>
<td>3 0.2</td>
<td>13 0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>64 0.7</td>
<td>64 0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torres</td>
<td>16 0.1</td>
<td>3 0.2</td>
<td>19 0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: NORTHERN</td>
<td>238 2.5</td>
<td>3181 23.2</td>
<td>79 4.0</td>
<td>3699 12.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISLAND UNKNOWN</td>
<td>5227 54.2</td>
<td>1 --</td>
<td></td>
<td>5228 19.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7352 76.2</td>
<td>16334 46.2</td>
<td>356 21.0</td>
<td>14198 52.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: In 1869, 211 were marked "Tanna and New Hebrides". In 1870, no figures were available for 2 voyages, 1 to Tanna, 1 to New Hebrides.
Table 3-7: Origins of Labourers from the Solomon Islands: islands and provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Islands/Provinces</th>
<th>1864-1876</th>
<th>1876-1877</th>
<th>1877-1888</th>
<th>1888-1899</th>
<th>1899-1900</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 1875</td>
<td>% 1876</td>
<td>% 1877</td>
<td>% 1877</td>
<td>% 1877</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duff</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikopia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: TEMOTU</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makira</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulawa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uki</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Catalina</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: MAKIRA</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: GUADALCANAL</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>184.10%</td>
<td>138.7%</td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaita</td>
<td>2894</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>826.48%</td>
<td>1593.81%</td>
<td>5113</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dai</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontong Java</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: MALAITA</td>
<td>2727</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>826.48%</td>
<td>1596.81%</td>
<td>5149</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gela</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellona</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: CENTRAL</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: ISABEL</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Georgia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranongga</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vella Lavella</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mono</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choiseul</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: WESTERN</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER/UNKNOWN</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT:</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>4788</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
<td>6288</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Figures for 1870-71 most probably included the North Solomons. The 1 Other arrived in 1907, born in Queensland: father from Malakula, mother from Ambae.
Table 3-8: Origins of labourers from the New Guinea Islands: islands and provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1864-1875 %</th>
<th>1876-1877 %</th>
<th>1888-1899 %</th>
<th>1900-1911 %</th>
<th>TOTAL %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bougainville</td>
<td>112 0.8</td>
<td>307 1.9</td>
<td>60 0.2</td>
<td>31 0.1</td>
<td>112 0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buka</td>
<td>507 3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>307 1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nissan</td>
<td>60 0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60 0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilinailau</td>
<td>31 0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: NORTH SOLOMONS</td>
<td>710 5.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>710 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Ireland</td>
<td>393 2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>393 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hanover</td>
<td>111 0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>111 0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simberi</td>
<td>36 0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lihir</td>
<td>8 0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: NEW IRELAND</td>
<td>548 4.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>548 2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Britain</td>
<td>311 2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>311 1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke of York</td>
<td>33 0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watom</td>
<td>16 0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: E. NEW BRITAIN</td>
<td>360 2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>360 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1618 11.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1618 6.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Some North Solomons figures for 1870-71 are most probably with Solomon Islands figures.

MAP 6: New Guinea Islands
Table 3-9: Origins of Kiribati labourers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1864-1875 %</th>
<th>1876-1877 %</th>
<th>1888-1899 %</th>
<th>1900-1911 %</th>
<th>TOTAL %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arorae</td>
<td>98 0.7</td>
<td>54 3.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>152 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamana</td>
<td>25 0.2</td>
<td>7 0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onotoa</td>
<td>103 0.8</td>
<td>13 0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>116 0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikunau</td>
<td>106 0.8</td>
<td>37 2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>143 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beru</td>
<td>332 2.4</td>
<td>61 3.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>393 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabiteuea</td>
<td>164 1.2</td>
<td>66 3.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>230 0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonouti</td>
<td>4 --</td>
<td>20 1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abemama</td>
<td>20 0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiana</td>
<td>52 0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52 0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaiang</td>
<td>9 0.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean</td>
<td>37 0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISLAND UNKNOWN</td>
<td>1161 12.0</td>
<td>29 0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1190 4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1161 12.0</td>
<td>979 7.1</td>
<td>258 15.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2398 8.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: no figures available for 5 voyages to Kiribati in 1870

---

MAP 7: KIRIBATI

from Maude 1968:237
Figures with regard to the number of women labourers are available only from 1876 to 1911. As can be seen in Table 3-9, only 8 per cent of the total labourers during this period were women (see Tables B-4 to B-7 in Appendix B for more details).

### Table 3-10: Percentage of women labourers, 1876-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>6287</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>6846</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomons</td>
<td>7432</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>7680</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Guinea Islands</td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>1237</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>15987</td>
<td>1394</td>
<td>17381</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only area from which large percentages of women labourers came was Kiribati. In fact, although Kiribati provided only 7.1 per cent of the total labourers from 1876 to 1911, it provided 36.4 per cent of the women.

It should be noted here that the names used in the past in Fiji to refer to the various groups of Pacific Islanders are sometimes confusing to the modern reader. For example, it was common to refer to Pacific Islanders in general as "Polynesians" (as in the above quotation from Seemann). Thus, Fiji government reports on "Polynesian immigration" continued into the twentieth century even though nearly all the immigrants were Melanesians. Furthermore, there were many historical misnomers concerning the origins of the labourers. Kiribati was known as Tokelau (with varying spelling) or the Line Islands (both are actually separate island groups) or as the Kingsmill Group (the old name of the southern islands of Kiribati). All Micronesian or Polynesian "Polynesians" were called Line Islanders or Kai Tokelau (kai meaning 'inhabitant of' in Fijian). In the early days, labourers from Vanuatu were called "Tanna men" or "Sandwich men" (the old name for Efate), referring to the two islands from which most originated. Later, all Melanesians were often grouped together as Solomon Islanders or Kai Solomone. In addition, most of the islands, like Efate, had names or spellings different from those used today. A list of these is given in Table B-3 in Appendix B.
3.3 LANGUAGES OF THE ISLANDS LABOURERS

The communication problems caused by the linguistic diversity of the labour recruiting areas have been mentioned above. It appears that these problems were imported to Fiji along with the labourers, as summed up in the "Report on Polynesian Immigration for 1882" (in CSO 2766/1903):

Polynesian immigration being confined within such wide boundaries, and every group of islands--sometimes most islands within each group--having a different language, and even in one island inhabitants of one portion being unable to communicate intelligibly with the inhabitants of another, the difficulties with regard to interpretation are very great. Large numbers of Polynesians arrive annually in depot with whom no communication can be held, with the exception of the use of signs or a word or two of broken English or Fijian...It is a question open to the gravest doubts, therefore, whether a considerable proportion of the immigrants annually introduced have any idea, when passed as recruits, what the nature and duration of the services are that will be required of them in this Colony...

This section looks at the linguistic diversity which was brought to Fiji and at how communication eventually did take place.

3.3.1 Languages of the southwest Pacific

Linguistic knowledge of the southwest Pacific region is still incomplete today, but the most recent studies (Tryon 1976; Tryon and Hackman 1983; Wurm and Hattori 1981; Ross 1982a, 1982b) show approximately 180 distinct languages are spoken in the islands from which labourers came to Fiji. Both Austronesian and Papuan (sometimes called Non-Austronesian) languages are included. The Austronesian languages represent over a dozen genetic divisions from five separate linguistic areas of Oceania. The Papuan languages represent four different stocks from the East Papuan Phylum. These are all listed in Table 3-11.

As indicated in the above statement from the Polynesian Immigration Report, nearly all islands have more than one language. The largest are the most diverse, such as Santo and Malakula with over 25 languages each. Only the smallest islands have only one language, such as Paama, Merelava, Mono, and Watom. The only island group which is the exception to the rule of linguistic diversity is Kiribati, where one language, Gilbertese, is spoken throughout.

Since we know what islands the Pacific Islands labourers came
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>language group</th>
<th>no. languages</th>
<th>islands where spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AUSTRONESEAN LANGUAGES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vanuatu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Vanuatu:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANNA GROUP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERROMANGA GROUP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Erromanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North and Central Vanuatu:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH AND CENTRAL VANUATU GROUP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Vanuatu Subgroup</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Efate, Nguna, Tongoa, Emae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi Subgroup</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Epi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula Coastal Subgroup</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Malakula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Santo Subgroup</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Santo, Malo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula INTERIOR GROUP</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Malakula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST SANTO GROUP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Santo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Solomon Islands</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SoutheastSolomons:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALAITA-SAN CRISTOBAL GROUP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Cristobal Subgroup</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Makira, S.Ana, S.Catalina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaita Subgroup</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Malaita, Uki, Ulawa, Dai, Guadalcanal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GELA-GUADALCANAL GROUP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalcanal Subgroup</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Guadalcanal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gela Subgroup</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugotu Subgroup level isolate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Isabel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Solomons:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISABEL GROUP</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Isabel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHOISEUL GROUP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Choiseul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Guinea Islands</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOUGAINVILLE GROUP</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bougainville, Euka, Nissan, Kilinaialau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW IRELAND TOLAI-GROUP</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>New Ireland, Lihir, Watom, New Britain, Duke of York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Micronesia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIRIBATI (Gilbertese)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>all islands in Kiribati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polynesia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLYNESIAN OUTLIERS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Emae, Futuna, Efate Bellona, Ontong Java</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAPUAN LANGUAGES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST PAPUAN PHYLUM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YELE-SOLOMONS NEW BRITAIN SUBPHYLUM-LEVEL SUPERSTOCK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yele-Solomons Stock</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Savo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Britain Stock</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>New Ireland, New Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOUGAINVILLE SUBPHYLUM LEVEL SUPERSTOCK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bougainville Stock</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bougainville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bougainville Stock</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bougainville</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
from, it is possible to determine the number speakers of Gilbertese and languages spoken on the smaller islands. However, it is difficult to estimate the numbers of speakers of the languages spoken on the larger islands without knowing more precisely from where the labourers originated. It is likely that the 2398 labourers who came from Kiribati between 1868 and 1895 formed by far the largest linguistic group. In the early years of the labour trade, before 1875, the majority came from Tanna, and it is possible that some or all of the five Tanna languages had over a thousand speakers in Fiji. But from 1876 to 1911, over 5000 labourers, approximately 30 per cent of the total, came from Malaita. Therefore, especially after 1895 (the last year labourers were imported from Kiribati) the languages of Malaita must have been the most important.

3.3.2 The languages of Malaita

Because of the importance of the Malaitan languages brought to Fiji, more detailed information is given here. (See also Chapter 10.)

3.3.2.1 The current language situation on Malaita

Simons (1980, 1982) distinguishes between twelve "languages" spoken on Malaita based on "the language groups most generally recognized by Malaitans and in previous literature" (1980:3). These are given in Table 3-12 along with population estimates from the 1976 census:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To'abaita (TOB)</td>
<td>(5,226)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baelelea (BLE)</td>
<td>(4,252)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baegu (BGU)</td>
<td>(2,277)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fataleka (FTK)</td>
<td>(2,487)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lau (LAU)</td>
<td>(7,386)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara'ae (KWR)</td>
<td>(13,214)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gula'alaa (GUL)</td>
<td>(300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langalanga (LNG)</td>
<td>(3,066)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwoio (KWO)</td>
<td>(6,773)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorio (DOR)</td>
<td>(571)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Are'are (ARE)</td>
<td>(7,225)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa'a (SAA)</td>
<td>(4,445)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Simons points out, however, that if the criterion of mutual
Intelligibility were applied, there would be fewer languages, especially in the north where To'abaita, Baelelea, Baegu, Fataleka, and Lau are all mutually intelligible to some extent. This fact has been pointed out by several authors (e.g. Ivens 1930:27), and in earlier studies, these five varieties have been grouped together as one language. It was called Lauic (Murdock 1964:120), and the encompassing language area referred to as Bali (Russell 1950:1; Ross 1973:49).

Simons (1980:3) also notes that if we recognize the distinct speech-culture groups that Malaitans themselves identify, there would be even more languages. The languages of small groups of this type have been called "communalects" in the Fiji context (see section 2.1), but the term could equally apply to Malaita.

In the most recent linguistic survey, Tryon and Hackman (1983) use the criterion of generally acknowledged mutual intelligibility to group together To'abaita, Baelelea, Baegu, and Fataleka as "major dialects or sublanguages" (p.27) of one language, North Malaitan. They also apply the criterion of sharing more than 80 per cent cognate basic vocabulary. The authors point out, however, that by applying the same criteria, Lau could have also been included in North Malaitan, but following tradition, it was considered a separate language (p.27n). For convenience in this work, "North Malaitan dialects" will include Lau (which is also spoken in a small coastal area of South Malaita), and North Malaitan (NM) will refer to the linguistic system of which the dialects are subsystems.

Also in contrast to Simons, Tryon and Hackman group Sa'a along with the Ulawa and Uki Ni Masi dialects as South Malaitan. In addition, they use the name Kwai for Gula'ala. Finally, they include another small language group, Oroha. The languages and major dialects of Malaita then, according to Tryon and Hackman (but using Simons' spelling), are shown on Map 8.

3.3.2.2 Malaitan languages brought to Fiji

As mentioned above, it is difficult to determine the numbers of speakers of the different languages brought to Fiji from a large island when it is not known exactly where on the island the labourers came from. However, there is some information available on more precise
origins of at least some of the Malaita labourers. It comes from the contract lists and lists of returned labourers for a recruiting voyage of the Rotuma in 1899 and two voyages of the Clansman in 1908 and 1910, found in the journals of the government agents. These lists include the exact places where the labourers were recruited or returned. Matching the place with the language spoken in the area gives us some idea of the languages the labourers spoke. This information is summarized in Table 3-13.

According to this information, all the languages were probably represented with the exception of the most minor, Oroha. The North Malaitan dialects had the most speakers, especially Lau. The next largest group was Kwaio. These figures approximate the proportions of

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3 Journals number 64, 65, and 66, F. Otway and W.R. Bell, National Archives of Fiji
4 The figures can only be approximate because after the mid 1880s, most recruits were "bush people" who spoke dialects other than Lau. These people came down to the coast (i.e. to Lau-speaking areas) in order to sign up when a recruiting ship arrived (Corris 1973:32-36).
Table 3-13: Languages of some Malaitan labourers, 1899-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>place</th>
<th>recruits</th>
<th>returns</th>
<th>lang/dialect</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sio Bay</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>NM/Lau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uraisi Cove</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>NM/Lau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taa Cove</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NM/Lau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Adam</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>NM/Lau</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Astrolabe</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>NM/To'abaita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biata'ama Harbour</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>NM/To'abaita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coleridge Bay</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NM/Baegu,Fataleka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwai Bay</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kwai</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiu Bay</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kwa'ae</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auki</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kwa'ae</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alite Bay</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Langalanga</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bina</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kwaio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Olomburi</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kwaio</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uru Bay</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kwaio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su’u Bay</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dori'o</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baunani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Dori'o</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takataka Harbour</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'Are'are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’a</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>South Malaita</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su’upeine</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>South Malaita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>South Malaita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

descendants of labourers from each language area found in Fiji today (see Chapter 10).

3.3.3 Language use in Fiji

3.3.3.1 Use of imported Islands languages

Many of the labourers, especially those belonging to the larger language groups, continued to use their native languages in Fiji. For example, a Nadi planter, G.H.W. Markham describes in his diary (n.d.) a Christmas picnic in 1871 where labourers from neighbouring plantations were brought together. He notes: "There were twelve languages exclusive of English spoken on the beach on this occasion."

Some labourers managed to survive without learning any other language. This was possible, first of all, because recruiting did sometimes take place with the help of an interpreter, particularly in areas where recruiting was heavy, such as Malaita (CSO 2648/1884). Second, the policy on the plantations in Fiji was to allow labourers to live and work together with their wantoks\(^5\), or at least with those from the same island (Forbes 1875:60-62; Gordon-Cumming 1882:333).

\(^5\)wantok is a useful term from MPE meaning 'speaker of the same language'. 
Evidence of these monolingual labourers is found in reports of court cases and magisterial inquiries where there is often mention of one who is "unable to speak any but his own language" (CSO 1936/1883). In such cases, interpreters were often used. For example, interpreters for languages from the following areas were used for various official enquiries: Efate⁶; Malaita (CSO 1936/1883), Maewo (CSO 131/1887); and Kiribati (CSO 2032/1891). However, it was not always possible to obtain interpreters. In one such case, interpreters for Malakula, Duke of York, and New Britain languages were requested for a hearing of the Supreme Court, but the request was received too late to be fulfilled (CSO 111/1883).

3.3.3.2 Wider communication

Although labourers who knew only their native languages could survive in Fiji, they were a small minority because of the necessity of working and living with speakers of other languages. First of all, communication was necessary with Europeans not only in the courts but more importantly on the plantations. It was impossible for the planters or overseers to know all the languages of their labourers, and lack of communication (as in the labour trade) often led to violence. One incident on a plantation in Dreketi was investigated by the Agent General of Immigration (CSO 502/1882):

It appears that the immigrants in question could not communicate with their overseer for some time after their arrival on the estate as they know no language but their own Malayta dialect. Mr Thomas Tireman [the overseer] was unacquainted with the Malayta language. The labourers did not know what to do or how to discharge the duties required of them, and in default of arguments and explanations orally delivered, the argumentum baculinem [sic] [beating with a stick] was frequently applied.

Second, communication with Fijians must have taken place to some extent, since Fijians often worked on the same plantations as Pacific Islanders (see section 3.1.4) or lived in nearby villages. There is some difference of opinion, however, about how the two groups got along. Moss (1870:42) says of the imported labourers: "They do not associate with Fijians, whom they much dislike, and whom they accuse of

⁶GBPP 1871 XLVIII, c.983, incl.3 in no.5
being great thieves." Fights between the two groups were often reported in the Fiji Times (for example, FT 1/1/1887). One reporter, after describing the way a group of Pacific Islanders eagerly pursued a Fijian thief, says sarcastically that the incident "amply testifies to the dear love existing between the Polynesian and Fijian" (FT 13/12/1884).

On the other hand, later writers say that there was a lot of interaction between the two groups. Kuva ([1974]:11) writes that Solomon Islanders "were very friendly with Fijian workers, especially with neighbouring Fijian villagers who often invited them to meals, yagona [kava] sessions, taralalas [dances], and short term stays". Corris (1973:84) describes the following conditions:

Entertainments for the Melanesians employed on copra plantations in Fiji were few. They were limited, in fact, to dancing, gambling, and otherwise associating with the Fijians. These activities provided sufficient diversion, apparently, and the good relations the Melanesians enjoyed with the Fijians was one of the reasons why the copra planters found them contented and satisfactory employees.

Furthermore, because of the small percentage of women labourers, some of the men who had finished their contracts began living with Fijian women and did not return home, for example, two Solomon Islanders in Serua (CSO 4646/1899). Thus, at least some communication between Pacific Islanders and Fijians must have taken place.

In addition, by 1883 time-expired labourers from different islands had begun to live together in settlements around Fiji, such as one near Lomaloma which comprised 81 people from Malakula, Santo, Ambrym, Epi, Ambae, Pentecost, Guadalcanal, Malaita, Buka, and New Britain (CSO 3131/1883).

It is obvious then that with the plethora of languages spoken by the Pacific Islands labourers, some lingua franca must have been used for communication among different language groups and with Fijians and Europeans. It is also clear that this lingua franca was known by large numbers of the labourers. In fact, the interpreters mentioned above were in most cases Pacific Islanders who had spent some time in Fiji. Thus, although some labourers could exist without knowing the lingua franca of the courts and the plantations, this was possible only because of the existence of wantoks who did know it and who were
therefore able to act as interpreters. Labourers from the smaller linguistic groups probably had no choice but to learn the lingua franca.

What language was this lingua franca? There was no one imported Pacific Islands language which was neutral or spoken by large enough numbers to become the lingua franca among the labourers. And at any rate, the language chosen to run the plantations must have been one familiar to the European planters and overseers. From the above account, this language could have been either Fijian or a variety of English, such as Melanesian Pidgin English. Which was chosen as the plantation language is considered in the following chapters.
CHAPTER 4

THE PLANTATION LANGUAGE: ENGLISH OR FIJIAN?

After the arrival of large numbers of Pacific Islands labourers, there were two contenders for plantation language: Melanesian Pidgin English and Fijian. Fijian was already used on plantations with Fijian labourers before Pacific Islanders were imported, and it was known by the European planters and overseers. But Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE) was the language of the labour trade, used for recruiting for Fiji and known by many of the labourers. Furthermore, varieties of MPE became the plantation languages in Queensland (Dutton 1980), Samoa (Mühlhäuser 1978), and New Caledonia (Hollyman 1976) where labourers of similar origins were imported.

Writers who have mentioned the language situation on Fiji's plantation do not provide a very clear picture. For example, the pioneer of pidgin and creole studies, Hugo Schuchardt, writes (1980[1883]:16): "Several sources on Viti Levu have categorically denied the existence of an English Jargon." But he immediately goes on to say, "perhaps because they were thinking of the natives and not of the foreign workers". He also reports (p.17) that E.L. Layard, the British Consul in Noumea, "believes Beche-le-mar English is acquired in Queensland and on the Fiji Islands". In a later article (1980[1889]:24) Schuchardt mentions correspondence from the Imperial German Consular Administrator in Apia, Samoa, who says that Pidgin English "does exist among the workers recruited from Melanesia who live on the Samoan Islands, the Fiji Islands, and in Queensland". However, correspondence from the German Consul in Levuka reports "no Beche-la-mer exists there", and Lorimer Fison, a missionary in Fiji, says: "Natives of other islands who came to Fiji learned Fijian, not English" (p.28).

Accounts of other contemporary writers also disagree. For example, Moss (1870:42) says of the imported labourers, "They learn a
kind of broken English", whereas Anderson (1880:157-58) says of broken English (which appears from his description to be MPE), "In Fiji, this manner of conversing has not been introduced".

The situation with regard to conflicting accounts and lack of information has been summarized by Clark (1979:62n):

The Fijian labour trade is not only less well known in general [than the Queensland trade]; there is some uncertainty about the extent to which pidgin English was used there. It seems beyond question that many Melanesian labourers learned some form of Fijian rather than English as a general language of communication on the plantations...On the other hand there are numerous references to individuals who had learned 'English' in Fiji...or even 'a mixture of English and Fijian' (Wawn 1893:325). Some later writers identify this form of English as 'bêche-de-mer'...

This chapter clarifies the linguistic picture of Fiji's plantations by documenting to what extent Fijian and pidgin English were actually used, and goes on to explain how this picture differed from that of other island groups.

4.1 THE USE OF FIJIAN BY PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Evidence regarding Fijian spoken by the imported labourers comes from contemporary observations and reports of language use in four contexts: on the plantations, off the plantations (mainly in urban areas), in courts and magisterial inquiries, and back in the labourers' home islands.

4.1.1 Use of Fijian on the plantations

Most contemporary writers observe that the imported labourers were expected to learn Fijian, and Europeans were expected to use Fijian in dealing with them. According to Anderson (1880:93-4), the use of Fijian rather than English on the plantations was almost an unwritten policy. He says of Fijian:

...the language is by no means difficult to learn--a very convenient circumstance to the European settled on one of the islands, and to the traders especially, as well as to planters, whose 'boys' wherever they come from--the New Hebrides or elsewhere--require to understand Fijian rather than English...The present system of making Fijian the common language of the plantations is decidedly the best method.

An article in the Fiji Times on 16 July, 1870 announcing a Fijian language class at Levuka backs up his observation:
A class for the study of the Fijian language would be both practicable and useful. To many it could save the cost of an interpreter, and any planter who can speak the language of his Polynesian labourers has an immense advantage over one that can make himself understood by signs or through a native who knows as much of English as his employer knows of Fijian.

Thus, Forbes (1875:65) writes: "Any whiteman who has some experience in a plantation and can talk a smattering of the Fijian language is worth at least 50 pounds a year with rations and a house." And the following advertisement appears in the Fiji Times on 7 June, 1871:

WANTED, Two Overseers for cotton plantations—must have thorough knowledge of Fijian language. Apply P.J., at T. Warburton and Co.'s Levuka.

A letter from a plantation owner to the governor (CSO 1550/1887) shows that even later in the plantation era, after more than 20,000 Pacific Islanders had come to Fiji, it was still expected that the labourers learn Fijian:

While making every allowance for the ignorance of these men, it is impossible to pass over in silence or unnoticed instances of misbehaviour, where especially a Polynesian has been sufficiently long upon the estate, or in Fiji, to be acquainted with the Fijian language such at any rate as to prevent his plea of not understanding to hold good as an excuse.

Examples of Fijian spoken by labourers on plantations (and discussion of what variety they spoke) are given in Chapter 5. Also, some poetic proof that at least one Kiribati labourer spoke Fijian is given in Appendix C.

4.1.2 Use of Fijian off the plantations

Not all Pacific Islanders worked on plantations. Some were allotted to the colonial government or other employers, mainly in Levuka or Suva (see section 3.2.1). In addition many time-expired labourers stayed on in Fiji and went to these urban areas, where they were hired as company labourers or household servants.

1See, for example, Report on Polynesian Immigration, 1896 (Fiji Legislative Council Paper no.21 of 1897).
Information on languages used by these Pacific Islanders comes mainly from members of the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England who in the 1870s started taking an interest in the Melanesians in Fiji. By 1875 William Floyd had started a school for Pacific Islands labourers in Levuka (Hilliard 1978:106). The Bishop of Melanesia, J.R. Selwyn, visited Fiji in 1880. His visit is reported in the Fiji Times (19/6/1880), and the idea of starting a Sunday school for the labourers is mentioned. The Bishop is quoted as saying, "Let the teaching be done in Fijian, a language which nearly all of them know something of."

The Anglican Church Gazette of October, 1893 (p.161) contains an article by Reverend R.H. Codrington about a visit he made to Fiji. He describes the Melanesian Christians in Suva, mostly Malaitans: "Among themselves they talk their own tongue, in their intercourse with others they speak the current Fijian of the place..." Later, a notice in the Church Gazette no.1 (Diocese of Polynesia) of November, 1924 (p.13) says of the Pacific Islanders in Suva: "...Fijian is their adopted tongue."

Another observation of language use among urban Pacific Islanders is found in a police report concerning trouble with some Malakula men in Toorak, Suva (CSO 3497/1891):

...they all came outside toward Ratu Josua and myself in a threatening manner, the majority being armed with clubs, knives and axes, and calling out in Fijian: Mokuta [ 'kill!' ], Kitaka [ 'do it' ], Sauma [ 'retaliate' ], etc. and such like violent expressions.

4.1.3 Use of Fijian in the courts

In nearly all court cases and magisterial inquiries involving Pacific Islanders, their testimony was given in Fijian. The earliest example comes from 1869 when Fijian was used to examine a labourer from Efate in an inquiry into abuses in the labour trade. Other cases are from the Supreme Court criminal sessions (for example, 25/1879, 33/1894, 4/1898, 79/1914).

In most cases, the magistrates and other court officials knew Fijian or the testimony was translated into English by the court interpreter. Other interpreters were employed only in instances where

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2 GBPP 1869-69, XLIII, 408, incl. 3 in no. 28
Pacific Islanders knew only their native languages (see section 3.3.3.1) and not Fijian. This fact is evident in this request from the Attorney General's office for the General Criminal Sittings of the Supreme Court (CSO 2032/1891):

A competent Tokolau interpreter will be required as there are two cases on the calendar in which Tokolau are concerned who are unable to speak a word of Fijian.

These interpreters were nearly always wantoks who knew Fijian, and the testimony given in other languages was translated by them into Fijian for the court. One example is that of Mary, who translated the testimony of Kariss from Gilbertese into Fijian, which was in turn translated into English by the court interpreter, William Scott\(^3\). Interpretation in the other cases mentioned in section 3.3.3.1 was also given in Fijian.

Unfortunately (at least for this study) all records of court proceedings and inquiries were kept in Standard English. Thus, Fijian testimony was translated into English either by the court interpreter or directly by the clerk. However, the clerks very often included some words of Fijian in their records. For example, sometimes the exact Fijian word used by the witness was given, as in these examples:

1. They were accused of shamming and forced (cabeta) up and made to go to work. (CSO 2873/1885)

2. I decline (bese) to eat 'daliga' (fungus), it is bad. (CSO 1098/1884)

Other examples are found in section 4.2.1 below.

4.1.4 Use of Fijian by returned labourers

Perhaps the strongest evidence that Pacific Islands labourers spoke Fijian is that they took it with them when they returned to their home islands at the end of their contracts. Fijian was reportedly used by returned islanders for trading with visiting ships (Wawn 1893:199) and was known widely enough to be used by some government agents for recruiting (Giles 1968[1877]:19). There are reports of returned

\(^3\) GBPP 1874, XLV, c.938, incl.2.no7
labourers speaking Fijian on several islands in Vanuatu: Epi (FT 7/8/1880), Nguna (FT 9/8/1871), Tongoa (Fiji Gazette 18/12/1878), Malakula and Efate (CSO 1809/1883 in 117/1884). There are similar reports from a New Guinea Island, Buka (CSO 1153/1887), and from the Solomon Islands: Mono (Guppy 1887:53), Malaita (CSO 310/1884), Isabel (Woodford 1890:206), Gela (FT 2/10/1878), and Ontong Java4. In addition, there are reports of Kiribati people speaking Fijian not only in their home islands (off Tarawa), but also in Samoa, where some of them went to work after leaving Fiji5.

Several writers from Fiji proudly point to the fact that Fiji's returned labourers spoke Fijian rather than the pidgin English learned by the Queensland returns. Many considered MPE to be merely "bastardized English", full of swear words such as "bloody" and "bugger up". Thus, on a recruiting voyage in Vanuatu, John Thurston (1871:38) observes: "The men returned from Fiji have not learned to swear, which may be owing, perhaps, more to the fact that they learnt to talk Fijian instead of the language of their masters."

In a report of his visit to the Solomon Islands (Fiji Times 5/10/81), Captain Maxwell says: "Nearly everywhere in these islands one meets with men who speak English and who have served as labourers in Queensland or Fiji." However, in the same issue, a correspondent is quick to point out the difference between Queensland and Fiji returns:

It is evident that Captain Maxwell has not taken much pain to discriminate between labourers who have returned from Fiji and those coming from Queensland. Had he done so, he would have discovered that as all Polynesians so rapidly acquire a knowledge of the Fijian tongue, it is fast becoming the general interpreting medium throughout the South Pacific, our labourers speak and are spoken to in that language, with but a few exceptions, and therefore at least seventy-five percent of the men who return from Fiji cannot speak English—good, bad, or indifferent...The use of "very bad English" may be acquired by the Queensland men; not by those who come to Fiji and acquire the Fijian tongue, and not the English foul talk.

Many other reports also show that Fijian rather than English was not only brought back by the Fiji labourers but also used as a "general

4Australian Methodist Missionary Review 12/5:4 (1902)
5Inwards correspondence of the Western Pacific High Commission 4, 215 and 235 of 1895 (Thanks to Doug Munro for informing me of these reports.)
interpreting medium" or lingua franca in the islands. For example, Schuchart (1980[1889]:28) reports an 1883 account by Fison:

They took a barbaric Fijian [see Chapter 5], which is not at all mixed with English, back with them to their islands; it is this, not a bastard English, that bids to become the Lingua Franca of Western Polynesia...it already serves as a medium of communication both between natives and whites, and between islands of different mother tongues, and...it is spreading more and more.

A later report is from Thomson (1896:32):

Fijian has become the lingua franca of the Pacific, owing to the numbers of Melanesian labourers who served their time in Fiji and returned to their own islands.

Fijian was especially widespread in the south central Solomon Islands of Guadalcanal, Malaita, and Makira, which sent over 7000 labourers to Fiji. Ivens (1930:44) writes:

At one time during the earlier years of the Protectorate, when labourers were returning in large numbers to the Solomons, it would have been quite possible to have set up Fijian as the language of government in the Protectorate. Mr. Woodford, the first commissioner, did indeed consider the matter, being himself acquainted with Fijian, but no action was taken.

Woodford himself (1897:29) writes:

Many of the natives...have a conversational acquaintance with Fijian; children who have never been to Fiji will address a white stranger in that language. During my visit to Malaita...I found in nearly every instance that I was able to get on better with natives in Fijian than in English.

4.1.5 Conclusions

Fijian was the language of the plantations where Pacific Islanders were labourers. Not only was it used by Europeans to work their labourers, but also it was used by the labourers among themselves as a lingua franca. This is evident from its continued use by returned labourers. Finally, Fijian was generally used by Pacific Islanders in Fiji for communication with Europeans and Fijians both on and off the plantations.
4.2 A MIXTURE OF ENGLISH AND FIJIAN

Wawn (1893:75) reports that around 1875 at Malakula he came across "a returned labourer from Fiji, who could speak a mixture of English and Fijian". There are only a few examples of such a mixture spoken by labourers; however, there are many more examples of Europeans mixing Fijian in their English, as mentioned in section 2.3.2.2. This can be attributed to the fact that most Europeans in Fiji had some familiarity with the indigenous language.

4.2.1 Mixed Fijian and English spoken by labourers

Two quotations attributed to labourers, both returns, illustrate a mixture of Fijian and English. The first is from a returned labourer on Malo, reported in the journal of Captain J.G. Goodenough (1876:332):

A man who'd been in Fiji said there were lots of chiefs--

(3) plenty turanga

The labourer could also have been referring to lots of white men (SF turaga 'chief, white man'). Another return off Lokoni⁶ complains of Fiji:

(4) too much sa moke [sa moku 'beating with a stick']

Many more examples of mixed Fijian and English are found in reports of testimony of Pacific Islands labourers in courts and enquiries, as in the following (CSO 1348/1884) [glosses and notes in square brackets are mine]:

(5) The turaga ['whiteman'] in waqa ['ship'] said to me "are you coming?"

A longer example is the statement of Kavuti, a Guadalcanal labourer (CSO 1029/1887):

⁶Government Agent's Journal No.8, R. Haddock, 24 June to 28 December, 1877
⁷This is actually an example of Pidgin Fijian (see Chapter 5).
We have come to Suva to tell you of our koro ['plantation', SF 'village'], it is ca sara ['very bad']. The bad things the thrashing of men and the food. The man who thrashed us is Mr. Chalmers (pronounced like "Tamasi" or Thomas). He is tall, elderly, he is the taukei ['owner', SF itaukei 'indigenous owner of land'] of the koro. Balua and I are firemen in the mill. One day Balua was firing and got overheated. He sat down and said "I want to vaka cegu ['rest'] a little... About our food. We get a meal of rice at sigalevu ['lunch', SF ivakasigalevu]. It is the only meal we have in the day... We have to sell our odds and ends to buy food from the Fijians. We are not mamau ['sated'] we are weak.

It is possible, however, that these labourers were actually giving their testimony in Fijian, and some of their exact words were simply quoted in the clerks' reports, as shown in section 4.1.3, but here without explanation. At any rate, these examples do show that using a large number of Fijian words in English must have been common for Europeans.

4.2.2 Mixed Fijian and English spoken by Europeans

Section 2.3.2.2 gave some examples of Fijian words used by Europeans before the plantation era. Later publications and records contain many more examples of Fijian expressions without translation or explanation, showing that they must have been widely used and understood by Fiji's European population, even in urban areas. This extract from a letter from the Fiji Times (29/6/1910) is typical:

If we by the direction of our officials styled by us and by the native turaga ['chief'] authorize the Fijian kaisi ['lowly person' (derogatory term)] to insult our marama's ['ladies'], even of the lowest grade, we effectually break the tabu and throw open the whole caste to any insult the Fijian feels inclined to offer.

A list of Fijian terms commonly used in English with more examples can be found in Appendix D.

Many of the Fijian borrowings were also used with English morphology. Most prevalent was the use of the English -a plural on Fijian words as in the above example. Also used was English verb morphology, especially the -ing progressive and -(e)d past endings:

The basely born is vakasolevukai'd ['given a large feast'] as though he were to be honoured...(FT 15/3/1884)
New lexical items were also created by analogy, using English affixes: for example, "buliship" (CSO 57/1909) 'the position of buli', the officer in charge of a district in the Fijian administration, and "re-tibi-tibied" (Partington 1883:192) 'rethatched' (tibitibi 'thatching by bending long leaves, such as pandanus or sugar cane, over reeds').

4.2.3 Europeans' use of Fijian

Knowledge of Fijian among Europeans was not confined to a few words mixed into English. As shown above, missionaries, magistrates, and plantation overseers used Fijian to communicate with both Fijians and Pacific Islanders, and they were not the only Europeans who were expected to learn Fijian, as shown in this episode from the diary of John Hall James (Derrick 1973:84):

In the evening Dr. Braun...told one of the imported labourers to go and fetch a bucket of water and put it on the fire for tea. The poor beggar had to go down the hill almost half a mile in the scrub, and then he came back, not understanding the Doctor's Fijian, he put the water on the fire, that is, he put the fire out, and then had to go back and fetch more. We had a grand laugh at the Doctor, for he can scarcely speak a word of Fijian although he has been here for three years.

Thus, the laugh was not on the labourer who did not know English but on the white man who did not know Fijian.

The following example also testifies that rather than Fijians being expected to know English, Europeans were expected to know Fijian, even though this knowledge was not universal (FT 19/10/1915):

MacBatti denied stoutly [before the magistrate] that he had expectorated on the footpath, explaining that for some time after his arrest he did not understand what the charge was against him as the Fijian tongue of the constable was unintelligible to him.

Knowledge of the Fijian language was, however, mandatory for European government officials. According to an early policy, colonial cadets who had been in the colony for two years were required by the terms of their contracts to pass an oral and written examination in
Fijian (CSO 1136/1886). A new scheme began in 1907 in which officials were required to do a preliminary examination after nine months' service and a final examination after eighteen months (CSO 1931/1907). The officials included stipendiary magistrates, medical officers, clerks of peace, Suva Gaol officials, the Suva sanitary inspector, the matron of the Colonial Hospital, the head attendant and warders of the lunatic asylum, and overseers of experimental stations and road construction.

According to the rules amended in 1928 (CSO 4780/1927), cadets in the civil service had to qualify in the middle standard of Fijian within three years of their appointment. Other government officers were given an allowance of 20 pounds a year for passing the middle standard and 50 pounds for the higher standard. In addition to the posts listed above, the following were also included: officers of the constabulary, district treasury officers, surveyors, the titles clerk in the Registrar-General's department, nursing staff in government hospitals, the cashier in the government savings bank, postal clerks, inspectors of plantations, and clerks to district engineers.

The comprehensiveness of the examinations and the number of officers who passed them, in addition to the many reports of Europeans speaking Fijian fluently, indicate that this "bilingual policy" was not mere tokenism.

4.2.4 Conclusion

Returned labourers from Fiji who used Fijian along with MPE may have known both languages and mixed them in attempts to communicate with Europeans who visited their islands. It is also possible that some labourers learned English from Europeans in Fiji (see below), and because of widespread use of Fijian among these Europeans, the English they learned contained many Fijian words.

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8 The written examination of C.W. Maxwell in 1900 consisted of translating into English a passage entitled "Na Veivulagiti" from the Fijian journal, Na Mata of October, 1900; writing a short account in Fijian of the present conditions in the Macuata district; and translating into Fijian an English passage on Queen Elizabeth I. (CSO 619/1900)
4.3 MELANESIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH IN FIJI

Although Fijian was the main language used by the plantation labourers in Fiji, there is evidence that Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE) was known to some extent. The discussion here is separated into two periods: the first half of the labour trade, and the second half, after 1888, when a large percentage of the imported labourers had worked previously in other countries, especially Queensland, where a variety of MPE was the plantation language.

4.3.1 MPE in Fiji before 1888

Since MPE was used in recruiting labourers for Fiji (section 3.2.2), it is obvious that some of these labourers in Fiji knew MPE, and may have used it to communicate with Europeans. The following example (Romilly 1886:165) shows the continuity between use of MPE in recruiting and in Fiji:

The greatest compliment which could be paid him [the recruiter] was one he often received, when a native he had recruited would come up to him in Fiji, and say,

(10) Jemmy, when you came my place, you think me ---- fool; you muchey gammon black fellow; my word!

The following sections give evidence of the use of MPE in Fiji in the same contexts used to present the Fijian evidence: on the plantations, off the plantations, in courts and official inquiries, and by returned labourers.

4.3.1.1 Use of MPE on plantations

I have not been able to find concrete evidence to show that some form of English was used to run any plantation. The Fiji Gazette (24/5/1873) reports that a "Sandwich [Efate] man" was hired as an overseer on a Tavenuni plantation because he could speak English very well, but there is no indication that he used English in dealing with the labourers under his charge.

The only examples located of English spoken on Fiji plantations come from Forbes (1875) and Partington (1883). Forbes accompanies 40 Solomon Islands labourers on a boat to Taveuni and mentions (p.43) that "two of them who could speak a little broken English, acted as
interpreters for the rest". Later on a Taveuni plantation, a Tanna labourer says to him (p.70):

(11) Big fellow tree that.

Partington visits a plantation in Wailevu, Vanualevu. He says the "cook boy could speak a little English" (p.58), and later quotes him as follows (p.197):

(12) He big feller hen, but no make'm egg.

These examples show plantation labourers speaking English with MPE features, but it must be remembered that both authors were only visitors to Fiji who did not know Fijian very well.

4.3.1.2 Use of MPE off plantations

There are a few accounts of Pacific Islanders in urban areas speaking what is probably MPE. The Fiji Times (5/7/1878) reports that 30 or 40 foreign labourers got drunk and "commenced throwing 'molis' ['citrus fruit'] at each other" and that when it turned into a brawl, "they used the most disgusting language in English".

A.B. Brewster (1937:101), a long-term resident of Fiji, describes Levuka of the 1870s and 1880s when he first arrived in Fiji:

Straight-haired olive-skinned people from Rotuma, Samoa, and Tahiti passed to and fro jostling their woolly-haired black neighbours from Tanna, the New Hebrides and Banks Groups and from the faraway Solomon Islands. There they met and conversed in the beche-de-mer or pidgin English which with Fijian forms the lingua franca of the Great South Sea. We had a local song in those days in the dialect used by our labourers from the scattered islands of the Western Pacific:

(13) Plentee man he come from Tanna and some from Tokelau
De darkies all do go, de field where de cotton grow.
Weed a bit, pick a bit, make plenty savvy,
Allee same, by and by, just so.

This example does have some features of MPE, such as "he" as a predicate marker, "plenty", and "savvy". It also includes an additional feature from Clark's list: "Allee same" (all same) meaning 'like (this), thus'. But it also contains features of what appears to be stereotyped Black American English, which makes one think Brewster may have mixed up his plantations.
Wawn (1893:122-3) gives a better example of MPE being used in Fiji. He describes 20 or so labourers, paid off at the end of their contracts around 1878, going into a shop in Levuka. He points out that only one of them knew English, as he had been a house servant in Levuka. This one acts as spokesman for the group, and when he comments to the shop clerk [nationality unknown, but probably European] about some rusty pots, this conversation takes place:

(14) "Very good belong boil yam," remarked the clerk to the English speaking boy...

"Very good belong a yam," asserted the boy as to mere passing remark.

"You like calico?" asked the clerk fingerling a 'bolt' of it all stained and damaged.

"Yes, me like calico," mumbled the lad.

The clerk then notices Wawn looking on, and the conversation shifts into Fijian.

Finally, Goodenough (1876:207) reports another feature from Clark's list used in Levuka in 1873: "piccaninny" for "child". He also says mistakenly (p.331n) that "kaikai" is 'to eat' in Fijian.

4.3.1.3 Use of MPE in the courts

A few of the records of magisterial inquiries and Supreme Court cases indicate that Pacific Islands labourers gave testimony in English or acted as interpreters through the medium of English. For example, Pannekin, a Banks Islander who had been in Fiji three years, knew English, and through him newly arrived labourers are examined in a 1869 inquiry into the labour trade.9 British Consul March writes in 1870: "Many of the natives thus brought before me at the expiration of their terms of service has learnt sufficient English to enable me to speak to them without the aid of an interpreter."10 Years later, in a Supreme Court criminal case (25/1883), three Solomon Islanders were examined, two in Fijian, one in English. Not in every case, however, was the English spoken by the islanders comprehensible. For example, a

9GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468, incl.4 in no.38
10GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468, no.70
magistrate writes of a witness from Maewo (CSO 131/1887): "This man speaks very broken English, much I fail to understand."

As mentioned in section 4.1.3 above, all records of testimony were written in Standard English; therefore, it is difficult to determine what kind of English these Pacific Islanders were speaking. However, there are a few examples which indicate that their English had some MPE features. One instance is the testimony of a Tanna man in an inquiry into the labour trade. The record of his statement uses terms such as "moons" for 'months', "gammoned" for 'lied, deceived', "fight" for 'strike', and "fast" for 'stuck', all of which are features of MPE (see Churchill 1911).

The record of testimony from an inquiry into fish poisoning on Mago island (CSO 2187/1885) contains some statements which also show some MPE features. A Malaita man is reported as saying:

(15) I do not go to the salt water. I stop inland.

And a New Ireland man's statement is given as:

(16) I do not know how to eat fish.

The first example shows the use of "salt water" for 'sea' and "stop" for 'stay' (see section 3.2.2). The second is almost certainly a direct translation of "no savvy". In MPE, "savvy" can mean not only 'know how to' but also 'be in the habit of' (Clark 1979:18). It was most probably used in this second sense by the speaker, that is "I do not usually eat fish", but translated in the first sense by the clerk.

I have been able to find only two examples where the clerks give the exact words of witnesses in nonstandard English. The first is from the inquiry into the drowning of a European at Cicia island. This statement is attributed to a man from Santo:

(17) It was 'big fellow water'.

The second is from a Supreme Court criminal case (SC 21/1882):

11 GBPP 1868-89, XLIII, 408, incl.3 in no.28
12 Papers of H.B.M.Consul, Fiji and Tonga, CSO series 12, General Correspondence, Fiji National Archives F 4/12-14
Kafalsalis take our cocoanut (steal him).

The first shows the use of "fellow" as a suffix on the pre-nominal modifier (here "big"). The second shows the use of "him" as a transitive suffix on the verb (here "steal").

4.3.1.4 MPE spoken by returns from Fiji

Compared to the number of reports of labourers who returned from Fiji knowing Fijian, there are very few reports of those knowing English (Clark 1979:62n). One example is from Nguna in 1871, where there was "only one young man who could speak a little English, and he had been in Fiji" (Don 1927:39). The journals of two government agents also mention Fiji returns in Vanuatu who could speak English\(^\text{13}\). The second specifies that the labourer, a Santo man, had worked for H. Cave and Company in Levuka.

The only sample of English from a returned Fiji labourer comes from Rannie (1912:172-73):

We could only find one English-speaking native at Vanikoro and he had picked up a very indifferent smattering of the language during a stay in Fiji...he asked if we wanted to buy some

(19) small fellow pigeon.

(These "pigeon" turned out to be golden beetles.)

4.3.1.5 Conclusions

Despite a careful search of the records and literature, the examples given above are the only ones I could find of MPE in connection with Fiji before 1888. Nevertheless these examples along with the ones used in connection with recruiting given in section 3.2.2 include 16 of the 30 comparative MPE features listed by Clark. Thus, MPE was known to some extent in Fiji. Some Pacific Islanders probably learned MPE before coming to Fiji. Others who were working in urban areas rather than on plantations may have picked up MPE or some other variety of English in Fiji. It seems clear, however, that English was

\(^{13}\text{Journal no.24, C. Rudd, 16 May to 6 September, 1880 and no.53, J.J. Fletcher, 21 July to 12 November, 1884}\)
not used by Europeans to run the plantations. Furthermore, there is no evidence that MPE was used on plantations as a lingua franca among the labourers. Of course it may have been at early stages among new labourers, but Fijian probably took over as soon as it was learned.

The overall picture, then, is that in the first half of the plantation era, MPE was used by Pacific Islanders in Fiji only for communication with Europeans (when either or both did not know Fijian). Therefore, it was used only in a dual contact situation. As it was not used among the islanders themselves in Fiji (as it was in Queensland and Samoa), MPE did not stabilize further into a distinct variety, and a "Fiji Plantation Pidgin English" never developed.

4.3.2 MPE in Fiji after 1888

Before 1888 labourers speaking any kind of fluent English must have been a novelty, as shown by following example from the Fiji Gazette (14/12/1878), one of the first reports of the "intelligible English" spoken by an labourer who had previously worked in Queensland:

A boy came to Fiji in the Daphne last week who has been for two periods of three years each to Queensland, and who speaks English intelligibly. When asked why he did not go again to Queensland, he said,

(20) No yam in Queensland, me like yam, me no like kai kai Queensland.

"But," said his interrogator, "you get six pounds a year in Queensland and only three pounds a year in Fiji." He said,

(21) Oh! very well, three pound here all same six pound in Queensland..."

But after 1888, with the increase in numbers of labourers with experience in other countries, the use of MPE in Fiji became more familiar.

4.3.2.1 "Old hands"

From 1888 until the end of indenture, approximately 30 percent of all the labourers brought to Fiji had worked before in another country where a form of MPE was the plantation language. Most of these experienced labourers, known as "old hands", had worked in Queensland,
but many had been in Samoa or New Caledonia. Four had worked in Hawaii and two in Tahiti. Some had even worked in two or more of these countries. Figures by country and year are given in Table 4-1 (see also Appendix B).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>Fiji</th>
<th>Queensland</th>
<th>Samoa</th>
<th>New Caledonia</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<td>61</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>96</td>
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<td>38 (1)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893</td>
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<td>17 (1)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 345 (44) 989 (46) 56 (4) 22 8 1373

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate those who also worked in another country and are also included in that country's total.

The influx of "old hands" reached its peak in 1907 with the arrival in Fiji of 437 ex-Queensland labourers. Of these, 351 came directly from Queensland, by an arrangement between the two governments, when they were deported as a result of the "white Australia" policy. Large numbers of ex-Queenslanders also arrived the following two years, so that in three years, more than 650 were in Fiji. Nearly all of these originated from the southeast Solomon Islands.
Another important fact about the "old hands" is that compared to earlier labourers, large numbers were indentured to the colonial government or large companies rather than to plantations. Therefore, many were congregated in urban areas. For example, of the 650 mentioned above, at least 150 lived in Suva, working for the Public Works Department or European business concerns, while approximately 100 worked for the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Labasa on Vanua Levu. Living in urban areas, they were able to form their own communities and continue using among themselves the language they brought with them.

4.3.2.2 Queensland Canefields English in Fiji

Most of the "old hands" from Queensland had worked in the sugar cane plantations of that state, where early varieties of MPE had evolved into Queensland Canefields English (QCE), or Kanaka English, described by Dutton (1980). (The Pacific Islands labourers in Queensland were known as Kanakas.) In Samoa, early varieties of MPE had evolved into Samoan Plantation Pidgin (SPP), described by Mühlhäusler (1978). The early history of these plantation varieties has been touched upon earlier in this work and is briefly recounted here as follows (shown in simplified form in Figure 4-1).

Different varieties of the South Seas Jargon (SSJ) which existed around the Pacific (all in the pre-pidgin stage of development) were learned by people in Vanuatu and the Loyalty Islands during the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades. When these varieties were used by islanders for communication among themselves in sandalwood camps, a more stable variety developed: Sandalwood English. Since the first recruiting of labourers for Queensland took place in areas where Sandalwood English was known, it became the language of the labour trade. And as it was known by many of the labourers, it became the lingua franca of the plantations. Thus, further expansion and stabilization took place, and an early form of Melanesian Pidgin English developed. This MPE in turn became the language of the labour trade.

During the labour trade, MPE was brought to Samoa, New Caledonia, and Fiji. In Fiji, as shown above, MPE did not develop any further as it was not widely used on the plantations. In New Caledonia, MPE was used on the plantations for some years, but was eventually replaced by
a pidginized French (Hollyman 1976). In Samoa and Queensland, however, MPE continued to develop, but in separate ways. In Samoa, MPE came into contact with a Micronesian type of pidgin English already in use on the plantations (Mühlhäuser 1983:16), while in Queensland, it was in contact with various forms of Aboriginal Pidgin English. Since Samoa was a German colony, MPE had less contact with the English superstratum than in Queensland. Also, after 1885, most of the labourers in Samoa were from the New Guinea Islands, while the ones in Queensland were mainly from Vanuatu and the Solomons. Thus, two
distinct subsystems of MPE emerged: Queensland Canefields English (QCE) and Samoan Plantation Pidgin (SPP). 14

As both of these varieties were taken home by repatriated labourers, their use spread as languages of wider communication in the island groups which had hundreds of languages and no indigenous common language— that is, in Vanuatu, the Solomons, and the New Guinea Islands (but not in Kiribati, which did have a common language). The increased number of speakers and changed functional requirements led to some of the linguistic changes which today differentiate the modern versions of the transported varieties from their plantation pidgin ancestors (see Mühlhäuser 1983). These modern, expanded pidgins are: Tok Pisin (TP) in Papua New Guinea, based mainly on early SPP (Mühlhäuser 1978); Bislama (BLM) in Vanuatu, based mainly on an earlier form of QCE; and Solomon Islands Pijin (SIP), based mainly on a later form of QCE (Dutton 1980).

Both QCE and SPP were also transported to Fiji by the "old hands", but no such expansion took place. Unlike the islands of the labourers where there was a communication gap ready to be filled, Fiji already had an established indigenous lingua franca. Thus, although these later varieties of MPE were used for a time in Fiji by the "old hands" and even became familiar to many Europeans, they did not take root in Fiji.

There are many reports mentioning the MPE brought to Fiji by the ex-Queenslanders. For example, St-Johnston (1927:72) describes the "beach-de-meer" spoken in Fiji in the early 1900's and tells how a Solomon Islands policeman directed him to the government offices:

(22) Up top, past big feller god-house, then along dis side, and writin'-house he stop there.

Further down the page he gives another example:

(23) Disfeller belly belong me he too sore.

St-Johnston goes on to give his own linguistic description:

14 Another subsystem of MPE, Torres Strait Pidgin, developed in the Torres Strait Islands, but it was in connection with the bêche-de-mer and pearlshell industries rather than on plantations. In 1890 this subsystem began to acquire native speakers, and Torres Strait Creole is today the major language of the area. (See Shnukal 1983.)
I should explain, perhaps, that the possessive "my" is expressed by "belong me", and as a sort of emphasizing definite article "this fellow" or "that fellow" precedes most nouns. Any woman, or indeed anything of the female sex in the animal world, is known as "Mary". Thus, if I wanted to make a raw Solomon Island recruit comprehend that my wife had gone to town, I should have to say to him, "White Mary belong me no stop!"

By 1909, MPE must have been familiar enough to Europeans for the following letter to be published in the Fiji Times (3/7/1909). The letter was almost certainly written by a European as it satirizes not only the use of MPE but also some aspects of the European community:

(24) Mr. Paper man me savey read little bit. Some man he talk along your paper too much. He say he can't catch im servant in Suva work along him house. He no speak true. Plenty boy work all day; he no like work all night. Some house he finish dinner 8 clock. Boy he work all time washim up plate finish 10 clock. He can't go see him countryman; police run im in suppose he see im walk along street. What for all same that? Whiteman im play bridge catch im money. Black man can't do all same. Me Christen all same white man. Black man make im first he make im road, garden, catch im fish, make im house, white man come he take im everything. Black man go live bush, white man steal him boy make him work along house and farm, plenty punch him no give him good kaikai, little bit money. White missus all time talk make him swear too much. No good all same that. Suppose missus let im boy finish work 6 clock, come work 6 clock, boy work very good. Plenty come work house. All same give im boy little bit good kaikai, no all time rice. Me long time work house along Queensland, no all same Fiji work all time. Me work big store Suva, finish 5 clock. Night me go long school by-by me savey rite well. Me tell you all news belong you paper. Lot man he look out gold he fine im plenty work belong boy. I think he go house Parlement make im good law belong man. White man stop Parlement he to much talk. He want buy all land himself. He no care nother man. You put this in you paper very good me read im, plenty boy savey. No white man speak good belong boy in you paper, never mind he write letter himself true... Paper all finish me tell you plenty more next time. Queensland boy no bally fool like black boy stop Fiji. --

I am, etc.,

Jimmy

Both St-Johnston's examples and the letter include not only the general MPE features that are found in earlier examples from Fiji but also additional features such as "catch im" for 'get' and "along" or "long" as locative or spatial prepositions. But even more importantly they include features from QCE and SPP: "Mary" meaning 'woman', "all
time" for 'always', and "look out" meaning 'search, look for'. These features are found in modern varieties of MPE: TP, BLM, and SIP. Another feature is "little bit" meaning 'a little' which is found in BLM and SIP.

The letter also contains some interesting features which are not MPE. First, some Standard English is used: "that", "in", "can't", and "himself". Second, some MPE features are overgeneralized, such the "him" transitive suffix in "see him" and "punch him", which are not found in MPE. Third, some features appear to represent the writer's idea of a simplified version of English, for example, the use of the objective pronoun in possessive constructions: "him house" and "you paper". These features seem to result from the writer's simultaneous use of Foreigner Talk (in the spontaneous simplification of his own language) and Broken Language (in the overgeneralization of MPE), both with the influence of Standard English.

An analogous case is "Tok Masta" ('White man's talk') a version of Tok Pisin spoken by some Europeans in Papua New Guinea. Mühlhäusler (1981:104) shows that Tok Masta is characterized by overgeneralization and ad hoc simplification, similar to those found in the above letter. He also points out (p.98) that the development of Tok Masta "was closely connected with the view that Tok Pisin was just a corrupted variant of English and not a language in its own right". This view was also prevalent in Fiji. For example, the Fiji Times (2/7/1907) calls MPE "a perverted form of English" (see also section 4.4.3 below). Therefore, the use of the "Tok Masta" in the letter probably reflects these attitudes.

However, by 1909 at least some Europeans in Fiji began to recognize that MPE was a language in its own right. This is evident in the following request by the Attorney General to the Colonial Secretary for an interpreter for a coming session of the Supreme Court (CSO 5997/1909):

A Polynesian named Ore charged with rape at Taveuni will also be before the Court for trial; from the depositions it appears the accused speaks pigeon English, provision will also have to be made for an interpreter in this case.

Furthermore, there is at least one report of MPE being used in a church service for Pacific Islanders. Brummitt (1914:22), a visitor to
Fiji in 1912, describes a Methodist service in Lautoka "for Solomon Islanders, who are fairly numerous, and to whom the gospel is preached in 'pidgin English'".

It is also clear that MPE continued to be used by many of the labourers who elected to stay in Fiji rather than return home at the end of their contracts, and that it was used by at least some Europeans in communicating with them. For example, the officer in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department in Suva testifies in the Supreme Court in 1921 (SC 17/1921): "I cautioned the prisoner in Fijian and Pidgin English."

Foster (1927:193-4), another traveller in Fiji, describes a visit to a Solomons Islands village outside Suva and gives examples of MPE spoken by Lizzie who came to Fiji as a young girl. She says she remembers whitemen (recruiters) coming to her village saying to her father in "beche-de-mer":

(25) Rum, he good fellow. Bime by, you get'm plenty rum, you send Mary stop long Fiji?

Lizzie describes her voyage to Fiji:

(26) This feller boat very small feller. Belly belong me walk about. I was seasick.

As late as 1936, Whonsbon-Aston, an Anglican parson who worked with the Pacific Islanders in Fiji, reports that they spoke "pidgin English" as well as Fijian.

4.3.2.3 MPE spoken by Fijians and Indians

It was shown in section 2.3.2.1 that SSJ, the forerunner of MPE, was known only by Fijians or part-Europeans who were involved in sailing. The same seems to be true of MPE until the twentieth century. The only example of MPE spoken by a Fijian before 1900 is given by Wawn (1893:143), attributed to one of his Fijian crew members:

(27) Cappen! man Vila he come!

Two authors from the early 1900s provide samples of Fijians speaking English with some MPE features as well as some Fijian words.
The first is the Methodist missionary, J.W. Burton (1910:152), who gives this conversation with a Fijian boy at the Methodist Mission (which, significantly, he mentions had been sending missionaries to New Guinea, where a variety of MPE was spoken). Burton asks the boy, "what is that noise?":

(28) "lali, sir, all same big bell, make 'im lotu,"
replies the boy, proud of his knowledge of English.

The second author is Beatrice Grimshaw (1906), who travelled around Fiji in 1905 accompanied by Gideon, a Fijian who was her personal servant and interpreter. Both she and Gideon communicate in English with some MPE features. For example, he is reported as saying (p.54):

(29) Turanga ni koro, he say toa (fowl) an' yam in the pire, pish he cook. He like you stop, kiki (eat).

Later this conversation takes place (p.56):

(30) "Plenty s'ark here" [says Gideon]
I stopped at the laces of the second shoe and asked, "What shark? All same Rewa shark stop here?"
"Yes, sir. All same. Plentee."

Another example from Gideon is as follows (p.98):

(31) Missi, N-grimshaw! Horsie lie down, by-n'-by he n-dead!

Thus, it appears that some Fijians other than seamen must have picked up some MPE, but the above examples are the only ones I have been able to find. Language use among the Indian labourers is described in Chapters 6 and 7, but the only reference I have found to an Indian speaking English with MPE features is given here. It comes from Basil Thomson (1894:52), who describes Ramdas, an Indian constable who translates Hindustani to English in the courts:
The wily old Ramdas, constable and priest, came softly to the bench and whispered into its ear

(32) S'pose me fetchum Kurân, disfeller no tellum lie; he too much 'fraid.

Armed with authority, he left the court, going delicately, and presently returned tiptoe carrying on his extended hands a massive volume as if it was an overheated dish. Pausing before the table he said with due solemnity,

(33) By an' by he kissum, disfeller he plenty 'fraid. Dis Kurân belonger me. Abdul Khan he sabe readim, me no sabe, on'y little bit, other feller he no sabe! On'y Abdul Khan sabe!

I have been unable to determine where either Gideon or Ramdas learned MPE, but it is almost certain that they were exceptions to the rule that Fijians and Indians did not speak it. This is backed up by the following incident related by John A. Fraser (1954:96), which took place at the Vatukoula gold mine:

Bob Close, who was accustomed to talking in pidgin to the natives of Northern Australia and New Caledonia, wanted a pole for some work on hand. Pointing and gesticulating to make his meaning still clearer, he gave his orders to Elias: "Bring one fellow stick long me two times, thick all same this arm belonga me!"

Elias quietly replied: "Yes, I understand, Mister Bob. You want a pole twelve feet long and three inches across. I will get it at once."

...Some of the other boys also understand English a little...but any attempt at pidgin left them hopelessly puzzled.

4.3.2.4 Conclusions

Large numbers of labourers who had worked in Queensland and/or Samoa brought later varieties of MPE to Fiji. They continued to use this MPE among themselves and to communicate with some Europeans. However, according to informants (see section 11.1.1), it did not become established as a means of communication with Pacific Islanders already living in Fiji. Rather, the "old hands" quickly learned Fijian, and MPE remained more or less an immigrant language which was not taught to the children. Thus, as shown in Figure 4-1 QCE, like the earlier MPE, reached a dead end in its development when brought to
4.4 WHY PIDGIN ENGLISH NEVER DEVELOPED IN FIJI

There remains the question of why no variety of English, the language of the colonial power, was ever widely used as the plantation language in Fiji when it was used in other countries in the Pacific with similar plantation conditions: Queensland, Samoa, New Caledonia, and Hawaii. In order to answer this question, several contributing factors are discussed here.

4.4.1 Rural plantations

One explanation for the use of Fijian rather than any form of English as plantation language comes from Wawn (1893:122). He says that the Queensland labourers had a holiday on Saturdays and that they could go to town and there learn the value of money plus pick up some English. In Fiji, the situation was different:

The Fijian labourer, on the other hand, was generally employed on some island of the group far removed from either town or store. He acquired but little English, though he quickly learnt the native Fijian.

If the rural situation of Fiji's plantation was a significant factor, however, the question still remains of why labourers in Samoa spoke a variety of MPE instead of Samoan? Plantations there were also in rural areas, and since it was a German colony, exposure to English was less likely than in Queensland.

The answer to this question was touched upon in section 1.2: what becomes the plantation language is the language the European planters and overseers use to communicate with the imported labourers, not necessarily the one they use to communicate among themselves or with the indigenous population. And it is the plantation language which is adopted by the labourers as their own common language. In Queensland, there was no indigenous language of wider communication which was generally used, and the planters and overseers were English speakers. So there was no choice but to use English on the plantations. In

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15 Reports that Pidgin English still exists in Fiji today will be examined in Chapter 11.
Samoa, the Germans used a form of Samoan to deal with the Samoans and, of course, used German among themselves. But they used pidgin English, rather than German or Samoan, to communicate with their plantation labourers (Mühlhäusler 1978:74), supposedly because the labourers already knew pidgin English on their arrival. Therefore, in both Queensland and Samoa, varieties of MPE were the plantation languages, and the labourers spoke varieties of MPE among themselves.

In New Caledonia, a form of MPE was first used on plantations run by English speakers. But when the French started gaining control and used their own language to run their plantations, labourers spoke French among themselves and pidgin French developed. The two pidgins, English and French, co-existed for at least fifteen years, until the French, and pidgin French, took over completely (Hollyman 1976:44). In contrast, the French in Vanuatu, like the Germans in Samoa, continued to use MPE as it was already the established lingua franca for communicating not only with the labourers but also with some of the English-speaking planters of the British-French condominium (Tryon 1979:75).

In Fiji, the labourers also knew some MPE, but the Europeans used Fijian instead to communicate with them. Thus, Fijian became the plantation language, and the labourers used it rather than English among themselves. The question now is: Why did Fiji's Europeans use Fijian rather than English?

4.4.2 Historical continuity: comparison with Hawaii

The most obvious explanation as to why Fijian rather than pidgin English was used as the plantation language appears to be a matter of historical continuity. As shown in section 2.1, unlike Queensland, Vanuatu, or the Solomons, Fiji had an indigenous language used for wider communication throughout the group. This language was adopted for communication between Fijians and outsiders from the time of first European contact. It was used for both the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades and extended to use on the plantations.

But Fiji was not the only area of the Pacific where a relatively homogenous linguistic situation allowed use of the indigenous language as the lingua franca. In fact, the situation in Hawaii was remarkably similar to that of Fiji (Reinecke 1969; Bickerton and Wilson forthcoming; Day forthcoming). From about 1790,
English-speaking beachcombers began to live among Hawaiians and learn their language. Some of these men were used as interpreters during the sandalwood trade. According to Bickerton (1979:8), the plantations founded before 1876 were staffed by Hawaiians and "the language of work, the language of control in these plantations had been Hawaiian". As mentioned in section 1.5, Hawaiian was also learned by imported plantation labourers, first the Chinese, and later Japanese, Filipinos, and other groups (Bickerton and Wilson forthcoming), as it was still used as the plantation language (Bickerton 1977:51-52):

In the early plantation period, Hawaiian became the target language for an immigrant population that might (though by no means always) have received its orders in the field from native speakers of English, but that had far more social contact, both on and off the job, with Hawaiians.

Thus, in Hawaii as in Fiji, the indigenous language was used by early European settlers and traders and became the first plantation language. It was also learned by imported labourers both on the plantations and in contact with the indigenous population. Why, then, did the indigenous language continue as the plantation language in Fiji while it was superseded by pidgin English in Hawaii?

4.4.2.1 Population

Differences in population dynamics between Fiji and Hawaii may be responsible for the differences in language development. First of all, Fiji did not experience the drastic increase in numbers of imported labourers that Hawaii experienced. Table 4-2 shows that there was no rapid increase in the number of imported Pacific Islands labourers, so that the number of new labourers was always less than the number of old ones. This fact, plus the large number of re-engaged labourers, or "old hands", with experience in Fiji, ensured the continuance of the linguistic status quo—that is, the use of Fijian on the plantations.

In Hawaii, however, after the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1876, the sugarcane industry grew "by leaps and bounds" (Reinecke 1969:41). This rapid growth required large numbers of labourers, "imported wholesale" by the sugar planters or the Hawaii government first from China, Japan, and Portugal, and later from Korea, the Philippines, and Spain. Figures can be seen in Table 4-3, in which "other groups" includes labourers from these areas and their descendants.
<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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Sources: Reports of Polynesian Immigration, Fiji Legislative Council, and Shlomowitz 1983. See also Table 4-1.
Table 4-3: Population of Hawaii at various census dates

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<th>Europeans</th>
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<td>40,014</td>
<td>6,612</td>
<td>28,337</td>
<td>35,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>34,436</td>
<td>6,220</td>
<td>42,081</td>
<td>52,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>31,019</td>
<td>7,247</td>
<td>61,214</td>
<td>49,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>29,799</td>
<td>8,547</td>
<td>105,150</td>
<td>153,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>26,041</td>
<td>14,867</td>
<td>137,474</td>
<td>178,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>23,723</td>
<td>19,708</td>
<td>193,796</td>
<td>226,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>21,796</td>
<td>45,888</td>
<td>276,134</td>
<td>378,948</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Table 1 in Reinecke 1969:42

Table 4-4: Population of Fiji at various census dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Fijians</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Other groups (labourers)</th>
<th>TOTAL POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>114,748</td>
<td>2,671</td>
<td>6,688</td>
<td>127,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>105,800</td>
<td>2,036</td>
<td>9,735</td>
<td>127,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>94,397</td>
<td>2,459</td>
<td>19,055</td>
<td>125,861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>87,096</td>
<td>3,707</td>
<td>43,044</td>
<td>153,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>84,475</td>
<td>3,878</td>
<td>62,198</td>
<td>150,531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>97,651</td>
<td>4,028</td>
<td>87,355</td>
<td>189,034</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figures for Fiji can be seen in Table 4-4 above, in which "other groups" includes both Pacific Islands and Indian labourers. Tables 4-3 and 4-4 also show other population differences between Fiji and Hawaii. The number of Fijians was greater than the number of Hawaiians, and the decrease of the Fijian population was far less severe. Also, the diminishing population trend was reversed for the Fijians in the 1920s but not for the Hawaiians. Furthermore, the European population in Hawaii was greater than in Fiji and increased more substantially from year to year.
4.4.2.2 Persistence of Fijian language and culture

Another factor contributing to the use of the indigenous language in Fiji was the continuing survival of the indigenous culture. The decline of Hawaiian language and culture is described by Reinecke (1969:30):

The aboriginal population was very rapidly declining in numbers, largely because of the foreigners' diseases, and this decline deepened the feeling of hopeless discouragement in the face of Western culture. The people were dying, the language was dying with the people—such was the feeling of many.

The Fijian culture, however, was not so adversely affected, perhaps because there were fewer Europeans in Fiji and because of the colonial government's efforts to preserve the Fijian way of life.

One of these efforts was the "bilingual policy" described in section 4.2.3 above. Because of this policy, many Europeans could speak Fijian well. In Hawaii, however, the situation was different, as mentioned by Reinecke (1969:34): "Except for missionary and Part-Hawaiian families, few foreigners learned Hawaiian fluently and well."

4.4.2.3 Education

Another difference between Fiji and Hawaii concerns the language used for education. Like their Fiji counterparts, the first missionaries in Hawaii realized the importance of teaching Christianity through the indigenous language, but they were not so well prepared. As they knew nothing of Hawaiian when they arrived, instruction was given to chiefs in English. Later, English instruction was extended to people of mixed race and select commoners (Reinecke 1969:27).

But after the missionaries learned Hawaiian, it was this language, rather than English, which became the medium of instruction for most Hawaiians. However, after 1850 there was more and more pressure from both whites and Hawaiians for English to be taught. This view is described by Reinecke (p.45):

The attitude...was thoroughly unselfish in that it aimed at the material advancement of the the Hawaiian people, and was thoroughly charged with a sense of the superiority of the English language over the Hawaiian and of the desirability of introducing the former at the expense of the latter.
By 1860 the teaching of English in private schools for Hawaiians was well established. English instruction gradually replaced Hawaiian until in 1896 only 59 students in three isolated schools received instruction in Hawaiian (Reinecke 1969:49). Reinecke (p.50) describes the official attitude in an education report:

The supplanting of the Hawaiian language, not only in the school but in the mouths of the native population, was passed over in one sentence: "The gradual extinction of a Polynesian dialect may be regretted for sentimental reasons, but it is certainly for the interest of the Hawaiians themselves."

In Fiji, instruction was carried out in the medium of Fijian from the beginning, and the practice continued in nearly all Fijian schools until the late 1920s (Hopkin 1975:171). The situation is described in the report of the Education Commission, 1909:

A considerable diversity of opinion appears to prevail both among the persons who gave evidence before us, and also among the members of the Commission, on the desirability of pressing the teaching of English on natives. A minority of the commission, who are strongly in favour of instruction in English as far as possible, urge that after 36 years of British occupation of these islands, the number of natives now living who can speak, read and write English may be counted on the fingers of one hand. This condition of affairs is all more noticeable from the fact that it is quite exceptionable to find a Fijian youth of the present day who is unable to read and write his own language without a certain amount of facility—bearing testimony to the good work of the Mission schools.

Fijian was also the medium of instruction for the Pacific Islanders. Although some early attempts were made by the Anglican church to give English instruction to Pacific Islanders, by the 1900s instruction was all given in Fijian. This is evident in the following statement:

At last the Church's Services...have been "done" in the Fijian language for the use of our Melanesian congregations here in Fiji. At one time it may have been that many of the native converts could understand the services in English. That time has passed...

---

18from Church Gazette (Diocese of Polynesia) 4 (August 1926), p.7
The average European in Fiji supported the missions' use of Fijian in the schools. But it was not from any altruistic sentiment of preserving the Fijian culture. Rather, on the whole it was simply racism—the feeling that the Fijians should stay in their place or that they did not have the ability to learn English. For example, Anderson (1880:93) writes: "It is curious but true, that the introduction of the English language has rather a tendency to aid in demoralising the semi-civilised natives." He also adds (p.158): "For some reason or other, the more English language and English manners the savage learns, so much the more objectionable does he become."

The testimony given to the 1909 education commission by D.J. Solomon (p.49), chairman of the Levuka School Board, is also typical. He says that teaching English to Fijians would not be beneficial "for they are not likely to be used by Europeans to do any important clerical work, as there is no ambition in a Fijian to raise himself to the level of a European". The following statement by Reverend J.W. Butcher (p.58) sums up the attitudes of many Europeans in Fiji: "I cannot possibly bring myself to believe that much real intellectual benefit would accrue to the natives [from learning English] until the quality of the Fijians' brain has been altered."

It is ironic that this arrogant racism helped to preserve the Fijian culture while naive egalitarianism helped to destroy the Hawaiian.

4.4.3 European attitudes towards pidgin English

One of the minority favouring instruction in English, D. Wilkinson, testified before the 1909 Education Commission (p.62) that English should be taught "provided always it is thorough and not 'pigeon English' which is learned". This statement is typical of the extremely negative attitudes held by Fiji's Europeans towards any type of pidgin English (as mentioned in section 4.1.4). For example, Anderson (1980), shown above to be opposed to "natives" learning English, is equally fanatical in his dislike of those who speak MPE. He describes (p.39) the Pacific Island labourers in Fiji as being "much better than those broken-English speaking 'boys' who worked in Queensland", and asks (p.40-41), "Why is it that the broken-English speaking Tanna and other men in the South sea are such a proverbial bad
lot?" Anderson is not alone in his feelings. Whonsbon-Aston (1936:37) calls MPE "that abomination of the South Seas". Hilliard (1978:104) describes the attitudes of other members of the Church of England: "...but behind the tolerance [of labour recruiting] lay always an English gentleman's disdain for the world of Pidgin English."

Thus, the "old hands" from Queensland using QCE in Fiji were not at all to the liking of the Europeans, whose attitudes are summed up in these quotations from the Fiji Times:

There is a tendency to view the newly imported Queensland Kanakas as 'cheeky' and 'difficult'. We do not think this idea has any better foundation than a local prejudice against a black man speaking 'pidgin English'. (FT 2/3/1907)

The greatest charge--to date--against them is that they have been baptised, profess Christianity, and express themselves in a perverted form of English, instead of Solomon-Fijian. (FT 9/3/1907)
CHAPTER 5

PLANTATION PIDGIN FIJIAN

Although Fijian was the main plantation language in Fiji, evidence exists that it was a nonstandard variety which was used by the labourers, just as nonstandard varieties of European plantation languages were used in the Caribbean. The term "Solomon-Fijian" in the Fiji Times quotation in the preceding chapter shows an awareness that the Fijian spoken by the Pacific Islands labourers was somehow unique. Fison's calling it "barbaric Fijian" (section 4.1.4) implies that, like "bastardized English", it was regarded as a distinct and low prestige nonstandard variety. This "Solomons-Fijian" was almost certainly Pidgin Fijian, as will be shown in this chapter.

5.1 REFERENCES TO PIDGIN FIJIAN IN THE LITERATURE

"Solomons-Fijian" was recognized by government officials as being different enough from other varieties of Fijian to require special interpreters in some court hearings. For example, in 1891 the Colonial Secretary wrote a note to the Agent-General of Immigration requesting interpreters for a sitting of the Supreme Court in which some Pacific Island labourers were being tried (CSO 2032/1891): "Will you please arrange for the attendance of a Fijian interpreter and one of your staff capable of interpreting Fijian as spoken by Polynesians?"

A Mr Beauclerc, who ran a school for "Polynesians" (FT 14/11/1891), was employed as this special interpreter. The previous year he had also been requested to interpret in the Supreme Court, but he was not given leave from his work by the Receiver General who said: "Any sensible person who understands Fijian is perfectly capable of interpreting for these Polynesians if they take the trouble to do so."

\[\text{\footnotesize\cite{5.4.2.2}}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize\footnote{This was almost certainly G.A.W.F. Beauclerc (see section 5.4.2.2).}}\]
In reply, Agent-General of Immigration, A.R. Coates, writes (CSO 96/1890):

On the face of it the argument appears to be unreasonable and contrary to common sense. Surely one might talk French very well and yet not understand patois...

He goes on to say:

When the gravity of the matter at stake—it may be a charge of murder—is taken into consideration, it is in my opinion only reasonable to expect that the very best interpreter available be obtained (such in the present instance is Mr Beauclerc) so that every justice may be afforded to the accused. To ask either Mr Friend or Mr McFayden, or any other sensible person who understands Fijian, to interpret in the Supreme Court when they feel themselves—as they have both stated to me—incompetent to do so, appears to me a gross injustice to the Polynesian and a wrong to the interpreter.

This special Fijian "patois" or "Solomon-Fijian" became known as Pidgin Fijian. The first reference to it as such which I have found is in an item in the Fiji Times (9/6/1883). It describes a household in which the European mistress usually did the cooking and left some food for her "Polynesian" servant. But one morning:

...no scrap was left for the servitor. Hereupon he burst into open mutiny, denounced the gluttony of his employer in the most classic pigeon Fijian he could command, and concluded by refusing duty.

Other writers make it clear that it was Pidgin Fijian that was transported to different island groups by returned labourers (section 4.1.4). Thomson (1896:32) writes:

Throughout the New Hebrides and Solomons, pidgin Fijian will take one anywhere, for the Fijian of the foreign labourers is as different from the classical language as is the English of the Chinaman in Hong Kong from classical English.

Derrick (1950:169) echoes this statement, saying that "the returning labourers came near to making pidgin Fijian the lingua franca of their divided tribes".

Pidgin Fijian continued to be spoken in Fiji even after the plantation era by Pacific Islanders living in settlements around the country. Whonsbon-Aston (1936:36-7) reports:
They...speak their own particular brand of Fijian, for it is to be remembered that they hail from different parts of the Solomon Islands, where practically each village has its own separate language. From such a babel, "pidgin-Fijian" has evolved for them.

More recently, Pidgin Fijian (PF) has been reported as still existing in Fiji by several writers (Hollyman 1962:312; Milner 1972:35n), and it is described in some detail by Moag (1978). However, the PF of today is spoken not by Pacific Islanders as a lingua franca, but mainly by Indians and some Chinese, as an intercommunal contact language used for communication with the indigenous Fijians. As mentioned in section 1.3, Moag (1978:1471; 1979b:68) believes that the development of PF had little to do with the plantations. He claims that it stabilized as the result of bilingual contact between Fijians and outside groups, mainly Indians, rather than as the result of the typical multilingual plantation environment. However, it appears now that the current PF is actually a descendant of the "Solomons-Fijian" which was used on the plantations. The earlier variety will be called Plantation Pidgin Fijian (PPF) to distinguish it from current Pidgin Fijian (CPF). The main linguistic features of PPF, based on data from informants, is described here. Documentary evidence corroborating these data is then presented.

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF PLANTATION PIDGIN FIJIAN

5.2.1 Informants

The following linguistic description of PPF is based on three types of data. The first is mainly anecdotal data from recorded interviews with more than 20 descendants of Pacific Island labourers living in Fiji (see section 10.1.2). The second is recorded texts of two part Solomon Islanders who speak PPF fluently: Luke Tavisa of Nabuono, Taveuni and Charlie Kelo of Naviavia, Wailevu West, Vanua Levu. The third is recordings of Jioji Abunio of Matata, Lami, Vitilevu, made shortly before his death in December, 1982. He was originally from the Kwaikwaio area of Malaita in the Solomon Islands and was the last surviving speaker of PPF who actually lived through the plantation era.
5.2.2 Comparison with Standard Fijian

All of the informants except Jioji Abunio spoke Standard Fijian (as defined in section 2.1) or various Fijian dialects, and are difficult to distinguish from Fijians in their speech. However, they described the Fijian spoken by the original labourers as something quite different, and characterized it as impure, tangled, unclear, difficult to understand, hard on the ears, and funny. Others said it was simplified, broken, and "just like pidgin English". But without exception, they said it was similar to the Fijian spoken by most Indians nowadays. Hence, nearly all the features of PPF described here are also characteristic of CPF. The differences are described in section 11.2.2.

PPF appears to have derived most of its lexicon from SF, rather than from other varieties of Fijian. This is pointed out by Moag (1978:1458) for current PF (he refers to SF as Colloquial Fijian). One important difference, however, (not pointed out by Moag) is that both PPF and CPF have the k- forms, characteristic of Lauan and other dialects, and also of Literary Fijian (see Section 2.4), but not of SF.

In the following description, PPF is compared to SF, both because of this lexical derivation and because SF is the best-known variety of Fijian. The description of SF grammar is mainly from Schütz (1984). Also the SF orthography is used here, as shown in Table 0-2 of the introduction. The only additional symbols are B [b], D [d], and Q [g] to distinguish the PPF stops, which are not prenasalized, from the SF b [mb], d [nd], and g [dg].

It must be pointed out that since all the informants from whom I obtained data on PPF were familiar with SF, the data most probably is slanted towards SF. In spite of this fact, some of the texts I recorded are unintelligible to native speakers of Fijian who are not familiar with PPF. This unintelligibility is mainly due to phonological differences between PPF and SF, as described below.

5.2.3 Phonology

As in all pidgin languages, there is a great deal of phonological variation in PPF, depending on the speaker's first language. However, certain phonological differences between PPF and SF are regular for Pacific Islander speakers. These are:
a. ɔ becomes t:

(1) PPF takatakamote tototoka
    SF cakacakamoce cocoka
    'work'    'sleep'    'go spear fishing'

b. ɔr becomes d:

(2) PPF yada dede
    SF yadradrēdrē
    'wake up'    'difficult'

c. loss of phonemic vowel length:

(3) PPF maluasa
    SF mālua sā
    'not yet, later'    'pre-verbal marker'

(Some words, however, have come into PPF with stress on the final syllable caused by a final long vowel in SF. These PPF words, therefore, are marked with a final long vowel, e.g. kilā 'know'.)

Another common, but not regular, difference is the devoicing (and/or denasalization) of consonants, especially word initially:

(4) PPF kase SF qase qara dedē binibini
    kara tete pinipini
    'old person'    'cave, mine'    'long time'    'heap'

Other common examples of phonological interference are v becoming f [f] or b [b]:

(5) PPF taBa fale
    SF cava vale
    'what'    'house'

Another example comes from speakers of languages which have no f-l distinction, such as Gilbertese and 'Are'are (Malaita). There are many Fijian versions of "flied lice" or "rots of ruck" stories about these speakers (see Appendix E). This example is from a Gilbertese speaker (also pronouncing t instead of s before a):

Demasalization of d is also reported in large areas of central and west Vanualevu and part of northeast Vitilevu (Schütz 1963, Geraghty 1983:53).
(6) PPF ta rako mai Bei
   'Where have you come from?'
SF o sā lako mai vei
   2S ASP go DIR where

(See also section 5.3.1.)

Intonation patterns of PPF are difficult to determine because of the influence of SF patterns on existing speakers. However, informants have described PPF intonation as being different from that of SF. For example, Maika Brown (9/11/82) said that when Solomon Islanders spoke Fijian, "the tune was Solomons".

5.2.4 Morpho-syntax

5.2.4.1 Verb phrase

Pre-verbal markers:

The SF verb phrase has a pre-verbal subject marking pronoun which is obligatory except for third person singular. This is optionally followed by tense-aspect markers: ā (past), na (future), sā (perfective aspect). Then other markers indicating various discourse relationships may follow.

In PPF, all this morphology does not exist. Only sa (SF sā) remains as a generalized predicate marker, one of the most salient features of PPF. Time relationships are indicated instead either by context or by PPF temporal adverbs, which come either sentence initially or directly before the predicate marker (PM). Such adverbs are malua (SF mālua) 'later', nanoa 'yesterday' and mataka 'morning, tomorrow'.

(7) malua koyau sa lako
   later 1S PM go
   'I'm going later.'
SF au na lako e muri
   1S FUT go LOC following

The pre-verbal directional lai 'go and, go to' is replaced by the head verb lako 'go' in PPF:
(8) koyau sa lako totoka mada na ika
1S PM go spear.fishing INI DEF fish
'I'm going spear fishing.'

SF au lai cocoka

In PPF this construction may also be used to indicate the future as in English 'going to':

(9) sa lako lesumai
PM go return
'Are you going to return?'

SF o na lesu tale mai
2S FUT return ITR DIR

The SF pre-verbal desiderative marker via is used in PPF also as an independent head verb 'to want' instead of SF vinakata:

(10) etaBa sa Bia kina
what PM want there
'What does he want there?'

SF a cava e vinaka-t-a ki-na
DEF what 3S want-TR-OM ABL-3S

It is also used with the meaning 'should (be)':'

(11) sa via kauakaua
PM should strong
'It should be strong.'

Post-verbal markers:
In SF there are several markers, homophonic with certain verbs, which may follow the head verb to indicate continuing action: tiko, tū, koto, and toka. These are all collapsed into one post-verbal durative marker in PPF, tiko, which can indicate either progressive or habitual action. It can also be an existential head verb (compare Tok Pisin i stap):
Other post-verbal markers are as in SF, such as oti (completion), sara (emphasis), mai (direction), and tale (iteration). Also, in PPF mada indicates intention (see example (8) above), as well as polite initiation of action.

VP head:

SF has many verbal markers traditionally considered affixes on the head verb. They differ from other VP morphemes in that they "change the ultimate classification of the verb (with respect to the relationship between actor and goal)" (Schütz 1984:93). These include prefixes such as vei- (usually called reciprocal) and vaka- (causative), and transitive suffixes -Ci or -Caki (where C is any consonant or Ø). These transitive suffixes are followed by proper noun and pronoun objects. But for non-proper third person objects, the suffix -a is added to the transitive suffix in which case the i is lost, and the suffix has the form -Ca or -Caka.

PPF has no such productive head verb morphology. The head verb is invariable in form. In most cases it is derived from the basic SF verb stem without affixes:

(13) kokoya sa musu na tabana
3S PM cut DEF branch

"He cut down the branch."

SF e musu-k-a na taba-na (o koya)
3S cut-TR-OM DEF branch-3S PRP 3S

(14) sinai vakaqō na tab
fill like this the tub
CAU-fill-TR-OM

"Fill the tub like this."

But some PPF verbs have been adopted with the transitive suffix, e.g. raita (SF raica) 'see (it)', kilā 'know (it)', (SF kītaka) 'do, make (it)'. The suffix is an invariable part of the PPF verb and is always
in the -Ca or -Caka form, even if the object is not third person improper:

(15)  
raita koyau  
see 1S  
'Look at me.'  
SF rai-ci au  
see-TR 1S

Ordering:
In SF, objects which are proper nouns or pronouns directly follow the verb (with the transitive suffix), but this is not true of PPF:

(16)  
kokoya sa raita tiko koyau  
3S PM see DUR 1S  
'He's looking at me.'  
SF e rai-ci au tiko (o koya)  
3S see-TR 1S DUR PRP 3S

Ordering of other VP elements in PPF which differs from that of SF may be attributed to fusion of some lexical items, such as lako 'go' and the directional mai into PPF lakomai 'come' (see section 5.2.6.2):

(17)  
kokoya sa lakomai tiko  
3S PM come DUR  
'She's coming.'  
SF e lako tiko mai (o koya)  
3S go DUR DIR PRP 3S

Repetition of the head verb
What may be an innovation of PPF is repetition of the head verb to indicate continuing action. Such repetition is also found in English-based pidgins of the Pacific:
(18) vakatolu tiko yani ke vakatolu tiko tiko tiko tiko 3.times stay DIR there 3.times stay stay stay stay tiko vakavanua stay village-style

'Three times I stayed there--three times I kept staying like a villager.'

(19) na masu ogō me qalo qalo qalo me sota vata DEF prayer this SUB swim swim swim SUB meet with
na qio loma ni waitui DEF shark inside of ocean

'May this prayer keep swimming to meet the shark in the ocean.'

5.2.4.2 Noun phrase
Nominalization
SF has a noun forming or instrumental morpheme i (sometimes written with the article, sometimes with the base, sometimes separately). This morpheme is eliminated in PPF:

(20) PPF sele
    bulubulu
    sulu
SF isele
    ibulubulu
    isulu

'knife'
'grave'
'loincloth, clothing'

Pronouns
The area of PPF grammar which shows the greatest formal simplicity in comparison to SF is the PPF pronoun system. SF has from 70 to 135 pronouns, depending on how one counts them, indicating person, inclusive-exclusive distinction, and number (singular, dual, paucal, and plural). There are a subject-marking set, an objective set, an independent set, and four possessive sets: a postposed set for inalienable nouns and one preposed set each for edible, drinkable, and neutral alienable nouns. But in PPF these are all reduced to only six pronouns, shown in Table 5-1. The PPF pronouns are derived from the SF independent forms, the plural from the independent paucal (traditionally called trial). The first person plural is the SF first person exclusive paucal. The inclusive-exclusive distinction is lost, which is surprising since the distinction exists in nearly all the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>some SF pronouns</th>
<th>PPF pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject marking</td>
<td>independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1XD</td>
<td>keirau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1XT</td>
<td>keitou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1XP</td>
<td>keimami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ID</td>
<td>(e) daru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IT</td>
<td>((e) da)tou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IP</td>
<td>(e) da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2D</td>
<td>(o) drau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2T</td>
<td>(o) dou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>(o) nI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3D</td>
<td>(e) rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T</td>
<td>(e) ratou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>(e) ra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Languages of the labourers (with the exception of Gilbertese). Four of the PPF pronouns are fused with the proper article ko (SF o).

Possession in PPF is shown simply by juxtaposing that which is possessed with the possessor, the possessor following the possessed NP:

(21) na vale koyau
the house 1S
'my house'

SF na no-qu vale
DEF POS-1S house

Mühlhäusler (1978:96) shows that Samoan Plantation Pidgin also does not have inclusive-exclusive distinction in pronouns.
5.2.4.3 Other phrases

Locative phrases:

The SF locative markers, e or i, can be omitted in PPF, especially in phrases such as SF e loma (ni NP) 'inside':

\[(22)\] sa tiko loma ni koro  
PM exist inside POS village  
'(He) is in the village.'

See also example (19) above.

Subordinate phrases:

The particle ni, which introduces subordinate phrases in SF, is mostly absent in PPF, especially after negatives:

\[(23)\] kakua butako dua na ka  
NEG.IMP steal one DEF thing  
'Don't steal anything.'

SF kākua ni butako-c-a e dua na kā  
NEG.IMP SUB steal-TR-OM 3S one DEF thing

\[(24)\] sa sega lesumai  
PM NEG return  
'(He) hasn't returned.'

SF (e) sā sega ni lesu mai  
3S ASP NEG SUB return DIR

\[(25)\] Betieli sa voleka lakomai  
B. PM about.to come  
'Betieli is about to come.'

SF e vōleka ni lako mai o Betieli  
3S near SUB go DIR PRP B.

\[(26)\] sa rawa kitaka  
PM able do  
'(He) can do it.'

SF e rawa ni caka-v-a  
3S able SUB do-TR-OM

In some instances ni is found in PPF when it is part of a phrase which has become fused into a single lexical item. For example:
(27) koyau seganikila
1S don't know
'S I don't know.'

Concomitant phrases:
In SF concomitant phrases have the form (vata) kei NP '(together) and NP'. In PPF the form is vata NP:

(28) koyau fata tubuna
1S together grandmother
'S me and grandmother'

5.2.5 Sentence level morpho-syntact

5.2.5.1 Ordering of elements
Although Fijian has been generally thought of as a VOS language, recent work has clearly shown that the sentence level ordering of elements is more variable (Schütz and Komaitai 1971:122n; Geraghty 1983:391n). In PPF, however, ordering is less variable. If the subject and object are realized (and often they are not), the order is SVO. This can be seen in examples (8), (12), and (13) above.

5.2.5.2 Complex sentences
Juxtaposition rather than subordination is the tendency in PPF complex sentences. For example (a pause is shown by '/'):

(29) sa tiko takataka / sa takataka
PM exist work PM work
'(If) there was work, we worked.'

(30) sega na kakana / kitou sa moku so na toa / kana
NEG DEF food 1P PM kill some DEF chicken eat
qo ga / sa oti ga / sa lakomai
this FOC PM finish FOC PM come
'There was no food, so we killed some chickens and ate them. After finishing we came here.'

Temporal clauses, however, have gauna (SF e na gauna 'at the time') or English-derived taimi as subordinating conjunctions:
When we finished work, we went fishing.

When the policeman came, this is what they did.

5.2.6 Lexicon

5.2.6.1 Reduction of lexicon

Milner and Nawadra (1981:183) write: "Like many other students of Fijian, we have been struck by the richness of its lexical resources in certain fields." They go on to list 81 separate lexical items and 12 compounds referring to cutting. In PPF, there are only two: ta and musu (SF tā(-y-) and musu(-k-)).

There are ways in which the lexicon of PPF appears to be reduced compared to SF. First, only one of two or more synonymous items is used, and the others are lost. Second, the semantic range of one item is widened to encompass the range of other items which are absent (semantic extension). An example of the first type is:

(33) PPF kakua negative imperative SF kākua kua

Examples of the second type are (SF forms are given with the transitive suffix with the 3S object marker)

(34) PPF kitaka 'do' 'do, make, work' SF kī-taka caka-va
vosa 'speak' vosa
'say' kaya
('kill' vaka-mate-a
'murder' labsa-ta
'hit with stick' yavi-ta
'murder' vacu-ka
'hit with fist' sabi-ca
'slap' saba-ka
'slap, strike' moku-ta
'hit, kill with an instrument'
5.2.6.2 Fused forms

Two instances of lexical fusion have already been mentioned. First is the fusion of the directional mai in PPF verbs such as lakomai 'come' and lesumai 'return' (section 5.2.4.1), shown in examples (9, (17), and (25). The second is the fusion of the proper article ko in the PPF pronouns (section 5.2.4.2). In addition, most SF inalienable nouns come into PPF fused with the third person singular possessive pronoun suffix -na:

(35) tinana 'mother' SF tina-na

tamana 'father' tama-na

ligana 'hand' liga-na

(36) PPF na tamana koiko
DEF father 2S

'your father'

SF na tama-mu
DEF father-2S

(37) na ligana koyau sa musi
DEF hand 1S PM hurts

'My hand hurts.'

SF sā mosi na liga-qu
ASP hurts DEF hand-1S

5.2.6.3 Loss of initial ya

SF words beginning with ya have come into PPF without this first syllable:

(38) PPF na lewa SF na yalewa
     na kavi na yakavi 'woman'
     na baki na yabaki 'afternoon'
     na loka na yaloka 'year'
     na qona na yaqona 'egg'
     na tana na yaca-na 'kava'
     na qona 'name'
Some of these forms may be attributed to dialect differences. For example, lewa is the Lauan form (Schütz and Geraghty 1980:11)\(^4\). They may also result from phonological change because of the variable nature of \(\dot{y}\) in Fijian (Schütz 1984:534-38).

5.2.6.4 Additional reduplication

PPF has extended the use of some SF reduplicated forms and uses others which do not exist in SF:

(39) ucauca  'rain'
     mekemeke  'sing, dance'
     qaraqara  'look for'

5.2.6.5 English words in PPF

Some English-derived items in PPF are not found or are not commonly used in SF:

(40) Eoso  'boss, European'
     kaBara  'copra'
     pika  'pick (tool)'
     smoko  'cigarette, cigar'
     makit  'market' (SF mākete)
     Beke  'copra bag'
     karasi  'grass'

5.2.6.6 Items from other languages

I have found two items in PPF from the Lau language of Malaita, but cannot be certain how widespread their use was:

(41) PPF bibiala Lau bib'ala  'pipe for smoking'
     ova  'ofa  'betel leaf or pepper'

Also used was bua 'betelnut', found in several Malaita and Guadalcanal languages.

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\(^4\)Geraghty (personal communication 15/11/82) says that lewa 'woman' also occurs in Serua, Nadroga, Nadi, and Bua; and qona 'kava' in Bua and inland Ba. He also points out that there is no intervocalic \(\dot{y}\) in northeast Vanualevu.
5.3 DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR PPF

Examples of the Fijian used by Pacific Islanders during the plantation era show the same features as those just described. This evidence comes mainly from transcripts of testimony in Supreme Court criminal cases and magisterial inquiries (included in Colonial Secretary's Office correspondence). As shown in section 4.1.3, direct quotations in Fijian were often included in the testimonies which were on the whole translated and recorded only in English.

5.3.1 Phonology

Phonological evidence is, of course, the most difficult to find, but there are at least two examples. The first is from a plantation journal, ca. 1911, in the Hennings Papers in the National Archives of Fiji. The unknown author, most probably a labourer given the duty of writing down the work being done on the plantation, made the following entry, showing the PPF (or Tongan?) use of \( 't \) rather than \( c \):

(42) \( sa \) ta be na Balolo

'The balolo\(^5\) has risen.'

SF sa cabe na balolo

A Fiji Times (29/5/1875) item quotes a "Tokalau boy" named Jack, illustrating the Kiribati labourers' pronunciation of PPF (section 5.2.3):

(43) Tayro, tayrow, na wonga my paparang, tah rako mai, nah wonga booka, ta wongah rib tarah.

SF Sëlõ, sëlõ, na waqa mai vâvâlagi sâ lako mai, sail ho! DEF boat ABL overseas ASP go DIR
na waqa buka, \( [e] \) waqa levu sara
DEF boat fire \( [35] \) boat big EMPH

'Sail ho! sail ho! The ship from overseas has come, the steam ship, it's a really big ship.'

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\(^5\) "a kind of sea worm, an annelid appearing on the reefs the end of October and end of November, Eunice viridis" (Capell 1973:4)
5.3.2 Morpho-syntax

The following examples illustrate the PPF morpho-syntactic features described in section 5.2.4 plus the stabilization of SVO phrase ordering. The first set shows no preverbal subject marking, sa as predicate marker, lack of verbal affixes, and PPF pronouns (glosses in square brackets are mine):

a. The testimony of Daniel Hathaway, overseer on Mago Plantation (SC 5/1890):

   As I got to the house I heard one [Solomon Islander] say:

   (44) Keitou moku Misi Hathaway (We will beat Mr Hathaway.)
   1P beat Mr H.

b. Report of the inspection of Mr S.A. Cuthbert’s labourers (CSO 1183/1887): Ramadua, a Pacific Islander, says that when Mrs Cuthbert goes away, things are all right, but when she’s there the trouble starts because:

   (45) qasi sa rere na marama
   old.man PM fear DEF woman

   ['The old man is afraid of the woman. ']

c. Testimony of William Shave in the trial of Tabulera for murder at Labasa (SC 4/1898):

   We heard a voice say:

   (46) Koiau na ofisa, ko iko sa vana vei au.
   1S DEF police PRP 2S PM shoot at 1S

   ['I am a policeman; you’re shooting at me!?']

   Then we heard the accused’s voice say:

   (47) veitalia koiko na ofisa, koiau na Kai Tokelau
   no.matter 2S DEF police 1S DEF person T.

   ['It doesn’t matter you’re a policeman. I’m a Tokelau.']

d. Report on an inquiry into improper return of labourers (CSO 1153/1887): Returned labourers from Buka call out when they find their wantok had been landed in the wrong place:
(48) Kemudou sa biu ca
2P PM leave bad

['You landed him improperly. ']

The next set of examples shows the use of tiko as both an existential verb and a post-verbal marker indicating the habitual, and the use of oti (completive):

e. Testimony of James A. Millward (SC 33/1894):

The accused [a labourer] came to the door on the verandah and said:

(49) Koiau sa tiko
1S PM exist

[I'm here']

SF oyau oqō

f. Testimony of Nieli of Epi (SC 25/1879):

I said why have you killed the woman; he said because the Kai Solomon:

(50) sa cudru tiko (are always angry)
PM angry DUR

g. Testimony of J. Shadker in an inquiry into the death of Jimi, a Pacific Islander (CSO 2808/1884)

He could still speak— he said:

(51) Sa vinaka sa mati oti.
PM good PM die COMP

['It's good I've died. ']

The final example illustrates the PP possessive construction and the inalienable noun fused with the third person singular possessive suffix:

h. Testimony of Monkey, one of the crew of the ship Meg Merrilies (CSO 1153/1867) (see d. above). When the Buka men found out their wantok had been landed in the wrong place, and thus probably killed by enemies, one of them called out:
5.3.3 Lexicon

Some lexical items typical of PPF are also found in historical records. One is found in example (44) above: moku, meaning 'hit, kill' (compare MPE kilim). Another is in example (47): veitalia, meaning 'forget it, it doesn't matter' (compare TP maski, SIP nomata). Others are found in various travellers' accounts. They are attributed to Fijians, but cannot be considered normal Fijian usage:

(53) sosepani veve
'saucepan'
'baby'

 smoko na papalagi 'tobacco'
(Britton 1870:56)

 mekemeke 'song, dance'
(Goodenough 1888:79; Anderson 1880:39)

There is also some indication that more English was used in PPF during the plantation era than is evident in the informants' PPF which is greatly influenced by SF. The following example comes from the "Passing Notes" column of the Fiji Times (2/6/1906), written by "Ola". It describes an incident at the market in which a woman asks a "native constable" to carry home her vegetables:

She was thin and tired looking, and had one baby in arms and two at foot. Discontent born of ignorance and superstition had sharpened her voice, and, as "Ola" drew near, excitement had tripped her small knowledge of Solomon-Fijian vernacular and shifting the baby to the other arm, she continued:

(54) sa segai ni taura? Why not? You taura
PM NEG SUB take.it take.it

 another siga? Koau sa sega ni taura. Na gone!
 day 1S PM NEG SUB take.it DEF child

 Sa levu na vale from here--long way--Taura?
PM big DEF house take.it

It is not clear what ethnic group both the woman and the constable belong to, but the example illustrates the kind of code-switching that
may have led to the observations of labourers speaking "a mixture of English and Fijian" described in section 4.2.1.

5.4 THE EVOLUTION OF PPF

It appears that PPF developed according to the alternative scenario described in section 1.5, much like Hawaiian Plantation Pidgin and Police (or Hiri) Motu. The controlling Europeans in Fiji used an existing pidginized language of wider communication, Jargon Fijian, as the plantation language, and this jargon became a stable pidgin when the polyglot Pacific Islands labourers arrived on the scene.

5.4.1 Jargon Fijian

As mentioned in section 2.3.2.2, early word lists collected by explorers and traders give some indication of the nature of the Fijian used between Fijians and outsiders prior to the plantation era. As illustrated below, the lists show many unidiomatic forms of Fijian which appear to represent Jargon Fijian (JF), a pre-pidgin continuum covering the range of unfixed pidginized forms of Fijian used by both Fijians and outsiders and resulting from a complex combination of Fijians' Foreigner Talk and foreigners' Broken Language (see section 1.4). Although there is little consistency in the JF found in the word lists, certain conventions can be seen beginning to emerge, which later become salient features of PPF.

5.4.1.1 Tongans' JF

Evidence of the nature of JF used between Fijians and Tongans comes from the first printing in the Fijian language—a primer written in 1825 by John Davies. It was written and published in Tahiti, using two informants, a Tongan who knew Fijian, and a Lauan. The language used in the primer (reproduced in Schütz 1984:564-67) shows several features similar to those of PPF.

First, because of the influence of Tongan phonology, o is replaced by t, as in PPF; for example, SF uca 'rain' becomes "uta" and ca 'bad' becomes "ta". Also, in some instances, v is replaced by E, e.g. "lebu" [leBu] 'big' (also pointed out in Schütz 1984:568).

Second, ko, ki, and laki are used rather than SF o, i and lai, most probably because of the influence of Lauan. Examples are:
(55) turu mai ki fale
'Come inside the house.'

SF curu mai i vale
enter DIR LOC house

(56) Kotai na tamu
'What's your name?'

SF o cei na yaca-mu
PRP who DEF name-2S

Note that the preceding example also shows the loss of initial ya.

Third, several conventions appear which are not traceable to either Tongan or Lauan. They are also salient features of PPF: loss of subject marking pronouns, use of the independent forms of the pronouns, and use of sa as a generalized predicate marker. (These features have been pointed out in Geraghty 1978.) A difference from PPF is that the pronoun follows the verb instead of preceding it. Some examples are:

(Note that examples are given as in the primer where "g" represents SF k):

(57) malua sa lago mai koeau
later PM go DIR 1S
'I'll come later.'

Note also the adverbial use of malua.

(58) sa gila koiko na vosa faka Tahiti
PM know 2S DEF language MAN T.
'You know Tahitian.'

Another difference in pronouns from PPF is that a first person inclusive pronoun "ketaru" (SF kedaru) is listed, as well as a second person dual form, "kemunrau" (SF kemudrau). But as in PPF, the plural forms are based on the SF paucal. Also, in the text the second person plural is joined with the proper article ko: "koikemuntou" (SF o (i)kemudou).

The final examples from Davies show the variation in the presence of PPF features. The following illustrates variation in the use of
verbal affixes, first without the transitive affix, and second with the affix "-ta" (SF -ca):

(59)  

a. lago mai koiko, mai vuli na vosa faka Fiji 
go DIR 2S DIR learn DEF language MAN F.

'You come, come learn Fijian.'

b. vuli-ta na vosa ni Kalou 
learn-TR DEF word POS God

'Learn the word of God.'

The next shows the use of the head verb lako as well as preverbal directional laki with another head verb:

(60)  

a. sa lago mote

[sa lako moce] 
PM go sleep

'gone to bed'

b. lagi tei uvi

[laki tei uvi] 
DIR plant yam

'go yam planting'

5.4.1.2 Europeans' JF

The word lists of Lockerby, Richardson, and Endicott, mentioned in Chapter 2, contain examples of all of the unidiomatic features of Davies' primer which are described above, with the exception of t replacing c. In addition, some items appear to be more overgeneralized, as in example (1) in section 2.3.2.2 (repeated here), in which sa is used to mark pronouns as well as the predicate:

(61)  

sa guego sa quow sa lako sarasara n'Iarsey

[sa koiko sa koau sa lako sarasara na yasi] 
PM 2S PM 1S PM go look.on DEF sandalwood

'go with me to see the sandalwood' (Richardson)

SF daru lai raica na yasi
Besides the overgeneralization of the use of sa, this example shows other features of PPF: use of the independent pronouns and of lako with another head verb.6

Another example from the lists shows the lack of a transitive suffix, and also the omission of the locative marker:

(62) dolah N'Iarsey n'bello bello
[ cola na yasi na velovel0]
carry DEF sandalwood DEF boat

'Carry the wood to the boat.' (Richardson)

SF cola-v-a na yasi i na velovel0
carry-TR-OM DEF sandalwood LOC DEF boat

A feature of PPF found in the European lists but not in Davies' primer is the possessive construction of the possessed juxtaposed with the possessor:

(63) Iarsey quow
[yasi koau]
sandalwood 1S

'my sandalwood' (Richardson)

SF na no-qu yasi
DEF POS-1S sandalwood

Another feature of PPF, loss of the nominalizer i, appears inconsistently in the lists:

(64) Sealy [sele] 'knife' (Lockerby)
Iscealey [isele] 'knife' (Richardson) SF isele

Cotey [koti] 'scissors' (Lockerby)
Icotey [ikoti] 'scissors' (Richardson) SF ikoti

Sulu 'cloth' (Richardson) SF isulu

Lexical features of Europeans' JF similar to those of PPF are reduction

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6Geraghty (1978) discusses this and other examples from the word lists. He includes (p.59) the use of sarasara 'look on, be a spectator' instead of raica 'see' as a feature of PF. I have found this feature in CPF but not PPF.
of lexical items with semantic extension of others (e.g. *vosa* instead of *kaya*), fused forms (third person possessive suffix with inalienable nouns), loss of initial *ya*, and additional reduplication. Some examples are:

(65) a daba poso Qugo
[a cava vosa koiko]  
DEF what talk 2S

'What do you say?' (Lockerby)

SF a cava o kaya
DEF what 2S say

(66) Quotha Ithanuh Guego
[ko cei yacana koiko]  
PRP who name 2S

'What is your name?' (Richardson)

SF o cei na yaca-mu
PRP who DEF name-2S

(67) baggay [baki]

'space of time from one yam planting to another'  
['year'] (Richardson)

SF yabaki

(68) makey makey [mekemeke]  
'to sing' (Lockerby)

cun'-a-cun' [kanakana]  
'eat' (Endicott)

Again, however, the PPF features are not found consistently in JF. For example, in Richardson's list "auow" [au] is listed for 'I', but "quow" [koau] is used in other entries. In Table 5-2 below, variation in the lists is illustrated.

5.4.1.3 The origins of Jargon Fijian

Again as mentioned in section 2.3.2.2, Geraghty (1978, 1984) says that the word lists collected by Europeans represent Fijian Foreigner Talk. Moag (1978:1473) also takes this point of view: "The basic forms of PF have resulted from Fijians deliberately simplifying their own language rather than from the inept attempts of outgroup members to
reproduce the Fijian around them." This view that pidgins originate from conscious simplification of the target language by its native speakers is discussed in section 1.4.1 as the Altered Model Theory. The opposing view is that pidgins originate from imperfect learning of the target language by non-native speakers, or Broken Language (Ferguson and DeBose 1977:108), discussed in section 1.4.2 as the Imperfect Learning Theory. It is my view, according to the Compromise theory (section 1.4.3), that the lists represent not only the way Fijians talked to foreigners but the way foreigners talked to Fijians. Therefore, I have said that they provide examples of Jargon Fijian.

In support of the Altered Model Theory, Moag (1976:1473) points to the use of the emphatic, independent pronoun forms in PF. He says these forms would not be heard in conversation as much as the subject marking forms, and concludes that the Fijians must have used these independent
forms in talking to outsiders "in striving to bridge the language barrier." But there is another way that these independent pronouns could have come into JF, and eventually into PF, and this possibility has been largely overlooked in the study of pidgin languages: that is, the influence of elicitation and conscious language learning. These forms, rather than subject-marking pronouns, would be the ones given by Fijians to foreigners who were trying to learn lexical items by pointing, for example, or even by bilingual translation. Even today, if one asks a Fijian (a non-linguist, of course), "What's the word for 'you'?", he would say o iko (the independent form) rather than o (the subject marking form mostly heard in conversation). The existence of many word lists certainly indicates that the forms were elicited either from Fijians or from Europeans who supposedly knew the language. Overgeneralization of the use of these forms could have been one example of early pidginisation of Fijian.

Overgeneralization is one of the characteristics of Broken Language. Of course it is often difficult to distinguish learners' overgeneralization from "spontaneous simplification", but many unidiomatic features of the early word lists can be better attributed to Broken Language than to Foreigner Talk. For example, it is hard to imagine a Fijian trying to simplify his language by the excessive overgeneralization of sa found in example (61) above. Also the many fused forms in JF and PPF which result from "recutting", or failure to recognize morpheme boundaries (section 1.4.2), most probably originate from imperfect learning rather than model simplification. Thus, it is likely that a complex combination of both Foreigner Talk and Broken Language led to the development of Jargon Fijian.

5.4.2 The development of PPF

The large number of shared salient linguistic features is a good indication that PPF is derived from JF to some extent. The difference is that conventions which were "tendencies" in JF are more fixed in PPF. For example, in PPF sa is used consistently (except for imperatives and hortatives) as a predicate marker; it is never overgeneralized to the extent it is in example (61) above. Verbs are fixed, usually without any affixes, but sometimes frozen with a transitive -Ca or -Caka suffix; there is none of the variation in use
of verbal suffixes found in JF. More standard forms of VP and NP morphology, such as use of lai or possessive suffixes, are generally not found in PPF. And ordering of elements is stabilized as SVO.

What most probably occurred is that JF, like Jargon Hawaiian, had become an established and partially conventionalized contact language used between outsiders and Fijians. Its use was extended to the first plantations where the labourers were Fijians. The stabilization of JF into PPF took place on Fiji's plantations after the arrival of labourers from the Pacific Islands. As mentioned in section 1.4, many creolists (e.g. DeCamp 1971:22; Whinnom 1971:104; Todd 1974:5) have pointed out that while an unstable jargon such as JF can result from contact between two language groups, a stable pidgin can develop only when it used among several language groups. Before the arrival of the imported labourers, linguistic contact was primarily bilingual (Fijian and either Tongan or English), with one group trying to learn the language of the other (more often Tongans or Europeans trying to learn Fijian). The plantations, however, provided the ideal environment for the development of a stable pidgin. Pacific Islanders of diverse linguistic backgrounds needed a lingua franca for communication not only with Fijians and Europeans, but also among themselves. When JF was used by Europeans as the plantation language, it was in turn used by the islands labourers as their lingua franca, and stabilization took place.

Therefore, although the Pacific Islanders played a part in the stabilization of PPF, they were not responsible for the incipient pidginization. Rather, the linguistic input for the development of PPF was an already pidginized version of Fijian, JF, which was used by both Fijians and Europeans to talk to them.

5.4.2.1 Input from Fijians

While I suggest that the word lists represent Jargon Fijian rather than simply Fijian Foreigner Talk, I do not dispute Geraghty's (1978, 1984) point that they give some indication of the way Fijians communicated with outsiders. As with Jargon Hawaiian (Bickerton and Wilson forthcoming), JF had a long enough history to become a conventional way for Fijians to speak with foreigners, and the use of JF with Tongans and Europeans most probably was extended to the
imported labourers. There are also a few other examples in the literature in which the quoted speech of Fijians contains features of JF or PPF:

(69) koiko sa ngase
    [koiko sa qase]
    2S PM old
    'You are wise.' (Wallis 1851:155)

(70) mekemeke na papalagi sa vinaka
    song/dance DEF white.man PM good
    'The whiteman's song is good.' (Britton 1870:57)

Furthermore, there are many reports of Fijians using PPF features, especially the overuse of sa, in talking to foreigners. The first comes from Endicott (1923[1831]:71): "The natives always add the word Sah to all words excepting substantives." Another example is a note written by J.L.V. Sukuna in a Fijian text book (Goepel 1938:4): "Learners will find that Fijians use sa far more in speaking to them than talking among themselves." Finally, Milner (1972:102) writes about the language used in one of the texts in his Fijian grammar:

It was addressed to a European and therefore the speaker was "speaking down", that is, making certain concessions in order to be understood more easily. In particular, he uses sa more often than he would if he was speaking to a Fijian.

The fact that Fijians used JF and later more stable PPF with foreigners would explain why Pacific Islands labourers did not learn SF, even with the degree of contact between the two groups both on and off the plantations (sections 3.1.4 and 3.3.3.2).

5.4.2.2 Input from Europeans

Europeans may have used JF either because they thought it would facilitate communication with Pacific Islanders or because they had never learned SF properly. And the role of the Europeans in exposing plantation labourers to JF was probably greater than that of the

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7 This was pointed out by Schütz (1964:12).
Fijians for the following reasons: First, whereas some plantations had no Fijian labourers and were far from any Fijian village, virtually all plantations had European overseers. Second, the importance of the language spoken by those in control of the plantations has been shown in section 4.4.1. Thus, because the Europeans were in power, whatever language they spoke to the labourers, pidginized or not, would have the prestige. Third, it is more likely that Europeans' Fijian would be unidiomatic.

And according to several sources, it was unidiomatic. Thomson (1896:32) writes: "Most of the Europeans speak a little Fijian, but unless they are missionaries, government officials, or natives of the country, they seldom speak or write it correctly." G.A.W.F. Beauclerc (1910:67) (mentioned in section 5.1) also mentions "the 'pidjin' Fijian spoken by the majority of the whitemen in Fiji".

Evidence shows that at least some Europeans spoke an unfixed JF to their labourers. According to one report, Mr Kemp, an engineer on Deuba Plantation, spoke "broken Fijian" (CSO 2028/1889). The Fiji Gazette (18/12/1878) describes an incident in which a Pacific Islander servant was instructed to cook dinner "in the following classical Fijian":

(71) Sa vaka-rau na fire, malua sa oti, sa cooka na mutton.
[ 'Ready the fire, later finished, cook the mutton.']

(The report goes on to say that the labourer "immediately seized on a quantity of starched and ironed linen which had just been returned by the laundress, and immersed it in a tub of soap suds, and began to wash in a very energetic manner".)

Another example is from a report on the complaint of Luvulea, a labourer at Koronivia, against the overseer, Mune, who beat him for not carrying out orders (CSO 1886/1887):
He was sitting in his chair. I was behind him. He held a note at the back of his chair towards me and said (without turning around):

(72) Ogo nai vola na papalagi na tamata
here DEF letter DEF white.man DEF man
mai Waimana na velovelo
LOC W. DEF boat

['Here the letter the whiteman the man at Waimanu the boat.]

I did not understand what he meant but thought he wished me to go and get a man to go with me to fetch some papalagi.

The report continues: "Mr Mune's explanation is that he told Luvulea very clearly what he wished done."

The following examples show Europeans speaking Fijian with features typical of PPF such as use of the negative imperative kakua without the subordinating ni and the omission of the locative marker:

a. Part of a warning to a Pacific Islander prisoner by E.A. Barnett (SC 79, 1914):

(73) kakua tukuna e dua na ka
NEG.IMP tell 3S one DEF thing

['Don't tell anything. ']

b. Mrs Cuthbert, wife of a plantation owner (see b. in section 5.3.2 above) speaking to Lofara, a labourer:

(74) ko iko sa tiko ivi?
2S PM exist where

a cava ko vuni tiko na veikau?
DEF what 2S hide DUR DEF woods

['Where were you? Why were you hiding in the woods? ']

In 1912, G.A.W.F. Beauclerc read a paper before the Fijian Society, which was later published as a pamphlet entitled: "The Corruptions of the Fijian Language: Things to be Avoided: A useful guide for ministers, magistrates, overseers". In the paper he describes one class of corruptions "which originates from Englishmen who consider the Fijian language as merely a gibberish at the best, and who always
speak gibberish when they fancy they are speaking Fijian" (Beauclerc 1914:4). Beauclerc may not be the most reliable source. Schütz's opinion is that "almost everything he wrote about Fijian was either wrong or inane, sometimes both, but generally full of conceit" (Schütz 1972:67). Nevertheless, Beauclerc's description of this "gibberish" gives us a good idea of the way some Europeans must have spoken Fijian. The features he describes bear a striking resemblance to the following features of PPF (all quotations from Beauclerc 1914:4):

a. the PPF pronouns:

The gibberish man learns the Fijian for the words 'I, thou, and he', "koiau, ko iko, and ko koya".

b. the PPF possessive construction:

He says "na tamata koiau", "na vale ko iko" for 'my man', 'your house' but which literally mean 'the man I' and 'the house you'.

c. the fused 3rd person singular possessive suffix:

For 'my father' he says, "na tamana koiau", for 'your mother', "na tinana ko iko", and for 'his son', "na luvena ko koya", which literally mean 'his father I', 'his mother you', and 'his son he'.

d. use of via instead of vinakata:

Another horrible class of gibberish expressions is formed by the use of the pidgin Fijian word "via" as a verb meaning 'to want' or 'wish for', as "ko iko sa via na uvi?" for 'do you want yams?'.

e. use of vosa rather than kaya:

And by combination of all these pidgins we get "na marama sa vosa sa via ko iko" which is rubbish throughout...whereas it should be "sa kaya na marama mo lako vua" 'The mistress says go you to her'.

Beauclerc also mentions two common lexical items in PPF: "the slang term 'boso' for overseer or employer of labourers" (p.6) and:

"veitalia", which may mean either 'do as you choose', or 'leave it to me', according to how it is said, but it never means 'let it alone', and yet that is what the ordinary overseer intends it to mean when he uses it. (p.8)
Finally, he says that "this class of error...is growing into the speech of Fijians" and that "all this incorrectness is learned by imitating Englishmen".

If Europeans' version of Jargon Fijian was, in fact, the starting point for the formation of a stable pidgin on the plantations, it would provide a convenient explanation for two potential anomalies of PPF grammar. These are the lack of the inclusive-exclusive distinction in pronouns and the absence of a productive system of transitive verbal suffixes. One would expect these features to be retained in PPF since they are characteristic of both Standard Fijian and the Melanesian languages of most of the labourers (Codrington 1885:111,179). They are also characteristic of the existing English-based pidgins of the southwest Pacific. But of course, they are not characteristic of English, and one would not expect them to be retained in English speakers' pidginized Fijian. In addition, it would explain the existence of the k- forms in PPF (section 5.2.2). These are found not in Standard Fijian, but in Literary Fijian (section 2.4), based on the way Europeans spoke the language.

5.4.2.3 Substratum influence from labourers' languages

Although the Pacific Islands labourers probably played no part in the initial pidginization of Fijian, their own languages may have influenced the development of the stabilizing PPF by reinforcing certain features. A more detailed comparative study needs to be made between PPF and the languages of the labourers, but two examples are given here of possible reinforcement from the languages of Malaita, whose speakers made up more than 80 percent of the Pacific Islands labour force in the final years of the plantation era (section 3.3.1).

The first involves the PPF possessive construction. All the languages of Malaita except Kwaio show possession by placing the independent pronoun after the head noun (Simons 1980:7), just as in PPF. It is noteworthy that with different substrate influence, this order has changed in current PF (see section 11.2.2.3). The second is the sa predicate marker. The languages of Malaita (and many of Vanuatu) have a subject marking pronoun, as in Fijian, which references the person and number of the subject in the predicate, and thus serves also to mark the predicate. As the use of the SF aspect marker Sā was
overgeneralized in JF, it was possibly reanalyzed by the labourers in reference to their own languages as a regularized predicate marker.  

5.4.3 PPF and other non-European based pidgins

In terms of formal simplicity (such as the regularized use of sa as a predicate marker with all subjects), PPF is similar to several other pidgins with vocabulary bases from non-European languages which are complex in the same areas as Standard Fijian.

For example, one of the most complex areas of Fijian grammar is the pronoun system, as described in section 5.2.4.2. Other non-European languages also have similar complex pronoun systems, and jargons and pidgins derived from these languages show comparative simplicity similar to that of PPF: reduction of the number of pronouns with the regularized use of the independent or free forms. These include Police (or Hiri) Motu (Dutton 1978, forthcoming), Pidgin Hawaiian (Bickerton and Wilson forthcoming), Bazaar Malay (Wurm 1971), Chinook Jargon (Silverstein 1972), Kituba (Mühlhäusler 1974:86), and Fangalo (Heine 1979). PPF is also similar to some of these varieties and to other non-European based varieties in comparison to their TLs in the following: loss or reduction of noun class distinctions, such as alienable-inalienable or edible-drinkable (Bazaar Malay, Police Motu, Fangalo, and also Pidgin Swahili and Adamawa Fula [Heine 1979]); loss of possessive suffix system in what was the inalienable noun class (Police Motu and Bazaar Malay); fusion of the third person possessive suffix in what were inalienable nouns (Police Motu); simple juxtaposition of possessed and possessor (Pidgin Hawaiian), loss of subject and object markers on verbs (Police Motu, and also the Elem Hiri Trade variety [Dutton 1983]); and loss of tense and aspect markers (Bazaar Malay, Pidgin Hawaiian, Pidgin Swahili).

Similarities in the formal simplicity of European-derived pidgins

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8 Several authors (e.g. Walsh 1978; Camden 1979; Keesing 1984) have suggested that substrate influence from Vanuatu and Solomons languages has reinforced the use of the i predicate marker in different varieties of MPE.

9 A pidgin can, of course, have a pronoun system more complex than that of its lexifier language because of substrate influence. An example is Tok Pisin.

10 The Motu third person possessive suffix is -na as in SF.
have been used as evidence for several theories of origin. One is that these pidgins (and resultant creoles) are descended from the same ancestor (monogenesis). Another is that they result from pidginization by speakers of closely related languages (substrate similarity). A third theory is that they reflect universal structural tendencies (linguistic universals).

Because of the vast diversity in geography, history, and participant languages, it is unlikely that either monogenesis or substrate influence could explain the similarities between PPF and the other non-European based pidgins described above. A better explanation is obviously that the areas of grammar which are observed to be less complex in a pidgin are those that are relatively complex in the lexifier language in the first place. Therefore, some similarities between pidgins in terms of formal simplicity may be attributed to superstrate similarity. The universals involved concern the genesis of the comparatively simple system as opposed to the complex one.

Much more information is needed on the development of these comparatively simple systems in a wide variety of languages, not just European ones. Fiji's plantations nurtured not only one non-European based pidgin, but several other varieties which exhibit formal simplicity in comparison to their non-European lexifier languages. The structure and development of these varieties, described in the following chapters, provide important points of comparison with Pidgin Fijian.
PART III: LANGUAGES FROM INDIA

The part of this section includes several historical events that occurred in India in the 19th century. They were influenced by the Great Mughals, who had established control. Indian literature stems from the Jain, Buddhism, and Hinduism traditions. In 1847, the policy was to implement English to ensure that the indigenous languages and customs did not disappear. The new policy was to provide the increased demand for the native development of the colony.

6.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

6.1.1 The Indian Mutiny of 1857

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 was an attempt to provide better living conditions for the British soldiers, who were stationed in India. The mutiny was led by a group of Indian soldiers and was supported by various tribes. The British government, led by Lord Dalhousie, quickly suppressed the rebellion. The war was significant in that it led to the British gaining control over India.

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 has been widely interpreted as a sign of the British desire to maintain control over the Indian subcontinent. The British government, led by Lord Dalhousie, quickly suppressed the rebellion. The war was significant in that it led to the British gaining control over India.
The first of over 60,000 indentured labourers from India arrived in Fiji in 1879. They were introduced by the first governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, who was familiar with the well-established Indian indenture system from his prior experience in Mauritius and Trinidad. In Fiji his policy was to restrict Fijian labour in order not to disrupt their society and to move away from imported Pacific Islands labour because of previous abuses of the system and difficulties in recruiting (see section 3.2.1). Therefore, he turned to India to provide the increased labour force needed for the economic development of the colony.

6.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

6.1.1 The indenture system

The Indian indenture system, which was set up to provide labour for British colonies after the abolition of slavery, has been described in detail by Tinker (1974). The major colonies concerned were Mauritius, Guyana (formerly British Guiana or Demarara), Trinidad, Jamaica, Natal (South Africa), Fiji. Indian labourers were also provided for other countries' colonies, such as Surinam (Dutch Guiana), French Guiana, and Réunion. The system in general lasted from 1830 until 1920, but in Fiji in operated from 1879 to 1916.

The indenture system in Fiji has been well documented by Gillion (1962) and Lal (1983). Basically, it worked as follows: As for other colonies, labourers were recruited in either rural areas or urban centres by licensed recruiting agents or their unlicensed employees, called arkatis, who were paid a bounty for each recruit delivered to the sub-depots in regional centres. From there the recruits were sent on to the main depots, either Calcutta in the north or, as of 1903, Madras in the south.
At these depots the recruits were examined by the Medical Inspector and the Protector of Immigrants who was supposed to make sure they understood the terms of their contracts. These contracts and the period of indenture were called *girmit* (from the English 'agreement') by the Fiji Indians. The labourers called themselves *girmitiyas*, although the Europeans called them "coolies".¹

The new labourers had to spend a compulsory week at the depot before being shipped to Fiji, but at times the period extended to several weeks in waiting for a ship (Lal 1983:33). It is significant that at these depots, the recruits were mostly for the first time forced to live in close quarters with others of different regions, religions, castes, and of course languages.

According to their contracts, the labourers had to work for five years, nine hours a day for five days a week, and five hours on Saturday. The minimum wages were a shilling a day for adult (over 15) males and nine pence for adult women. Children received wages "proportionate to the amount of work done" (Gillion 1962:211). After five years the labourers had three alternatives: they could return to India at their own expense, they could stay in Fiji and lease a small parcel of land, or they could work another five years after which they would be given free passage back to India.

6.1.2 The plantations

The majority of the Indian labourers worked in large sugarcane plantations owned by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR), which began operations in Fiji in 1882. These plantations were located first in the Rewa area, and later mainly on the northwest sides of the two main islands, Vitilevu and Vanualevu. The European owners of smaller plantations opposed the introduction of the Indian labourers, believing them to be inferior to the Pacific Islanders. In addition, many could not afford the higher cost of their introduction (Gillion 1962:72).² On the other hand, CSR could pay the costs, and because of the

¹In this work the term *girmitiya* will be used to refer to a former indentured labourer from India who still is alive in Fiji.
²A notable exception was Captain J. Hill of Rabe Island, who employed 106 of the first batch of Indian labourers on his plantation (Gillion 1962:69).
outrageously high death rate of Pacific Islands labourers on CSR plantations in 1882, the company decided to use only Indians.

However, in 1905 a deferred payment system for imported labourers was introduced. This allowed the owners of smaller plantations to obtain a maximum of 30 indentured Indian labourers. Most of these planters already employed Pacific Islanders. Their plantations, mainly producing copra, were located on Taveuni, on southeast Vanualevu (Cakaudrove), and in the Lau group. Later indentured Indians were also employed in other areas on small tea, rubber, and tobacco plantations as well as on cattle farms. By 1916 only two-thirds of the Indian labourers worked on the large sugarcane plantations (Gillion 1962:102) (see section 7.1).

Work on the smaller plantations was supervised by the European planters themselves and on the larger plantations by hired European overseers. Direct supervision of small gangs of labourers, however, was done by Indian foremen called "sirdars" (or sardars). Work was done according to the "task system" in which the overseer or the sirdar assigned each labourer a certain amount of work, or a task, for the day.

On the plantations, the labourers lived in cramped quarters which were called "lines": long wooden houses with corrugated iron roofs. Gillion (1962:105) describes the lines as follows:

Each line usually had eight rooms on each side, each ten feet by seven feet, or ten feet by twelve feet (after 1908), and assigned to three single men, or to one man, one woman, and not more than two children. The rooms had doors, but no windows, and for ventilation (but not privacy) the partitions were not carried to the ceiling, but were topped with wire netting.

Thus, as a result of living closely together in the depots, on the ships, and on the plantations, many distinctions between the labourers broke down. The most obvious of these were caste distinctions (Mayer 1963:15-16; Gillion 1962:123; Jayawardena 1971:94), but also some regional and religious distinctions became less pronounced. Lal (1983:33-35) describes this levelling as not only a breakdown of traditional differences, but also a process of reconstruction:
The new life fostered a sense of companionship and togetherness that cut across barriers of religion, caste, and place of origin... Social barriers were impossible to maintain. Communal taboos gradually broke down... The process of fragmentation—for it was not abrupt disintegration—of the old world was aided by the attitude of the authorities who viewed all the recruits simply as "coolies". But along with this a process of reconstitution was taking place in which new ideas, new values, and new associations were being formed.

As will be seen in the Chapters 8 and 9 this fragmentation and reconstitution were not only cultural but also linguistic.

6.2 ORIGINS OF THE INDIAN LABOURERS

The places of origin of Fiji's Indian immigrants have been documented by Gillion (1962) and Lal (1980, 1983), and therefore will be dealt with here only briefly.

6.2.1 Calcutta emigrants

Lal's computer analysis of information given on emigration passes shows that recruits shipped out of Calcutta came from nearly every area of India (which then included Pakistan) and also from other countries including Nepal, Afghanistan, and Tibet. The various areas are listed in Table 6-1 and shown on Map 9, both from Lal (1983:50-51). By far the most important areas were the Northwest Provinces and Oudh (which later combined to form the United Provinces (UP)), Bihar, and the Central Provinces. These generally correspond to the modern Indian states of Uttar Pradesh (also UP), Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh.

Tinker (1974) and Lal (1983) show that Bihar was the major area of recruiting until the 1870s. Therefore, in colonies that began indentured immigration before this time, such as Mauritius (which began in 1834), Guyana (1838), and Trinidad (1845), the immigrants from Bihar were the largest group. However, later recruiting began to shift to the west to UP (much as recruiting of Pacific Islanders shifted northwest from Vamatu to the Solomons). In Fiji, labourers from Bihar made up an average of 34 per cent of the total in the early years from 1879 to 1890, but later their numbers declined to an average of 10 per cent from 1891 to 1894, and 5 per cent from 1895 to 1916. In contrast to other colonies, then, immigrants from UP were the largest group.

Of the districts providing 2 per cent or more of Fiji's North Indian immigrants, all were in UP with the exception of Shahabad, in
Table 6-1: Regional origins of emigrants embarked from Calcutta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>contemporary name</th>
<th>numbers emigrating</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Western Provinces</td>
<td>21,131</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oudh</td>
<td>13,207</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>4,771</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>2,602</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas colonies</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western India</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other areas</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>45,439</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lal 1983:36

MAP 9: Provincial origins of migrants embarked from Calcutta

NB: In general pre-1947 boundaries have been used.

Scale: 0 200 miles

from Lal 1983:51
Bihar on the UP border. These are listed in Table 6-2 and shown on Map 12 on page 160.

Table 6-2: Major districts of origin for Calcutta emigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>contemporary name</th>
<th>state</th>
<th>number emigrating</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basti</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>6,415</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonda</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>3,589</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faizabad</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>2,329</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultanpur</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>1,747</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azamgarh</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>1,716</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorakhpur</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>1,683</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahabad</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>1,410</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>1,218</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaunpur</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>1,188</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazipur</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>1,127</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rae Bareli</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratapgarh</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lal 1983:56

The most important district clearly was Basti, supplying 14.1 per cent of the total, followed by Gonda (7.9 per cent) and Faizabad (5.1).

It is also notable that some of the Calcutta emigrants gave overseas colonies as their place of origin. These were: Fiji 227, Natal 200, Guyana 94, Trinidad 51, Surinam 26, Mauritius 23, Jamaica 18, and St Lucia 1 (Lal 1983:54). It is likely that many more of Fiji's Indian labourers had also worked in other colonies, but that they gave their Indian home districts when registering.

6.2.2 Madras emigrants

The first Fiji labourers to be recruited in South India embarked from the Madras depot in 1903. The numbers of emigrants dispatched from both Madras and Calcutta from 1903 to 1916 are shown in Table 6-3. While the labourers recruited in South India made up only about 24 per cent of the overall number despatched to Fiji between 1879 and 1916 (Lal 1983:44), they constituted 42 per cent of those despatched after 1903. In five out of these fourteen years, more than half the labourers were sent to Fiji from Madras rather than from Calcutta, and one year (1912) three quarters were from Madras.

Little is known about the home districts of the recruits shipped
Table 6-3: Emigrants despatched to Fiji, 1903-1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>number from Calcutta</th>
<th>number from Madras</th>
<th>percentage from Madras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1,234</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1,158</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1,405</td>
<td>1,731</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>2,594</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>796</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>3,162</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,256</td>
<td>1,589</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,233</td>
<td>1,971</td>
<td>46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>2,546</td>
<td>75.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1,020</td>
<td>2,202</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1,033</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,394</td>
<td>1,115</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>806</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>20,548</td>
<td>15,132</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gillion 1962:209

Out of Madras as no information is available in official reports and no analysis has been made of the emigration passes. Gillion (1962:204) shows that the North Arcot was the most important district of registration. Also important were Madras city, and Tanjore (along with North Arcot in the modern state of Tamil Nadu), Malabar (in modern Kerala), and Krishna, Godavari, and Visakhapatnam (in Andhra Pradesh). Gillion notes, however, that not all emigrants were registered in their home districts.

A look at the emigration passes (in the National Archives of Fiji) of the first batch in 1903 gives some idea of the districts of origin of the Madras emigrants in general. (Of course, however, recruiting patterns may have changed significantly in later years.) Recruits came mainly from districts included in the modern Indian states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, but also Kerala, Karnataka, and Maharashtra were represented. North Arcot was by far the most important district (see Table 6-4).
### Table 6-4: Major districts of origin for Madras emigrants, 1903

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</table>

Based on 589 extant emigration passes in NAF

### Map 10: Districts of modern South India
6.2.3 Women labourers

Although there were many abuses in the Indian indenture system, it was certainly far more organized and regulated than the Pacific labour trade. One of the main differences between the two systems was the requirement by the Colonial Office that 40 per cent of the Indian labourers must be women. Lal (1983:102-03) shows that this quota was enforced for Fiji. This factor most probably contributed to many more Indians than Pacific Islanders staying on in Fiji at the end of their contracts.

6.3 THE LANGUAGES OF THE INDIAN LABOURERS

6.3.1 The languages of India

Although several language families are found in the Indian subcontinent, only the two major ones are relevant to Fiji: Indo-Aryan in the North and Dravidian in the South.\(^3\) The complex linguistic situation within these two families can be examined at four levels: village dialect, sub-regional dialect, regional dialect, and regional language (Gumperz 1971).

Gumperz and Naim (1960:94-5) write that at the village level there is "a chain of mutually intelligible varieties of Indo-Aryan stock, extending through all of North India from the Arabian Sea in the West to Assam in the East". They continue, "Superimposed above this chain we find the sub-regional dialects, varieties which avoid the most divergent localisms and are understood over somewhat wider areas." These subdialects may be grouped together into regional dialects. These usually have their own names, and several could be called regional standards, as they have developed their own scripts and literatures. Finally, superimposed above the regional dialects are the regional languages. These are all standardized languages in most cases with their own distinct scripts and literatures.

In general, the states of modern India (see Map 11) correspond with regional language areas. In South India, the Dravidian languages

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\(^3\)Indentured migration of tribal people who spoke languages from other families such as Austro-Asiatic (Munda) ended before Fiji entered the system (Lal 1983:47).
and their corresponding states are: Tamil (Tamil Nadu), Telugu (Andhra Pradesh), Malayalam (Kerala), and Kannada (Karnataka). In North India, the major Indo-Aryan languages of areas which provided Fiji labourers are Hindi (Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, UP, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar), Marathi (Maharashtra), Gujarati (Gujarat), Panjabi (Punjab), Bengali (West Bengal), and Oriya (Orissa). In addition, there is Nepali, the language of Nepal.

During the Indian indenture era, however, the linguistic situation was more complicated, as political boundaries did not so closely match linguistic ones. Therefore, we are lucky to have a comprehensive description from that period. This is Sir George E. Grierson's massive Linguistic Survey of India (1903-1927). Although some of Grierson's findings have since been disputed, his data provide the information needed to determine the linguistic backgrounds of Fiji's Indian immigrants.
6.3.1.1 Dialects of Hindi

Grierson's classification of Indo-Aryan varieties is on the basis of historical similarity. He divides what are now considered subsystems of Hindi into four different languages: Bihari, Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi, and Rajasthani. (Grierson 1927:120).

Bihari is divided into three dialects: Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili (Grierson 1903). However, the great Indian linguist, Suniti K. Chatterji (1926), separates Bhojpuri from the other two. All three, however, are regional dialects in modern terms. As the name Bihari suggests, they are spoken mostly in Bihar, although Bhojpuri is also spoken in the eastern districts of UP (see Map 12). In addition, Grierson describes three subdialects of Bhojpuri: Standard, Western (spoken mostly in eastern UP districts), and Napgpuria. There is also a variation of the Northern Standard called Sarwaria, spoken in western Gorakhpur and Basti, districts of UP.

Eastern Hindi consists of three dialects: Awadhi, Bagheli, and Chattisgarhi, but Bagheli is linguistically almost the same as Awadhi and only popularly classified as a separate dialect (Grierson 1904:1). All are spoken in central UP.

Western Hindi is more complicated, comprising five main dialects: Khariboli (called "vernacular Hindustani" by Grierson), Bangaru, Braj (Braj Bhakha), Kanauji, and Bundeli, as well as several "mixed dialects" (Grierson 1916). According to Grierson (1916:1), however, Kanauji is really a form of Braj. With the exception of Bangaru, the main dialects are spoken in western UP. Finally, Rajasthani is also very complex, but the only dialect relevant to Fiji is Jaipuri, spoken around Jaipur in the modern state of Rajasthan.

The major linguistic differences between all these regional dialects (and the subdialects) are in verb phrase morphology, and some differences are also found in noun phrase morphology, phonology, and lexicon. In terms of grammatical rules, however, the varieties are very similar, with only two exceptions. The first is that the regional

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4 Modern spellings of names of Indian languages and dialects are used here, without diacritics, as in Khubchandani 1983.

5 Richard Barz (personal communication, 19/11/1984) notes that Grierson's "Sarwaria" is not accepted today as a subdialect.
dialects which Grierson includes in Rajasthani and Western Hindi have an ergative past construction for transitive verbs, not found in Eastern Hindi and Bihari dialects. The second is that grammatical gender becomes less important in the dialect chain moving from west to east.

6.3.1.2 Hindustani and Hindi-Urdu

Although Hindi is the official name for the language superimposed over the chain of dialects described above, the name Hindustani is also used. However, the term Hindustani itself has a variety of other usages. First, according to Grierson, it is the name of a particular regional dialect (now known as Kariboli) spoken in several districts of UP northeast of Delhi. Second, it is the name of the lingua franca based on this dialect which, according to Grierson (1916:44) originated in Moghul times "in the polyglot bazaar attached to the Delhi court and [which] was carried everywhere in India by the lieutenants of the Moghul Empire". This Hindustani is spoken not only in the "Hindi" area of North India, but also outside the area by people in urban centres such as Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and by Muslims in South India (where it is called Dakhini).

The literary form of the Hindustani lingua franca eventually became the official language of local administration under British rule. It used the Perso-Arabic script and had a large number of words of Persian and Arabic origin. This literary language was known as Urdu. However, because of its association with Islam, Urdu was not accepted by Hindus. Eventually another literary form was created, still based on spoken Hindustani, but using the Devanagari script and replacing Perso-Arabic loanwords with Sanskrit ones. This literary language became known as Hindi. Thus, Hindi and Urdu are virtually the same spoken language but differ only in standardized written and formal styles (see Gumperz and Naim 1960). For this reason, the Hindustani lingua franca is often called Hindi-Urdu.

At the opposite end of the scale, there is a what Khubchandani (1983:116) calls "lowbrow" casual Hindi-Urdu (Hindustani): "It is evaluated as the substandard speech of uneducated urban speakers and is labelled 'Bazaar Hindustani'". This Bazaar Hindustani (BH) and some of its more specific varieties, such as Bombay Hindustani or Calcutta
Hindustani, have been mentioned by several writers (e.g. Kelley 1966:301; Southworth 1971:271n). The most detailed description is by Chatterji (1972), in an article on Calcutta Hindustani which appeared in 1931. He and the other writers describe BH as a pidgin because of its formal simplicity in comparison to standardized varieties of Hindustani, especially in reduction of inflectional morphology and lexicon. Chatterji (1960:170) also points out the influence of speakers' first languages: "It has reduced the grammar in some essential matters; and in vocabulary, idiom and grammatical forms, it is frankly modified...by the local languages."

The Hindustani lingua franca, then, is a continuum with Bazaar Hindustani (BH) at the basilectal end and the formal varieties, either Standard Hindi (SH) or Urdu, at the acrolectal end (AH) (see Polomé 1980:187). In this work I will use the term Hindustani to refer to this continuum, and BH and AH to refer to its opposite ends. I will use "Hindi dialects" to refer to the members of the dialect chain which come under the umbrella of what is officially known in India as Hindi. It should be noted, however, that in Fiji the terms Hindi and Hindustani are used more or less interchangeably.

6.3.2 Linguistic origins of the labourers

6.3.2.1 Calcutta emigrants

For the Indian labourers who embarked from Calcutta, the number of speakers of different languages and Hindi dialects can be estimated with some precision. The numbers of labourers who came from each district are available in "Volume II: Appendices" of Lal's (1980) thesis. The language and regional dialect spoken in each district can be found in Grierson's (1903-1927) Linguistic Survey of India (see Map 12). The estimates were reached by combining these two sources of

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6. The linguistic map may have changed since Grierson's time. Both he and Saksema (1971) say that the division between the Awadhi and Bhojpuri areas follows the Gonda-Basti border and then moves south as shown in Map 12. However, Singh (1972) places the division further east and includes large portions of Easti and Varanasi in the Awadhi area.
Table 6-5 gives an estimate of the number of Calcutta emigrants from various linguistic areas, based on Lal's (1980) Appendix IV and on Grierson (1903, 1904, 1916). By far the most important dialect groups were Eastern Hindi and Bihari as 76.4 per cent of the emigrants to Fiji originated from these dialect areas. The most important regional dialects were Bhojpuri and Awadhi, 68.3 per cent from these dialect areas.

Table 6-6 shows the yearly emigration figures according to linguistic areas of origin for the major dialect groups. It is based on Lal's (1980) Appendices I and V. Figure 6-1 illustrates these figures graphically.

Table 6-7 gives the numbers and percentages for the major Eastern Hindi and Bihari dialects and for Western Hindi in three periods of the Indian indenture era in Fiji. As in the preceding two tables, it shows that Bhojpuri and Awadhi (including Bagheli) were consistently the two most important dialects brought to Fiji by the Calcutta emigrants. But it also shows the significance in certain periods of other dialects which do not appear so in the overall totals. For example, Magahi was fairly important only in the first period, and in fact in 1884, 26.4 per cent of the emigrants were from Magahi-speaking areas. Also significant numbers came from the Chattisgarhi area only at the end of the middle period.

7 For the few minor districts where more than one dialect was spoken, figures were worked out in proportion to the numbers of speakers of each dialect given by Grierson.
8 "Frequency distribution of numbers emigrating from all districts of origin" (pp.12-28)
9 "Frequency distribution and histogram of numbers emigrating by year" (pp.1-4) and "Frequency distribution of total numbers emigrating from major districts of origin by year" (pp.29-40). Appendix V does not list all the districts listed in Appendix IV. Therefore, the figures in Table 6-6 do not exactly match those in Table 6-5 and there is a greater number in the other/unknown column. Furthermore, the totals in the two tables do not match because of 7 "missing cases" in Appendix I which cannot be assigned to a particular year.
MAP 12:
Districts of origin and dialects of UP and Bihar labourers

based partially on Lal 1983:57
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<th>percentage</th>
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<td>Chattisgarhi</td>
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Table 6-6: Calcutta emigrants by according to linguistic areas of origin

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<td>1173</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>1554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>2588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>3176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 45432 |
Figure 6-1: Graph of year by numbers of Calcutta emigrants from various linguistic areas.
### Table 6-7: Calcutta emigrants from various dialect areas in three periods of the indenture era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1879-1892</th>
<th>1893-1904</th>
<th>1905-1916</th>
<th>TOTAL 1905-1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>per cent</td>
<td>per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhojpuri</td>
<td>3770</td>
<td>4878</td>
<td>6100</td>
<td>14748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maithili</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magahi</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>1562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awadhi/Bagheli</td>
<td>2846</td>
<td>4662</td>
<td>6162</td>
<td>13670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattisgarhi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Hindi</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>1071</td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>3439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Unknown</td>
<td>2484</td>
<td>4250</td>
<td>3709</td>
<td>10443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11482</td>
<td>15837</td>
<td>18113</td>
<td>45432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.3.2.2 Madras emigrants

Detailed estimates of the languages spoken by the Madras emigrants are more difficult to make. First of all, as mentioned in section 6.2.2, their emigration passes have not yet been analyzed, and therefore, little is known about the numbers that came from the various districts. Second, a large number of the districts in South India were not as linguistically homogeneous as most of the districts of North India, as illustrated below.

The information on the 589 emigration passes issued in 1903 from Madras includes the language of the labourer. (This was the only year that this information was included.) An analysis of these passes gives some idea of the languages of the labourers recruited in South India, at least for one year. This information is shown in Table 6-8.

### Table 6-8: Languages of Madras emigrants, 1903

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>589</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It must be pointed out, however, that in later years there were more Tamil than Telugu speakers. The CSR company was not satisfied with the labourers in the first batch from Madras, and requested that Tamils rather than Telugus be procured in the future (CSO 4044/1904). Gillion (1962:51) notes: "Those who embarked from Madras included people who spoke Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Marathi, and Hindustani, with Tamil in the majority."

The language information on the emigration passes also shows that the districts of origin were not necessarily good guides to the languages of the labourers. For example, the most important district, North Arcot (now in Tamil Nadu), supplied 87 speakers of Tamil, 66 of Telugu, and three of Hindustani. Bellary (now in Karnataka) provided 8 speakers of Marathi, 7 Kannada, 4 Hindustani, and 1 Marathi.

6.3.3 Use of Indian languages in Fiji

In order to find out more about language use among Indian immigrants, during my field work in Fiji I interviewed many girmitiyas, men and women who came from India as indentured labourers, and also other old people who were born in Fiji during the indenture era (see Appendix A). These interviews and some documentary sources give an indication of which Indian languages were spoken in Fiji.

6.3.3.1 Use of Hindi dialects

According to all informants, labourers continued speaking their different dialects amongst themselves in Fiji. The three main dialect areas described by Grierson were recognized by the labourers, but by different names. The Western Hindi dialects were called pachā 'western' and their speakers pachāiyā 'westerners'. The Bihari dialects were sometimes called purab 'eastern' and their speakers purbiyā 'easterners'. But more commonly the Bhojpuri dialects and their speakers were known to speakers of other dialects as āili gailī wālā 'the one using āili and gailī (the first or second person perfective forms of 'come' and 'go' in Bhojpuri)'. The Eastern Hindi dialects were called sidhā 'straight' Hindi (by Eastern Hindi speakers, of course). More localized sub-dialects were known by the name of the regional centre, such as kānpur wālā 'the one from Kanpur'. Names such as Awadhi and Bhojpuri were unknown.

According to informants, the members of a particular dialect group
used their dialect among themselves. In some instances when people of
different dialects interacted, each person used his own dialect but
understood the others'. As one informant, Munsami Reddy, put it: "I
speak my language; you speak yours; I understand yours; you understand
mine. If we don't understand, we call someone else to interpret."

All the girmityiyas I interviewed, however, speak mainly Fiji
Hindustani (see Chapter 9), but many people remember speakers of Hindi
dialects, especially aili gaili walaś who have only recently died. One
girmityiya, Ganga Dei, says that her parents spoke their Western Hindi
dialect until they died.

A few documentary sources also show that other Hindi dialects
were used in Fiji. I. Hamilton-Beattie (1931:6), a Methodist Church
leader who knew Hindustani, cites several forms which he says were in
common use in Fiji. These include verbs with Bhojpuri suffixes such as
-yi 'first person imperfective' and -lo 'first person perfective'.
Also listed are the western Bhojpuri (and eastern Awadhi)
 auxiliary/copula bā- and bār-. Totaram Sanadhya, in his "Story of the
Haunted Line" written in Hindi (c.1922), quotes a labourer speaking an
Awadhi dialect using the characteristic ah- auxiliary/copula. 10 Other
examples of dialectal features are included in written petitions to the
government, pointed out in section 7.2.3.3.

Of course, the greatest evidence for the use of various Hindi
dialects in Fiji is the presence of some of their features in the
current Fiji Hindustani. This is discussed in Chapter 9.

6.3.3.2 Use of South Indian languages

The use of South Indian languages on the plantations is discussed
in section 7.3.1. But the evidence for their continued use as
intra-group languages comes mainly from recent census figures. For
example, the 1956 census 11 lists the following number of households
speaking these South Indian languages: 1,498 Tamil, 797 Telugu, and 134
Malayalam (see also Table 9-8).

10 Thanks to John Kelly for showing me this source.
11 Report on the census of population, 1956, Legislative Council paper
no.8 of 1958 (Suva: Government Press)
6.3.4 Use of Hindustani

In addition to their own village dialects and regional dialects, a large proportion of the labourers most probably had some command of the language of wider communication in India, Hindustani. If they did not know it before, they probably learned some after being recruited. Tinker (1974:52) calls Hindustani "the lingua franca of the emigration traffic", and describes the experience of recruits after arriving at the depot in Calcutta:

While under the control of the recruiter, the coolie was at least in the company of people who were of his jana bhumi, his own country, and who spoke his own dialect, though they were strangers of different castes. But now he was surrounded by folk whose speech was unintelligible,...in order to keep himself going [he] would have to pick up quickly the lingua franca, Hindustani, in which he was addressed by the British officers and the Bengali clerks of the depot.

On the other hand, Lal (1983:65-67) shows that there was a great deal of migration within North India itself, as people moved around to find work in times of economic hardship. In fact, a substantial proportion of the indentured emigrants who came to Fiji were recruited outside their home districts. For example, 1,555 recruits were registered in Calcutta and 1,076 in Delhi (Lal 1983:67) even though only a fraction of these recruits actually originated from these areas. Therefore, it is more than likely that a substantial proportion of the Indian labourers in Fiji knew some Hindustani from their travels within India, as well as from their experience at the depots.

However, even if the labourers managed to leave India without knowing any Hindustani, they soon learned some after arriving on the plantations. As shown in the next chapter, the situation in Fiji was similar to that of other colonies such as Trinidad, as described by James McNeill (quoted by Tinker 1974:211): "Soon after arrival all immigrants learn plantation Hindustani."
CHAPTER 7

PLANTATION LANGUAGES OF THE INDIAN LABOURERS

As with the Pacific Islanders, diversity of the language backgrounds of the Indian labourers required that some lingua franca be used to run the plantations. The choices again were two: Fijian or Hindustani. Fijian (or Pidgin Fijian) had been well established as the plantation language for nearly two decades. On the other hand, Hindustani was the lingua franca of the indenture system and one with which most of the labourers had some familiarity before arrival (analogous to Melanesian Pidgin English in the Pacific labour trade). However, for Indian labourers, both alternatives were used depending on the type of plantation. Fijian continued to be used on the small, established, mainly copra plantations where Indians worked along with Pacific Islanders. Hindustani was used on the large, new CSR sugarcane plantations where nearly all the labourers were Indians.

7.1 PLANTATION PIDGIN FIJIAN

It is clear that at least some Indians must have been exposed to Fijian or PPF on the plantations, and for many it was probably the language used in their plantation work. This conflicts with the opinion of Moag (1978:1471) who writes: "Significant inter-racial contacts, and hence the need to use PF, did not occur until Indians moved onto subsistence agricultural plots in the vicinity of Fijian villages after completing their indenture." Section 3.1.4 showed, however, that Fijians often worked along with Indians and Pacific Islanders on plantations. And Gillion (1962:154) notes: "In the earlier years Fijians, Indians, and Pacific Islanders sometimes lived on the same plantations, even in the same lines..."

Section 6.1.2 mentioned how after 1905 approximately a third of the Indian labourers worked on smaller plantations where Fijian or PPF had been the plantation language because the previous labourers had
mostly been Pacific Islanders. But even before this time, a substantial number of Indians worked on the same plantations with Pacific Islanders.

**Table 7-1: Plantations with Indian and Pacific Islanders in 1888**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plantation</th>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Islanders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mago Island Co., Mago</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.C. Smith, Baulevu</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.B. Chalmers, Penang</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taveuni Sugar Co., Holmehurst</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewa Sugar Co., Koronivia</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.E. Manson, Alpha and Qila</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.L. Sahl and Co., Huamaweni</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total number employed in Fiji in 1888</td>
<td></td>
<td>5251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2088</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7-1 lists seven plantations where 892 Indians worked with Pacific Islanders in 1888. In addition, 387 Indians were employed on other small plantations that year. Thus, in 1888 approximately 25 per cent of the Indian labourers were most probably exposed to PPF.

Interviews with several girmitiyas (Indians who came from India under the indenture system) and their descendants (Abdul Satar, Mrs Kondeya, and Wasu Sankaran) verify that Fijian was used by Indians as the plantation language in areas such as Savusavu (Vanualevu) and Taveuni. Furthermore, Fijian was also used as a lingua franca among Indians themselves, especially between North Indians and South Indians who did not know Hindustani. For example, Wasu Sankaran says he knew only his mother tongue, Malayalam, and Fijian until he left Taveuni to go to Suva for his education. And Fijian was also often used as the means of communication between Europeans and Indians. Mrs Kondeya worked as a babysitter for European children of employees of the Morris Hedstrom company, also on Taveuni. She spoke with them in Fijian.

According to several writers (e.g. Gillion 1977:15) many Indians knew Fijian, and one observer (Wright 1910:180) notes: "Indians in Fiji all learn the language quickly and a white man who knows it, but not Hindustani, can always talk to any Indian in Fijian." However,
some of the planters and their overseers who had both Pacific Islanders and Indians as labourers did pick up some Hindustani, especially on the larger plantations, such as Holmhurst on Tavueni, where Indians, Islanders, and Fijians were kept in separate lines. One example was John J. Barker, an engineer at Holmhurst, who gives this testimony in an enquiry into a fire (CSO 3447/1893): "I immediately called out in Fijian and Hindustani for these people to come and get the carts out." Therefore, in general on the small plantations the Indian labourers fitted into the existing pattern in which Fijian was used as the plantation language. However, on the larger plantations where there were more Indians, Hindustani was also used. But on the large CSR sugarcane estates where the labour force was almost exclusively Indian, Hindustani, not Fijian, was the plantation language.

7.2 HINDUSTANI

The request for five Hindustani interpreters to be sent along with the first batch of Indian labourers (CSO 1020/1878) established a pattern which lasted throughout the indenture era. The majority of the Indian immigrants were not expected to learn Fijian or English. Rather, Europeans and others, both on and off the plantations, were expected to learn the Indian lingua franca, Hindustani.

7.2.1 Hindustani on the plantations

According to all my informants, both Indian and European, Hindustani was the language used to run the large sugarcane plantations, and virtually all European overseers spoke it. This is also backed up by documentary sources. For example, the following advertisement appears in the Fiji Times (4/3/1908):

WANTED, a competent steady OVERSEER, who understands the cultivation of cane and can speak Hindostani fairly well, young married man preferred, stating salary expected, etc. Apply, Ernest Corbett

Nacalia, Rewa
March 2, '08

Gillion (1962:104) describes how new overseers had to acquire "experience of plantation life and a colloquial knowledge of
Hindustani". In his account of his time as a CSR overseer, Walter Gill (1970) makes it clear that he and his superiors used Hindustani to deal with the Indian labourers. As early as 1898, it was reported that the typical European overseer attending court cases "almost invariably understands Hindustani" (CSO 4781/1898).

Many Europeans in Fiji knew Hindustani from previous experience in India or other colonies which had indentured Indian labour. For example, at the very beginning of the Indian indenture era in Fiji both the manager of the CSR company in Fiji and the overseer in charge of the Indians on their Rewa plantation had served in Guyana (CSO 2159/1881). Gill (1970:49-50) describes a CSR executive in Lautoka born and educated in India "speaking Hindustani like a native". A.W. Pruce, who served as an overseer in Lautoka was also born in India and had an "excellent knowledge of Hindustani" (CSO 3168/1909). And Alfred Watts, appointed inspector of Immigrants in 1911, had been an overseer in both Guyana and Trinidad and spoke, read, and wrote Hindustani (CSO 1928/1911).

On the other hand, there are many reports that overseers learned Hindustani from their labourers in Fiji (CSO 6848/1911, 2633/1912). In an interview, Stevenson Johnson, a former CSR overseer, describes how new junior overseers spent their first year assigned to other overseers who worked in close contact with the labourers. This was so that they would learn Hindustani by hearing it spoken all day.

As with the Pacific Islanders (section 4.2.3), the general attitudes of the time dictated that overseers should speak the language of their Indian labourers, rather than vice versa. If there were communication problems, they were considered the fault of the overseer. Where the Indian labourers were the majority, the language needed was Hindustani, not Fijian. For example, a possible reason for an assault on a part-European overseer by Indian labourers was given by the District Commissioner of Savusavu (CSO 2471/1915): "He is entirely ignorant of Hindustani and...he continues to try and work his labour by means of Fijian orders and a stick." The following excerpt from a letter in the Fiji Times (12/9/16) also shows these attitudes (except this time the assault is on the labourers):
The whole cause of these misunderstandings is due to the employers' inability to converse in the Indian vernacular. A European will jabber to an Indian for perhaps ten minutes or more, and then because the unfortunate man, who cannot speak a word of English, does not instantly do his bidding, he is assaulted.

It was such a misunderstanding that led the manager of CSR in Fiji to write the following to the General Manager (CSR 142/3126 no.F97, 6/5/1911):

At this point I might express the opinion that every encouragement be given to new overseers to learn Hindustani, and that an increase in salary, independent of the usual increases, should be promised to them as soon as they can converse intelligibly with the labor they have to supervise, and with whom they are bound to come into conflict if they do not make themselves understood.

As late as 1959, CSR officers were required to study Hindustani and examination results were published in the CSR Fiji Industrial Newsletter (e.g. volume 6, no.19, 16/7/59). The following notice appeared in volume 5 (7/8/58):

Junior officers are advised that their attitude towards the study of Hindustani will be covered in the Staff Reports and will be taken into account when reviewing their overall performance.

There was also the general attitude described in section 4.4.3 that non-whites should not speak English. For example, Thomas Orr McMillan, an employee at the CSR mill at Rarawai in 1893, writes in his memoirs (p.7) that "it was better for discipline that the coolie should not speak to you in English." He also says (p.28): "Most of the houseboys understood English, but it was considered cheeky to speak it to Sahibs [white men]." (See also Burton 1910:281.)

7.2.2 Hindustani off the plantations

Soon after the arrival of the first indentured Indian immigrants, the magistrate in Rewa requested that a "coolie" understanding English be appointed Hindustani interpreter to the Stipendiary Magistrate's Court for Suva and Rewa (CSO 17/1880). He also added, "He could also render good service in assisting me to learn the language." By the next year, there was a qualified Hindustani interpreter attached to the courts of the two districts in which Indians were employed, Rewa and
Taveuni (CSO 2159/1881). In 1913, there were Hindustani court interpreters in 12 out of the 16 districts where Indians lived, and police constables doing interpretation in two of the remaining four (CSO 3192/1913).¹

By this time, many of the magistrates themselves knew some Hindustani, for example, the ones at Lau (CSO 3724/1908), Nadi (CSO 5399/1909), Colo North (CSO 2161/1913), and Ra (CSO 2338/1913). In 1910, some discussion began of requiring some government officers to learn Hindustani either in addition to or as an alternative to Fijian. In 1912, the governor of Fiji suggested to the Secretary of State that magistrates and medical officers who had passed an examination in Fijian be granted a bonus of 50 pounds upon passing an examination in Hindustani (CSO 2304/1912). Other officers could also receive a bonus of 10 pounds per annum for doing the same. That year a Board of Examiners in Hindustani was established (CSO 2633/1912). According to the rules amended in 1928 (CSO 4780/1927), cadets in the civil service could qualify in the lower standard in Hindustani instead of the middle standard in Fijian to meet their language requirements. Other officers could also get bonuses by qualifying in Hindustani instead of Fijian or double bonuses by qualifying in both. (See section 4.2.3 for the list of officers who were eligible.) Therefore, as with Fijian, government policy encouraged Europeans to learn Hindustani.

In section 4.2.2 it was shown that Europeans' use of many Fijian words in their English reflected a common familiarity with the language. The same holds true for their use of Hindustani words in English, although not to as great an extent. For instance, words such as dhan ['paddy'] and dukans ['shops'] are found in CSR correspondence (CSR 142/3158, 1923-34), and bara sahib ['important white man'] and tamasha ['spectacle'] in the Fiji Times (16/9/1911; 27/2/1912). This example from a letter to the editor complaining about easy conditions in the jail (FT 9/5/1906) begins by quoting a labourer and uses both Hindustani and Fijian words (the last two are Fijian):

It is significant that many of these Indian interpreters also qualified as Fijian interpreters (e.g. CSO 2569/1898, 10309/1915, 10362/1915). Also, in some cases interpretation for the magistrate was from Hindustani to Fijian rather than to English because the interpreter knew Fijian better (CSO 2278/1905, 1064/1909, 2091/1913).
"The work in gaol is very pleasant; we had plenty of eat. The karn ['work'] was bahaut acha ['very good']." Yesterday I encountered one of them collecting balawa ['pandanus'] leaves for seluka wrappers [SF suluka 'leaves for rolling cigars'].

The next example is from a report in the Fiji Times (8/12/1916):

In spite of the interpreter's "Tum ni bat kuro", she continued to jabber. [Fiji Hindustani (FH) tum nāf bāṭ karo 'You don't talk'].

7.2.3 The nature of Fiji Plantation Hindustani

The term "Fiji Plantation Hindustani" refers here to the Hindustani lingua franca as used in Fiji as the plantation language. This section shows what part of the Indian Hindustani continuum was used in Fiji and how it was modified in general on the plantations. New varieties of Hindustani which arose in Fiji are discussed in the following two chapters.

7.2.3.1 Loanwords

Tinker (1974:211) quotes McNeill on the nature of Plantation Hindustani in Trinidad: "The local dialect of Hindustani which an immigrant speaks on arrival is rapidly modified and amplified by words and phrases of local currency of English, French, or Spanish origin." The same holds true for Fiji Plantation Hindustani with English and Fijian words, rather than French and Spanish.

According to Stevenson Johnson, an overseer usually picked up Hindustani in six months, but if he did not know it well, he mixed it with English. He tells the story of one such overseer who fell off his horse and lay on the ground for a long time before an Indian came to help him. He growled at the Indian:

You heard me bulāo ['call'],
you saw me girāō ['fall'],
and you bloody well kuch parwanī'd
[FH kuch parwan nāṭ 'it doesn't matter']

There are many words from English which came into Fiji Plantation Hindustani. The list given in example (4) includes words found in
Hindustani correspondence (in Devanagari script) in the CSO files, in *The Indian Settler* of February 1916 (the first Indian newspaper in Fiji, partly in Devanagari), and from interviews with girmitiyas. (A more complete list is found in Appendix G.) Words no longer used or considered rustic are marked with an asterisk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>astabal*</td>
<td>'stable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīpū*</td>
<td>'depot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fen, fāin</td>
<td>'fine (penalty)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fil*</td>
<td>'field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firīmān*</td>
<td>'ex-indentured labourer' &lt; free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girās</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inspēṭar*</td>
<td>'inspector'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>istīmā*</td>
<td>'steamer (ship)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koṭ</td>
<td>'court'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulambar</td>
<td>' overseer' &lt; call number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuluṇāl</td>
<td>'crowbar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loko, lokim*</td>
<td>'jail, cell' &lt; lock up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majasṭar</td>
<td>'magistrate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paiāmān*</td>
<td>'fireman' (on locomotive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rais</td>
<td>'rations' &lt; rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripoṭ, sākis*</td>
<td>'report'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabal</td>
<td>'shovel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipi</td>
<td>'spade'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukhlaī</td>
<td>'replacing dead plants with new' &lt; supply</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words no longer used or considered rustic are marked with an asterisk.

Some of these words may have been coined in other plantation countries and were part of a more international Plantation Hindustani. For example, kulambar and suplāi (suklāi) are found in Trinidad (Ehatia 1972b:143), and dīpū is found in Surinam (Sarnami, 10/1983:19).

Many English words were also used in Plantation Hindustani as part of phrasal verbs with the proverb kar- (which usually means 'do'). Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sāin kar-</td>
<td>'sign'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait kar-</td>
<td>'wait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māriṭ kar-</td>
<td>'marry (in a civil ceremony)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2 These were mainly petitions or complaints to the government. The ones examined were in CSO 294/1873, 512/1900, 627/1907, 1272/1907, 2909/1907, 5911/1910, 4706/1911, 5028/1912, 2430/1913, 5371/1913, 7474/1915, and 9262/1916.

3 Some of these are included in Pillai 1975 and Moag 1979a. Thanks to Brij Lal for providing some additional words.
In addition to English words, there were many Fijian loans in Fiji Plantation Hindustani. Two are found in one letter (CSO 5371/1913): moto 'spear' and kāivitā 'Fijian'. Others used by girmityas in interviews were also commonly used by Europeans and may have come into Hindustani through Europeans rather than Fijians. Some examples are:

(6) dālo 'taro'  sūlū 'sarong'
kerekere 'begging'  tāmbū 'forbidden'
koro 'Fijian village'  tiritiri 'mangroves'
loka 'waves'  ūbī 'yam'
meke 'Fijian dance'  wālu 'k.o. fish'

Fijian loanwords were also used as part of phrasal verbs with the proverb kar-:

(7) kerekere kar-  'beg'
    lobo kar-  'bake in a pit oven'
    bimba kar-  'quarrel'

(A complete list of Fijian loanwords in Fiji Hindustani with more detailed explanations of the Fijian origins is given in Appendix F).

7.2.3.2 Basilectal Hindustani

It is likely that the Indian Hindustani used as the plantation language in Fiji was towards the basilectal or Bazaar Hindustani (BH) end of the continuum (section 6.3.1.2). First, according to Chatterji (1960:152, 1972:205), BH was the type of Hindustani acquired by the average European in India. Therefore, overseers with experience in India may have spoken it. Second, the labourers themselves, mostly uneducated and many only recently exposed to Hindustani, probably brought it to Fiji. In his testimony to the Committee on Emigration from India⁴, E.G. Corney, the Principal Medical Officer, says that overseers "must have a knowledge of that particular debased type of Hindustani that the coolies speak". He also says that "it is a language by no means the same Hindustani that you learn out of books". T.O. McMillan (n.d.) also writes in his memoirs: "Learning Hindustani was rather difficult because 'coolie-bat' [coolie-talk] was not at all

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⁴GBPP 1910, Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, Part II: Notes of Evidence (Cd 5192/4), p.163
like what was in my grammar book." A similar point of view is given in testimony to the Education Commission, 1926:\footnote{Report of the Education Commission, 1926. Legislative Council Paper no.46, p.14} "It was...pointed out that the Hindi spoken in the colony was not the Hindi of the educated classes and of literature, but was a language developed in the bazaar."

Europeans who learned Hindustani on the plantations, therefore, did not learn the standard or literary forms from the acrolectal end of the continuum (AH). Hence, they were considered unqualified to serve on the Board of Examiners for civil servants, as shown in correspondence from the Agent General of Immigration to the Colonial Secretary (CSO 2633/1912):

> It must be regarded as essential that the official examiners should have at least a thorough grammatical knowledge of both English and Hindustani, and for this reason, although there are a number of persons, chiefly plantation overseers in Fiji, who have acquired a colloquial knowledge of the kind of Hindustani or Hindi spoken by the plantation labourers, yet I do not think any of those available for the purpose could be considered suitable for appointment.

Much of the Hindustani correspondence to the Colonial Secretary mentioned above appears to be written by labourers who were not very well educated. Many of these letters and petitions contain some features of BH as described by Chatterji (1972), although they are not used consistently. A few examples will be given here to illustrate some of the differences between BH and AH. First, in the noun phrase, the inflected plural forms of nouns and adjectives of AH are not found in BH; only the singular form is used (Chatterji 1972:229):

(8) hāmar duī larkā hai (CSO 9262/1916)

my two boy COP

SH mere do larkē hai

'I have two boys.'

Second, BH consistently uses periphrastic plural pronouns formed by adding log 'people' to the singular forms (Chatterji 1972:234-35). AH makes more frequent use of distinct singular and plural pronouns (not found in BH), even though the periphrastic forms are acceptable. Use
of *ham* (instead of AH *maï*) and *ham log* for first person singular and plural respectively are shown in the following example, and *tum, tum log* for second person in example (10) below:

(9) a. *ham kām kar-tā hai* (294/1893)  
1S work do-IPF AUX  
'**I am working.**'

SH *maï kām kar-raha hū*  
1S work do-DUR AUX

b. *ham log paisā kahā se lā-ī* (2902/1907)  
1S people money where from bring-IFU

'Where would we get the money from?'

SH *ham paisā kahā se lā-ē*

In the verb phrase, AH has a complex system of verbal suffixes which mark aspect (imperfective or prefective) or modality (irrealis or realis) as well as referencing the person, number, and gender of the subject. In BH, however, the aspect/status suffixes generally do not reference the subject, and therefore each has only one form: e.g. -tā imperfective (sometimes called simple present), as in example (9a) above, -a perfective (sometimes called simple past) and -egā irrealis (definite future) as in the following (Chatterji 1972:238-39):

(10) *ham nikar d-egā tum log ko* (2430/1913)  
1S take.out give-FUT 2S people ACC

'I'll throw you all out.'

Finally, certain lexical items typical of BH are found, such as māŋ- 'want' and khalāś 'finished'. Although these are not mentioned specifically by Chatterji, they are found in the sample texts at the end of his article (pp.246,247,249). An example from a letter is:

(11) *ham larkā māŋ-it hai* (9262/1916)  
1S boy want-IPF AUX

'I want the boy.'

Considerable debate took place about which end of the continuum was the "real" Hindustani for purposes of use in Fiji. J.Y. Wood, an
Inspector of Immigrants who qualified in the Higher Standard in Hindustani in India, writes to the Colonial Secretary (CSO 6848/1911):

"Some in the service who have picked up Hindustani --?-- from illiterate coolies think I cannot speak the language...[Wood's question mark and underlining]". There may be some truth in their opinion because the two ends of the continuum may not have been completely mutually intelligible. For instance, one magistrate reports of his court interpreter (CSO 4210/1908): "His knowledge of the low class Hindustani spoken by most of the immigrants is very poor and I have found that the witness etc. has not understood what he has told them."

Another reports of a different interpreter (CSO 1064/1909): "He speaks pure Hindustani and has at present great difficulty in understanding the patois spoken by the low castes."

Two other sources also mention a "Hindustani patois"," but it is not clear if they are using the term "patois" to refer to simply a basilectal variety or to a regional variety. One interpreter from South India, however, makes it clear that he cannot understand the Hindustani spoken by North Indians because it is "mixed up with other words as Punjabi, Urdu, Bengalee, and other minor languages..." (CSO 4446/1910). He is most likely referring to features of Hindi dialects which found their way into BH in India (Chatterji 1960:170) and into Plantation Hindustani in Fiji.

7.2.3.3 Features of Hindi dialects

Chatterji (1972:217) writes that the BH of Calcutta was "to start with, the ungrammatical Hindustani of the masses, mostly illiterate, already coloured by Eastern Hindi and Bihari". He adds that "Eastern Hindi and Bihari elements are found in the morphology and vocabulary". It is difficult, therefore, to determine whether features of various Hindi dialects came into Fiji Plantation Hindustani from BH or direct from the most important dialects used in Fiji (section 6.3.3.1). It is also difficult to know whether these features were used only by the labourers or whether they were used by Europeans as well. Nevertheless, some dialectal features are found along with BH features in the letters and petitions to the government described above.

In verb morphology, there are several features of Awadhi: the -\textit{it} imperfective suffix (see example (11) above) and the -\textit{is} third person singular and -\textit{in} third person plural perfective suffixes:

(12) \begin{tabular}{l}
jab hamlog sanjha ka kampani kam se \\
when 1P evening LOC company work ABL \\
p\textit{-it} hai tab gras le j\textit{-it} hai \textit{(CSO 1'272/1'907)} \\
get-IPF AUX then grass take go-IPF AUX \\
'When we get leave from work in the evening, \\
we take the grass.'
\end{tabular}

(13) \begin{tabular}{l}
sarjan sahab daru pi-ye pakar-is \textit{(2909/1'907)} \\
sergeant sir liquor drink-INF catch-3S.PFT \\
'The sergeant caught (him) drinking liquor.'
\end{tabular}

(14) \begin{tabular}{l}
jamai ke gai ka moto mar-in \textit{(5371/1'913)} \\
J. POS cow ACC spear kill-3P.PFT \\
'(They) speared Jamai's cow.'
\end{tabular}

Note that both Grierson (1904:5) and Chatterji (1972:239) say that the two Awadhi perfective suffixes would be heard quite often in Calcutta. Grierson notes: "Nothing is more common for a European than to hear an up-country syce [i.e. groom] saying words like 'kahis' he said, or 'm\textit{aria}' he struck. Such expressions must be familiar to every Anglo-Indian."

Two features of Bhojpuri verb morphology are found in the following example, a third person imperfective suffix -\textit{e} and definite future suffix -\textit{l}:

(15) \begin{tabular}{l}
jo sarkari admi aisay k\textit{am} k\textit{ar-e} hai \textit{(CSO 9262/1'916)} \\
as government man this.kind.of work do-3.IPF AUX \\
to dus\textit{ara} k\textit{aye} n\textit{ahi} k\textit{ar-i} \\
then another why not do-3.FUT \\
'When the government man does this type of (dirty)work, \\
then why won't another?'
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{7}Note that in this example there is also \textit{a} where one would expect \textit{a} as in kar- 'do' and nahi 'not'. According to Chatterji (1'972:225), this is another feature of BH.
It is more striking, however, that more typical features of Bhojpuri verb morphology, such as the -b- future and the -l- past (Grierson 1903:3), were not found in the letters, especially when one considers the large percentage of Bhojpuri speakers.

Certain vocabulary items mark the speaker or writer as coming from the Eastern Hindi or Bihari area rather than from the west. Some of these are found in the examples given above: dui in example (8), kāhe 'why' in example (15), dārū 'liquor' in example (13), and nikar- 'take out' (rather than nikal-) in example (10). (Eastern r versus western l is a common difference in many items.)

7.2.3.4 Summary

In summary then, Fiji Plantation Hindustani was most probably a basilectal form of the Indian Hindustani lingua franca, characterized by many English and Fijian loanwords as well as features of some Hindi regional dialects. This apparent mixture and the basilectal rather than acrolectal features gave it a very low status in Fiji. But as will be seen in Chapter 9, even with this low status many of these features of Plantation Hindustani came into the Indians' language off the plantations. These low prestige features led one Indian witness before the Education Commission8 to give the following answer to the question of what language is actually spoken among the Fiji Indians: "There is no language at all spoken in Fiji; it is a mixture of Kai Viti, Urdu, English, Hindustani and Persian."

7.3 LANGUAGES USED BY SOUTH INDIANS

The South Indian labourers who began to arrive in 1903 had a difficult time fitting into Fiji, as described by Governor Im Thurn: "When they first came they found themselves much more than the ordinary introduced man did, strangers in a strange place and they were a little bit miserable."9 One of the main reasons was language. Whereas most of the North Indians had some familiarity with Hindustani or spoken related dialects, most of the South Indians knew little of Hindustani

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9Report of the Committee on Emigration..., op.cit., p.65
and spoke languages from another language family. Although efforts were made to promote the use of their languages on the plantations, Hindustani was firmly established and continued to be used whether the South Indians understood it or not (Gillion 1962:128).

### 7.3.1 South Indian Languages

The introduction of labourers recruited from South India was well planned, as evident in correspondence involving the Agent General of Immigration (AGI), the CSR manager in Fiji and the Colonial Secretary (CSO 3426/1901). The AGI points out (20/8/1901) that there must be provision of adequate interpreters as "the Tamil and Telugu languages spoken in Madras have no affinity to Hindustani". He also mentions (16/9/1901) the Indian government's stipulation that "Madras coolies" should not be sent to any plantation where there is not a qualified interpreter in Tamil and Telugu. He also recommends that there should be one qualified Tamil and Telugu interpreter attached to the courts in Ba and Lautoka, the two districts where the new South Indian labourers were to be located.

Finally, the CSR Manager in Fiji requests "400 Telagus not Tamils" (8/10/1902) and writes that the following arrangements have been made:

For every 50 statute adults imported from Madras, one Sirdar is to be provided, and promised sixpence per day over and above the usual wages, provided he has a good knowledge of Telagu-English or Telagu-Hindustanee languages. Two Eurasians or European overseers [are] to be engaged who speak Telagu: one for Ba and Lautoka Districts.

For the next lot of immigrants from South India, who came in 1905, CSR requests Tamils rather than Telugus. The AGI writes (CSO 4044/1904): "The manager in Fiji now states that he has a sufficient number of sardars available from the Tamils already under indenture, and I have no doubt that there will be among the new arrivals a number able to speak both languages." He also notes that the new labourers would be allotted to five new districts, and requests court interpreters for these districts as well as a clerk-interpreter to be assigned to the Immigration Department who could also interpret in the Supreme Court.

By 1913, there were interpreters of Tamil and Telugu (usually one man did both) in 11 of the 16 districts in which Indians lived (CSO...
Tamil and Telugu interpreters were used for the Supreme Court at least up to 1930 (SC 48/1930). Both languages were also included along with Fijian and Hindustani among those in which government officers could qualify in order to receive bonuses, but Telugu was not included in the rules amended in 1928 (CSO 4780/1927). There is no evidence, however, of anyone qualifying in either.

As an indication of the work of the interpreters, the magistrate in the Taveuni district reports that for the year 1912 interpretation was required as follows: 158 Hindustani cases, 51 Telugu, 20 Tamil, and 3 Malayalam (CSO 2460/1913). Earlier he wrote a letter to the colonial secretary (CSO 1562/1912) which illustrates the multilingual atmosphere of Fiji’s courts in those days. The letter is to show how his clerk and interpreter, W.M. Caldwell, on loan from Labasa, was indispensable because of his fluency in Tamil and Telugu as well as Hindustani:

An instance which occurred a few days ago may be given. -- The informant spoke Tamil only; of two defendants one spoke Telugu only and the other Hindustani only; one witness, a native, spoke Fijian only. The informant's evidence was first interpreted to me by Mr Caldwell in English; he then interpreted it to one defendant in Telugu and then to the other in Hindustani.

The native’s evidence was given in Fijian and interpreted by me to Mr Caldwell in English; he then interpreted it first to the informant in Tamil, then to one defendant in Telegu and lastly to the other defendant in Hindustani.

7.3.2 Use of Hindustani by South Indians

Although the official policy of the government and CSR was to have sufficient interpreters so that South Indian languages could be used in running the plantations, the reality of the matter was something else. From the beginning, CSR found it difficult to work with the new languages, and correspondence between the CSR Manager in Fiji and the Agent General of Immigration soon after the arrival of the first Madras immigrants (CSO 5357/1903) reveals the unwritten policy of continuing to use Hindustani. The CSR Manager writes about plantation interpreters (22/10/1903):

They are more of a hindrance than an assistance to the satisfactory working of the labour...I have therefore instructed the two managers to gradually withdraw the authority of the Interpreters and put them on clerical work keeping them away from the field.
The AGI writes back with this question (12/11/1903): "Do they seem likely to rapidly pick up enough Hindustani to enable them to do their work even without interpretation at all?" The reply is (30/11/1903):

On places where the number of Madrasi labour is small they tend to mix more with the other coolies and so learn Hindustani than on places where the number is large. At Rarawai for instance they should not be without an interpreter who is actually one of themselves, though at Veisaru, Ba, some of them can now make themselves intelligible in Hindustani.

He also adds, "The [Hindustani] overseers are making no attempts to learn the [South Indian] language." This is also shown by the statement of a labourer, translated from Telugu, in the enquiry into the second suicide in a month of a South Indian labourer at a plantation in Wailevu, Vanualevu (CSO 2667/1905):

If my countrymen wanted to complain, they would come to me--no one else speaks Telegu of the sardars or overseers. If complaint was made I would tell the sardar--I cannot speak Hindi, but Moonsam who is always with me speaks Hindi [and] speaks for me. Chatta Buj gives orders for me for work and Moonsam interprets.

Some of the South Indian girmitiyas whom I interviewed (such as Narayan Samy Reddy) also say that the overseers spoke to them only in Hindustani.

At first, there were many incidents of mistreatment of South Indian labourers by Hindustani speaking sirdars, including beatings with sticks and sugarcane (CSO 3029/1905). Many of these incidents were the result of lack of communication. For example, a sirdar assaulted a Telugu one morning for not finishing the loading of a truck the previous evening. But unknown to the sirdar, the other Telugus had got together and finished the job early in the morning before work. They tried to tell him, but he could not understand (CSO 5357/1903).

An indication of the unofficial CSR policy, however, is given in this explanation from the CSR Manager to W.W. Pearson, who was investigating the indenture system¹⁰:

¹⁰"Notes on conversation with Mr Pearson" (11/11/1915), CSR Library, Sydney
Mr Pearson asked if much trouble was experienced with new labour, and whether since there are so many Madrasses who had much trouble with the languages. I told him that our only trouble was in the latter, but that we remedied this by putting the new men to work as much as possible with older hands who could speak with them until such a time as they learnt sufficient Hindustani to make themselves understood in that language.

The result of this policy is described by the manager of the Rarawai mill in a letter to the General Manager in Sydney (CSR 142/2035, no.153, 17/10/1904):

There were a lot of conflicting influences at work when these people [the South Indians] first arrived. They had no mates from whom to pick up the run of plantation work and life, their surroundings were strange, their overseers unaccustomed to them, their speech a great drawback, and added to physical unfitness, as a whole, the lot of the employer and employed for the first six months was a most unhappy one. However, now that they can speak Hindustani, and are accustomed to things in general, the conditions are changed.

There are some indications, however, that many of the South Indians did not speak Hindustani very well. Some informants (Rahamat Ali, Abdul Satar, Ram Bakas, Gangamma) say that "Madrasis" only learned a few words of Hindustani and spoke it badly. The Inspector of Immigrants describes the problems of South Indians who had to testify in court in Hindustani in Savusavu where there was no Tamil-Telugu interpreter at the time (CSO 10439/1915): "The immigrants cannot explain themselves explicitly in court when giving evidence or being prosecuted... owing to their poor knowledge of Hindustani." And the Medical Supervisor on Makogai mentions a Madras "coolie" speaking "a little broken Hindustani" (CSO 7890/1911). The fact that the South Indians were forced to learn Hindustani quickly on their arrival in Fiji may have led to use of a pidginized variety, as discussed in the following chapter.
It was shown in Chapter 5 that although the literature establishes Fijian as the language of plantations where the majority of the labourers were Pacific Islanders, it was actually a pidginized Fijian which was mostly used. Could the situation be the same for the language of the plantations where the labourers were Indians? Was there a pidginized Plantation Hindustani? The South Indians' "broken Hindustani" mentioned in the preceding chapter may refer to just that.

A form of the Pidgin Hindustani does exist today, along with Pidgin Fijian, as a contact language used for communication between Indians and other groups, mainly Fijians, but also Chinese and Europeans. Pidgin Hindustani (PH) was first described by this author (Siegel 1972:11, 1975:140) and later discussed briefly in several works by Moag (1977a:110, 1977b:10, 1978:1457, 1979a:115, 1979b:68), who calls it Pidgin Hindi. Pillai (1975:23) also described "a simplified form" of Fiji Hindustani used for communication with outsiders, but did not give it a name.

The salient linguistic features of PH differ from those of any other variety of Hindi/Hindustani reported from India or other countries which had indentured Indian labour. It appears, then, that PH is unique to Fiji, and it is implied in Siegel 1975 that it arose as a result of contact between Fijians and Indians. This theme is taken up by Moag (1979b:68) who says the same thing about PH as he did for PF (section 5.1)—that it is a stable pidgin which arose out of a bilingual rather than multilingual setting, and, therefore, disproves the tertiary hybridization theory (section 1.3). However, as will be shown in this chapter, the current Pidgin Hindustani, like current Pidgin Fijian, descended from an earlier pidgin which was used in the typical multilingual plantation environment. This earlier variety will be called Plantation Pidgin Hindustani (PPH).
But first, as no detailed description of current Pidgin Hindustani (CPH) has been published, I will give one here so that the two varieties can be compared.

8.1 DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT PIDGIN HINDUSTANI

8.1.1 Informants

This description of the salient linguistic features of current Pidgin Hindustani is based on tape recordings of Fijian and Chinese speakers. The two main informants are Risidriu and Seci Bola, both Fijians. Their recordings consist mostly of long narratives by the speakers but also include conversations in which Indians and myself are participants. Other recordings of Fijians are of Aporosa Ratu and of several young men from Navisabasaba village, mostly conversations in which I was a participant. The recordings of Lum Chong and Joe Yee, both Chinese shopkeepers, consist of interviews. The examples given here are mostly from Fijian speakers. Those from Chinese speakers will be followed by "(C)".

8.1.2 Comparison with Fiji Hindustani

Examples from PH are compared here with Fiji Hindustani which has been described in detail (Siegel 1975, 1977; Pillai 1975; Moag 1977a). Fiji Hindustani (FH) rather than Standard Hindi is used here because it is more closely related to PH in terms of lexicon. PH is also written here with FH orthography. This does not mean to imply that PH is derived from FH. In fact, some of the features of FH appear to be derived from PH, as will be shown in the next chapter. Also, in spite of the lexical similarities between PH and FH, some of the recorded texts of PH are not completely intelligible to those Fiji Indians who have not been exposed previously to PH.

8.1.3 Phonology

As with Pidgin Fijian and other pidgin languages, there is a great deal of phonological variation, depending on the speaker's first language. The following differences between PH and FH are typical of Fijian speakers:

a. The aspirated-unaspirated distinction in obstruents is lost. For Fijian speakers they are generally unaspirated:
b. Retroflex stops become dental/alveolar:

(2) PH kāto
   budā
   FH kāto
   buḍghā
   'cut'
   'old'

c. The retroflex flap ɾ becomes the alveolar trill r:

(3) PH bārā
    lārikā
    gāri
    FH barā
    larkā
    gharī
    'big'
    'boy'
    'watch'

d. h is dropped in medial position and in initial position by speakers of dialects which do not have /h/:

(4) PH pāar
    āmār
    biān
    FH pahār
    hamār
    bihān
    'mountain'
    'my'
    'tomorrow'

e. The five Fijian vowels are generally used. FH "long vowels" ı and ū are closest to the Fijian ones in stressed syllables and therefore are written as such. Note that the FH a [ə] generally becomes ă as in the examples above. Double vowels, as in the above example, indicate a pronunciation similar to a Fijian long vowel. Also, word-final nasalized vowels in FH are not nasalized in PH.

More data is needed to make an analysis of the phonology of PH as spoken by Chinese, but some initial observations can be made:

a. The voiced aspirated bilabial stop bh in FH is devoiced in PH:

(5) PH phaiyā
    phāgjāo
    FH bhaiyā
    bhāg jāo
    'brother'
    'run away'

b. The retroflex obstruents are lost and both ɾ and r become l:

(6) PH lalikī
    delī
    FH larkī
    derī
    'girl'
    'later'
8.1.4 Morpho-syntax

8.1.4.1 Verb phrase

Features of the verb phrase in PH distinguish it most strikingly from other varieties of Hindi/Hindustani.

Head verb morphology:

The PH suffixes added to the verb stem to mark person, tense, aspect, and modality are not found in PH (except in a few fused forms). Rather nearly all PH verbs consist of the stem fused with the PH imperative suffix -o:

(7) ham jao lakalī kāto
1S go wood cut
'I'm going to cut wood'

FH ham jā-tā lakṛī kāt-e
1S go-IPF wood cut-INF

See also most of the examples below.

Some FH compound verbs (stem plus de- 'give', le- 'take', jā- 'go', or ā- 'come') come into PH as a single fused lexical item. A more common construction in FH, however, is the absolutive (Mohan 1978:191), or past non-finite (Gumperz and Wilson 1971:159), using the conjunctive verb ke. These also come into PH as fused forms. For some speakers, FH statives and compound verbs come into PH fused with gayā, the perfective form of jā- 'go'. Examples of all three types of fused PH verbs are as follows:

(8) PH leāo
   lekeāo
   lekejāo
   lotkeāo
   holigeyā
   mārgeyā
   tākgeyā

   FH le ā-
   le-ke āo
   le-ke jē-
   lau-ke ā-
   ho(i) gayā
   mar gayā
   thak gayā

   'bring'
   'bring'
   'take'
   'return'
   'became, elapsed'
   'died'
   'tired'

Another feature of PH is that there is no productive causative morpheme (-ā- in FH), and the causative form of some FH verbs is the one that has come into PH for both causative and non-causative usage. In the following example, sīkāo (FH sikh-ā- 'cause to learn, teach') is used to mean 'learn' (FH sikh-):
In another example, dārāo (FH dar-ā- 'frighten') is used to mean 'be afraid' (FH dar-):

(10) ULO ekdām dārāo
3P.R EMPH be.afraid

'They were really scared.'

Note also that in example (3) in section 7.2.3.1, a European uses girā- 'cause to fall' instead of gir- 'fall'.

Copula:

One of the most characteristic features of FH is optional copula bai to derived from FH bai th- 'sit'. It is used in both equational and existential sentences:

(11) ū nās bai to
3S.R nurse COP

'She's a nurse.'

FH ū nes hai
3S.R nurse COP

(12) petī hīyā bai to
belt here COP

'The belt was here'

FH peṭī hīyā rah-ā
belt here COP-PFT

(13) paile sūwā bai to (C)
before Suva COP

'(I) stayed in Suva before.'

Periphrastic tense marking:

Like Standard Hindi, FH uses the copula as an auxiliary in periphrastic tense and aspect marking (Bahl 1967:231). In PH, however,
baito does not serve this function. Rather, kālās (FH khalās 'finished') acts as a post-verbal completive marker:

(14) hāmlog sūr māro kālās
1P pig kill COMP

'We killed the pig.'

FH hāmlog suar mār di-ā
1P pig kill give-PFT

(15) fījī pāspot bānāo kālās (c)
Fiji passport make COMP

'(I) had (my) Fiji passport made.'

Ordering:
In acrolectal Hindustani, the grammatical object generally precedes the verb. The ordering is more variable in FH and in PH. Compare, for instance, examples (14) and (15) with the following:

(16) Ilog bit kāro hāmlog
3P.N beat do 1P

'They beat us.'

(17) hām bātāo ek londā
1S tell one guy

'I told one guy.'

In FH, clausal objects may also come before or after the main verb. But in PH, they always come after the main verb:

(18) hāmlog kālī māngo ek komunis māro
1P only want one Communist kill

'We only wanted to kill a Communist.'

FH hāmlog kālī ek komunis ke mār-e māng-tā rah-ā
1P only one Communist ACC kill-INF want-INF AUX-PFT

See also example (9) above and those that follow.
As in FH, māngo also indicates 'should':
Like FH (but unlike Indian varieties), sāko (FH sa-k-) 'can, have the ability to' can act as an independent verb, and can be followed by a clausal object:

(20) hām sāko
1S can
'I can (do it).'

(21) hamlog sako sab tāim fiji āo (C)
1P can all time Fiji come
'We can come to Fiji all the time.'

(22) sāko lārki lekeāo
can girl bring
'(One) can bring a girl.'

But in PH, unlike FH, sāko can be followed by a non-clausal object:

(23) naī sako kām (C)
NEG can work
'(You) aren't allowed to work.'

FH naī sako kām karo¹
NEG can work do

(24) hām naī sāko ākele
1S NEG can alone
'I can't be alone.'

FH ham naī sako akele raho
1S NEG can alone stay

Also unlike FH, in PH surū 'start' can act as a main verb (in FH it is part of a phrasal verb with kar- 'do'):

¹This is only one of several possible FH constructions (see section 9.2.2.3).
They just started playing cards.

FH: Ûlog ekdam patta khel-e suru kar-in
3P.R card play-INF start do-3P.PFT

8.1.4.2 Noun phrase

Pronouns:
The FH pronouns are the same as those of PH (see Tables 9-1 to 9-3) with the exception of formal second person pronouns āp, āpke which are absent. Plural pronouns, which are of periphrastic origin (singular pronoun plus log 'people') are written as one word.

Modifier marking:
In FH, NP modifiers (adjectives and demonstratives) are generally marked by a clitic -wala, which is a nominalizer in FH:

(26) Ûlog ek bārā-wālā sūr māro
3P.R one big-MOD pig kill
'They killed a big pig.'

FH: Ûlog ek baṛā suar mār-din
3P.R one big pig kill-give.3P.PFT

(27) Û dusra-wālā taip mācār
3S.R another-MOD type mosquito
'That's a different type of mosquito.'

(28) I-wālā biskit ācā (C)
this-MOD biscuit good
'This biscuit is good.'

FH: I biskit acchā hai
this biscuit good COP

Locative marking:
The FH locative postposition me [AH mē] is rarely found in PH, as in example (13) and the following:

---

2Note: The -log pluralizer often becomes -lon.
8.1.4.3 Complex sentences

Sentences are juxtaposed in PH without using the FH absolutive or any other marker of co-ordination or subordination:

(31) tum sāko jāo jāngāl ākele sūto
2S can go jungle alone sleep

'You can go to the jungle and sleep alone.'

FH tum jangal jā-ke ākele sut-e sak-tā
2S jungle go-ABS alone sleep-INF can-IPF

Temporal clauses, however, are generally marked with temporal nouns used as conjunctions, including the English derived tāim 'time':

(32) tāim hām deko duī bāstā ekdām kālī kūn baiso
time 1S see two sack EMPH only blood COP

tāb hām jāno āj lāk
then 1S know today luck

'When I saw two sacks just full of blood, I knew today there was luck.'

This is the same as in CPF (section 11.2.2.4) and can be compared to the PPF taimi (section 5.2.5.2).

The English-derived sentāim is used with the meaning 'at the same time', 'right then', or 'immediately afterwards':

(33) hām kālī iske coro sentāim hām āo nāndi tāun
1S only 3S.ACC leave right.then 1S come Nadi town

'As soon as I dropped him off, I came to Nadi town.'
In conditional and counterfactual sentences, sait (FH 'perhaps')
is used to mark the protactic clause rather than FH agar 'if':

(34) sait tūmlog jīto tāb hāmlog ādā kāro jāmīn
if 2P win then 1P half do land
'If you win, we'll divide up the land.'

(35) sait ūlog nāī nikūlo ūlog māṛjāo
if 3P.R NEG go.out 3P.R die
'If they hadn't got out, they would have died.'

This can be compared to use of the SF dubitative beka in CPF
conditionals (section 11.2.2.4).

8.1.5 Lexicon

8.1.5.1 Fused forms

In addition to the fused verbs given in section 8.1.4.1, there are
several other PH lexical items composed of two fused FH items, some
with shifted meaning. Examples include bimorphemic question words
common in other pidginized varieties (Bickerton 1981:70):

(36) PH končīs 'what'
      kākāro 'why'
      usmāfik 'like that'
      torābākī 'almost, nearly'
      kūspārwān 'no matter'

FH kaun cīz 'which thing'
      kā karo 'what do'
      us māfik ke 'that kind of'
      thorā bākī 'a little remaining'
      kuch parwan 'it doesn't matter'

(37) abī hāmlog torābākī jāo hotel
    now 1P nearly go hotel
    'We're about to go to the hotel.'

FH abī jaldi hāmlog hotel jā-egā
    now soon 1P hotel go-FUT

(38) ū bolo kūspārwān kānā nāī
    3S.R speak no.matter food NEG
    'He said it doesn't matter if there's no food.'
8.1.5.2 Semantic extension

In addition to the semantic shift in some of the fused forms listed above (e.g. torabakī), several other PH words have extended semantic range to encompass not only that of their FH antecedents, but also other FH words which are not used:

(39) PH bi go 'throw' FH bi go-chō-ri  
jāno 'know' jān-  
bātāo 'tell' bātā-bol-  
pīce 'behind' pīche  

(40) hām jāno jāpānī baito huwā paile 1S think japanese COP there before  
'I think the Japanese were there before'

(41) hāmlog bi go uske gāre 1P leave 3S.ACC house  
'We dropped her off at her house.'

8.1.5.3 Additional reduplication

PH consistently uses some reduplicated forms that are only sometimes used in FH, and also has some reduplicated forms not found in FH:

(42) sāngesānge 'together'  
koikoi 'some'  
konoīskoncīs 'whatever'  
ästeäste 'slowly'

8.1.5.4 English words

Approximately ten percent of the PH lexicon is derived from English. In addition to the words listed in example (4) in Chapter 7 and in Appendix G, there are many others too numerous to give here. PH also has even a larger percentage of English loans, especially among urban speakers, but some English-derived items used by informants and not usually found in FH are:
8.1.5.5 Fijian words

In addition to the Fijian words listed in example (6) in section 7.2.3.1 and the loanwords found in FH listed in Appendix F, the following Fijian words were used by Fijians speaking PH:

(44) PH sînāi 'full' SF sinaï wasewase
wâsewase karo 'divide' vuniwai
vûnîwâi 'doctor' jaina
çînâ 'banana' kaukaua
kâukâuâ 'strong, hard' loaloa
lôaloa 'black' vulavula
vûlavûlâ 'white' sona
sona 'anus' waiwai
tûkitûkî 'pound' tukituki [SF 'hammer']

8.1.5.6 Old FH words

Several words of Hindustani origin no longer used in FH are found in PH. These are:

(45) PH mûgâd 'brain' origin magaz current FH dimâg
bâki 'but' bâki lekin
fin 'again' fin fir

8.2 PLANTATION PIDGIN HINDUSTANI

8.2.1 Early references to PPH

The first reference to Fidgin Hindustani found in the literature is in 1910 by J.W. Burton, a Methodist church leader who worked closely with the Fiji Indians. He refers to its use not by a Fijian but by a European in the plantation environment: "A big burly planter speaks pidgin Hindustani with a broad Scottish accent, which certainly gives it a most peculiar flavour" (Burton 1910:91). In the early literature, however, most writers use other names to refer to what appears to be the same variety. These are "overseers speech" and "Fiji Bât" (bât 'talk, language').
"Fiji Bāt" is probably the more common term in the more recent literature. Derrick (1951:140) refers to "a local dialect known as Fiji-bat which was to the Hindi of educated India what Pacific pidgin is to the King's English". Gillion (1977:127) mentions "the old Fiji-bat of the plantations". A.W. McMillan (1944:5) gives this account: "A corrupt form of Hindustani talk has been evolved in Fiji during the 'indenture' years...This 'Fiji-bat' would be quite unintelligible in India." The Officers Handbook of the CSR Company (1952:21) also uses the term for current PH:

There is in Fiji that language which is a mixed jargon which other races in Fiji, including Europeans, make themselves intelligible to Hindi-speaking Northern Indians and known as 'Fiji-bāt'. Although 'Fiji-bāt' would not be very useful in India, yet it serves a very necessary purpose in Fiji...

Those who use the term "Overseers Speech" attribute the origins of this "jargon" to Europeans on plantations, rather than to the Indian labourers. In his testimony to the Committee on Emigration from India, Corney describes the Hindustani used by some Europeans:

The European overseers learn a certain amount of words that are used in directing their work and arranging their pay, and matters of that kind...It is a limited vocabulary, and words which are strung together with very little attempt to speak grammatically.

J.R. Pearson, the Secretary for Indian Affairs, notes in the introduction to A.W. McMillan's Hindustani Handbook (1931:v) that the ordinary European in contact with Indians on plantations had "to deal largely with gangs of labourers with whom he could carry on in a jargon sufficient for the operations of plantation work".

St-Johnston (1922:82) believes that the labourers learn this "jargon" from the overseers:

The so-called 'plantation Hindustani' or 'overseer's bāt' is a most extraordinary lingo, but luckily quickly picked up by the coolies, who often, I feel sure, regard it as a new and curious language, and not the Hindustani it pretends to be!

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2 It has also been used to refer to the modern Fiji Hindustani by several writers (Siegel 1975; Tiwari 1979; Kanwal 1980).
3 Report on Emigration from India..., op.cit.
Burton (1910:288-89) also gives an account of "Overseers Speech", containing the first, and probably the most colourful, description of some of its salient linguistic features. Since he says it is spoken by Europeans on plantations, it must be the same as the "Pidgin Hindustani" he refers to earlier in the same book. The features he describes for this plantation Pidgin Hindustani match some of those described above for current PH in sections 8.1.4.1 and 8.1.4.2, especially the use of bai th-o as a copula (examples (11)-(13)), thus establishing a possible connection between the two:

A dialect has sprung up in Fiji which the Indians humorously call 'Overseer's Speech'. It is a marvellous language, in its own way—a sort of Esperanto which is most easily learned by both parties and extremely serviceable where no degree of exactness is required...Hindustani is a highly inflected language, with verbal changes almost as numerous as in Latin. 'Overseer's Speech' calmly ignores this fact as being impertinently tedious, and proceeds to lop off all post-positions and tense-endings. The verb to be is somewhat difficult to use, hence its place is taken by the verb to sit, the imperative of which is commandeered for all purposes. The idioms of the language are looked upon as entirely negligible—for what right has a coolie to idioms of his own? In their stead, English ones are hurled pell-mell at his luckless head. With this meagre stock of grammar and this limited vocabulary, the overseer works his 'labour' and, to quote Kipling, 'slings the bat (speech)'. The most amusing part of it all is that because the coolie understands and replies back in the same language, the overseer thinks that he is speaking in Hindustani! It sounds a foreign language to him—as it does to the coolie.

Another more recent description of what is probably PPH mentions the use of the imperative form of the verb (as illustrated above) and suggests that it also originated on the plantations. However, it attributes the origin not to the European overseers but to the labourers who brought basilectal Hindustani to Fiji (Burns 1963:169):

Fortunately a lingua franca masquerading under the name of Hindustani has evolved which is understood and widely used throughout the colony. Masquerading is perhaps a rather derogatory expression as the grammar is a charming simplification of tense, number, mood and person into the singular imperative form of the verb. One explanation, probably apocryphal, is that the version of the language which the original indentured labourers brought with them to Fiji was not of the highest. This was learned by the overseers and the like who did not improve the style...

Other descriptions of what is probably early PPH blame its
conception on the South Indians as well as Europeans. This following is one of the more extreme (Lenwood ‘917:91):

Hindustani naturally predominated [among the North Indians], but as it was mangled by Tamils and Telugus,...as it was 'simplified' by planters and gangsters, it could only be a corruption for which the name bastard is too good.

In his first grammar of Hindustani for use in Fiji, mentioned above, A.W. McMillan (‘93:i) gives this explanation for the origins of what he later calls "Fiji Bāt":

In the past, incorrect Hindustani has been, and still is, in common use, something quite different from rural dialects of the United Provinces from which part most of the immigrants have come originally. This is probably due to the North Indian having to adapt his method of expression to the Madrasis and the Europeans, in order to make himself understood.

However, McMillan (‘944:5) later says that it was "possibly due to the efforts of Madrasis and Europeans in making themselves intelligible to North Indians". His final version (‘947:39) is probably the most accurate:

Some extraordinary expressions are in use in Fiji which would not be understood in India. They came into existence in the years of indentured labour when there was a triangular effort on the part of the European plantation overseer, the Madrasi minority speaking Tamil or Telegu, and the North Indian majority using Hindustani, to make themselves understood. The result was that the Northerner had to adapt himself to some queer distortions of his beautiful language.

8.2.2 Early examples of PPH

The few examples of PPH which are available are sufficient to establish that many of its salient linguistic features were the same as those of current PH; however, its speakers were not only Fijians, but also Europeans, North Indians, and South Indians on the plantations.

Burton's description above shows how European overseers' PPH was characterized by the use of baitho as copula and by the lack of complex verb and NP morphology. North Indians' PPH may be illustrated in A.W. McMillan's discussion and examples of the "extraordinary expressions" and "queer distortions" they use in speaking with Europeans and South Indians, given in his Guide to Hindustani (‘947:39-40). This
1. The strange use of baitho instead of hai or hain for 'is' or 'are', e.g. ām baitho? instead of ām hain? for 'have you any mangoes?'. Or, thora dūdh baitho for thora dūdh hain, 'there is a little milk.' There is no need to use this ludicrous and corrupt form of speech, baitho meaning 'be seated'!

2. The misuse of sako, 'can'. As has been explained, the verb saknā, 'to be able', must always follow the stem of another verb, which describes the act the doer is able to perform. Saknā should not be used alone. Neither can it be used in the imperative form. Note these examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incorrect</th>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tum sako pakāo</td>
<td>Tum paka sakte ho</td>
<td>Can you cook?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tum sako paṭho?</td>
<td>Tum paṭh sakte ho?</td>
<td>Can you read?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tum nahīn sako</td>
<td>Tum nahīn chalā sakte ho.</td>
<td>You are not able to drive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chalāo.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāp, ham sako.</td>
<td>Hāp, ham chalā saktā.</td>
<td>Yes, I can drive.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Another strange distortion is also found in the common misuse of the Imperative, i.e. when 'o' is added to the stem of a verb, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incorrect</th>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ham jāno ki...</td>
<td>Ham sochte haiṅ ki...</td>
<td>We/I think that...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahīn jāno</td>
<td>Nahīn mālūm.</td>
<td>We/don't know.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham nahīn</td>
<td>Ham nahīn</td>
<td>We/I won't tell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batāo.</td>
<td>batāenge.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham māṅgo jāo.</td>
<td>Ham jānā chāhte haiṅ.</td>
<td>We/I want to go.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McMillan's examples, then, include the following features of PH described in sections 8.1.4.1, 8.1.4.2, and 8.1.5 above: baitho as a copula, verbs in the imperative form, sako as an independent verb, clausal objects following the main verb, and jāno 'know' with the meaning 'think'. In addition, McMillan includes in his of "extraordinary expressions" used by North Indians many English words which have been "distorted and mispronounced". He also includes some dialect features which he says are part of the "local dialect". (These will be discussed in the next chapter.)

In another place in his Guide to Hindustani (p.18), McMillan

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5Note that in McMillan's orthography "h" indicates the preceding vowel is nasalized and "ch" equals c. I have also deleted the commas he puts between successive vowels which do not form diphthongs and have underlined Hindustani words in the text.
cautions his readers against what is another feature of PH, use of 
-wālā with modifiers (examples (26) - (28) above): "Note.—'Wālā'
should not be added to adjectives, though this is often done."

South Indians' PPH is illustrated by the following example from
Charles Andrews and W.W. Pearson, quoted as it appears in the appendix
to their report on the indenture system in Fiji (Andrews and Pearson
1916:III) [square brackets are mine]:

We may give a single instance of the 'pigeon' Hindustani of a
Madrasi coolie. One of us had the following conversation with
him. A translation is appended where needed.

Madrasi Sahib baitho? (Was the Sahib there?)
A. Han, sahib baitho. [Han = hā ḍ 'yes']
Madrasi Sahib bolo? [bolo 'speak']
A. Han, sahib bolo.
Madrasi Sahib bolo, jano? (Did the sahib say
he knew?)
A. Nahin, Sahib bolo mahin jano.
[ nahin = nahā 'no']
Madrasi Sahib bolo, na jano?
A. Han, Sahib bolo, na jano. [na 'no']
Madrasi Sahib jano! (The sahib did know!)

This example also shows the use of "baitho" (PH baitō) as copula and
the imperative form for all verbs as in current PH.

8.2.3 PH used by girmitiyas

Although North Indians may have used PH on the plantations to
communicate with Europeans and South Indians, it is likely that they
did not use it among themselves, but rather used other forms of
Hindustani or various regional dialects. The South Indians likewise
used their own languages among themselves, but since their languages
are not closely related to those of the northerners, it is possible
that many did not learn any Hindustani but PH. Evidence that this
indeed was the case is found in interviews with the girmitiyas.

The speech of the North Indians I interviewed does not contain any
more features of PH than are usually found in current Fiji Hindustani
(see the next chapter). However, the speech of four out of the seven South Indians contains many of the PH features described above. It may be argued, though, that these features may have become a conventionalized Foreigner Talk register currently used by Fiji Indians to outsiders, and therefore the informants may have been using this register to talk to me (see section 11.3). However, I was also able to analyze tape recordings of girmitiyas being interviewed by other Indians, and found that they also contained most features of PH. The first is an interview with Poliandi Goundar, recorded 8/5/1979 for the Fiji Broadcasting Commission's Hindustani programme "Girmi Gathä". The others are interviews by Ahmed Ali with Kanan (20/9/1973) and Uma (7/9/1973). All three are South Indians. The examples below are all from these recordings.

8.2.3.1 Phonology

The phonology of Dravidian languages is reflected in the South Indians' PH:

a. There is no aspirated-unaspirated distinction in obstruents; generally they are unaspirated in PH:

\[(46) \text{PH} \ kānā \ \text{FH} \ khānā \ 'food' \]

\[\text{budda} \ \text{buddha} \ 'old'\]

b. There is often no voiced-unvoiced distinction, so that the these examples occur:

\[(47) \text{PH} \ jaka \ \text{FH} \ jagā \ 'place' \]

\[\text{tipū} \ \text{dipū} \ 'depot'\]

c. \(h\) is lost, especially intervocalically:

\[(48) \text{PH} \ nai-ke \ \text{FH} \ nahai-ke \ 'having bathed' \]

\[kā \ kahā \ 'where'\]

Features a. and c. are similar to those of Fijians' PH. But unlike in Fijians' PH, the dental-retroflex distinction in obstruents is retained, as well as the distinction between the vowels \(a\) and \(ā\).
8.2.3.2 Verb phrase morpho-syntax

The imperative verb endings are generally used:

(49)  
Fiji me āo hamlok, gannā bo, gannā kātō  

Fiji LOC come 1P sugar.cane plant sugar.cane cut  

'We came to Fiji, planted sugarcane, cut sugarcane.'

baitō is used as a copula:

(50)  
am jāno tīn mainā talak am baitō wotel me  
1S think three month until 1S COP hotel LOC  

'I think I was in the hotel for three months.'

FH ham soc-tā tīn mainā talak ham hoṭel me rah-ā  
1S think-IPF three month until 1S hotel LOC stay-PFT

(51)  
abī jindā baitō ū larikī  
now alive COP that girl

'That girl is still alive.'

FH ū larikī abī zindā hai  
that girl now alive COP

kalās 'finished' is a completive marker:

(52)  
ham skūl paɾo kalās  
1S school study COMP

'I've been to school.'

Word order is variable but clausal objects come after the main verb:

(53)  
ūlog ko māngo tās deo ū-wālā tīs cein  
3P ACC want task give that.one thirty chain

'That one wanted to give them a task of thirty chains.'

(54)  
naī sako bolo  
NEG can say

'(I) can't say.'

sako 'can' takes a non-clausal object:
(55) ham sako kām
I can work
'I can do the work.'

8.2.3.3 Noun phrase morpho-syntax
Adjectives are marked with -wālā:

(56) gerā-wālā gānā baiṭo
deep-MOD song COP
'It's a deep song.'

(57) ek accā-wālā ādmī ke tār pīcē am dārū pīo
one good-MOD man POS wire behind 1S liquor drink
'I drank liquor in the compound of one good man.'

Accusative and locative marking exist in South Indians' PH, unlike in Fijians'.

8.2.3.4 Lexicon
Many English-derived words are used, some of which are not found in current PH, for example:

(58) rūisi 'rice'
tī 'tea'
īl 'field'
hetmān 'head man'

Fijian-derived words are also used:

(59) mārāu 'happy'
lokā 'waves'
lālī 'Fijian slit gong'
bākāndū 'one go'

The fused form kucparwan 'no matter' is used as it is by Fijians:

(60) kucparwan māibāp, calo
no.matter parents move
'Don't worry about your parents, let's go.'
8.3 THE ORIGINS OF PIDGIN HINDUSTANI

Comparing the features of current Pidgin Hindustani with those given in the literature as characteristic of varieties spoken on the plantations and those of South Indian plantation labourers who are still alive, shows that the current PH almost certainly is descended from an earlier plantation variety. But who was responsible for the pidginization in PH?

8.3.1 Jargon Hindustani

It appears from the documentary evidence cited in section 8.2.1 that imperfectly learned Hindustani was used by many of the European overseers on the plantations. This Broken Language then developed into a pre-pidgin continuum or Jargon Hindustani, the "Overseers' Speech" referred to in the literature. Like other jargons, certain conventions emerged as salient linguistic features, such as general use of the -o imperative endings in all verbs and baito as a copula. In support of this hypothesis, it is first of all unlikely that these features which have come into PH result from Indians simplifying their own language. If this had occurred, one would have expected them to use the infinitive or the simple verb stem rather than the imperative. One would also expected them to use a Hindustani copula rather than the verb 'to sit'. Therefore, these features are probably the result of Broken Language rather than Foreigner Talk.

In the earlier article (Siegel 1975:141) in which I assumed that PH arose from contact between Fijians and Indians, I suggested that Fijians first overgeneralized the use of the imperative when they heard Hindustani spoken by overseers to labourers on the plantations—mostly giving commands. In retrospect, this suggestion seems far-fetched, especially in light of the evidence given above that PH was used on the plantations by Europeans and Indian labourers. The Europeans, then, who had to learn the imperative forms first to work their labour, could have been responsible for their overgeneralized use in non-imperative constructions. I also postulated that the use of baito as copula in existential sentences results from direct translation of Fijian dabe-ca which means both 'to live at a place' and 'to sit'. However, this does not explain the use of baito in equational sentences. A better explanation is that bait-'to sit' was confused with bat-, a dialect
form (western Bhojpuri and eastern Awadhi) of the copula that was in use in Fiji (see section 6.3.3.1), and used for both equational and existential sentences.6

The Europeans' possible role in the creation of Jargon Hindustani can be seen in other areas. The many English words in PPH shows the influence of Europeans in its initial stages of development. The teaching of English to Indians, as to Fijians (see section 4.4.2.3), did not begin until the 1920s. Thus, English-derived words in PPH were presumably introduced by Europeans while trying to speak plantation Hindustani (see example (3) in section 7.2.3.1). It is also possible that the Fijian words also came into PH via the Europeans (section 7.2.3.1). The tendency towards SVO word order, especially with clausal objects, may also be evidence of the English substratum. (This influence may have also come indirectly through Pidgin Fijian.) Another feature for which Europeans may have been responsible is the -wālā modifier marker. Chatterji (1972:263) points out that this construction in Bazaar Hindustani is due to Europeans' influence.

In addition to the references to "Overseers' Speech" cited above, there is also another piece of evidence. Andrews and Pearson, (1916:III) after quoting the "pigeon Hindustani of a Madrasi coolie" given in section 8.2.2, make the following observation:

The overseers, in the Islands, have a 'pigeon' Hindustani of their own, almost worse than this of the Madrasi coolie. One of us heard an overseer say over and over again to a new Hindustani coolie "Gae chale jao! Gae chale jao! Gae chale jao!" ['cow move go'] As far as we could make him out, he meant to tell him to take the cows home. But it was difficult for the newly arrived coolie to understand him.

This may be an example of an overseer's Jargon Hindustani.

6Copulas derived from words meaning 'sit', 'stay', and 'stand', of course, are found in many other pidgins, as pointed out by Cassidy (1971:214).
8.3.2 Stabilization

As shown in section 7.3.2, when large numbers of South Indian labourers began to arrive in 1903, they were generally put in work situations where they had to quickly learn the plantation language—Hindustani. Since they did not always have time to learn it completely, they may have been responsible for further pidginization of the language. In many cases, they learned Hindustani from their European overseers. Many of these overseers may have spoken Jargon Hindustani, but even if they knew more standard Hindustani, the input to the South Indians would have been restricted to mostly commands. This would have reinforced at least one aspect of the Jargon—overgeneralized use of the imperative verb endings. Also, the language of the European masters had prestige, and input from them may have outweighed more standard input which may have been received from North Indians.

Furthermore, it is possible that by this time Jargon Hindustani had become familiar to North Indians and perhaps, like Jargon Fijian for the Fijians, had become a conventional way for them to address people who could not speak their language. Therefore, they used it back to Europeans on the plantations, and may have extended its use to Fijians. Its use may have been further extended to the non-Hindustani-speaking South Indians.

Thus, Jargon Hindustani was probably used on the plantations for communication among several language groups: North Indians, South Indians, Europeans, some Fijians, and even Pacific Islanders who worked on the large sugarcane plantations.7 Hence, the conditions existed for "tertiary hybridization" and the development of a stable pidgin, PPH.

In addition to the documentary evidence given above and the fact that South Indian girmityas still speak PPH, there is some linguistic evidence that speakers of Dravidian languages influenced the development of PPH. For one thing Dravidian substrata probably reinforced the use of certain features of the jargon during stabilization. In Tamil, for example, the word _iru has the following

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7 According to Pita Teqe, a Solomon Islander and fluent speaker of Fijian Hindustani, Pacific Islanders labourers, working with Indians in the Deuba-Navua area, learned Hindustani on the plantations.
meanings: 'exist', 'remain', 'live', and 'sit down' (University of Madras 1936:326). It is used as a copula for both equational and existential sentences (Arden 1942:274-75). The use of baitho as a copula in Jargon Hindustani in Fiji was very likely reinforced by its similar use in Tamil, and it became one of the features of PPH.\(^8\) Also, the use of sako as an independent verb may have been reinforced by the similar usage in Dravidian languages (e.g. of Tamil mudima 'can'). Finally, there is the use of the absolutive (or past non-finite) -ke rather than compound verbs, which has also come into FH (see example (8) above). Gumperz and Wilson (1971:159) illustrate a similar preference for the absolutive in Kupwar Urdu because of the influence of South Indian languages. Their example is compared to FH and PH as follows:

\[(61) \text{HU (AH)} \quad pālā \text{ jarā kāṭ-ke le-ke ā-yā} \]
Kupwar Urdu \quad pālā \text{ jarā kāṭ-ke le-ke ā-yā}
leaves a few cut-ABS take-ABS come-PFT
FH \quad pattī thoṛā kāṭ-ke le-ke ā-yā
FH \quad pattī thoṛā kāṭo le-ke āo

'(I) cut some greens and brought them.'

If the South Indian languages did have an influence on the development of PPH, why then, it may be asked, does it not contain any lexical items from these languages? A possible explanation is the avoidance of ridicule from the North Indian majority (and probably from Europeans also). The South Indians in Fiji quickly gave up their custom of cross-cousin marriage with was so repulsive to the North Indians (Brown 1981:319). Their language was also ridiculed by the Northern Indians who even today say that it sounds like "shaking stones in a tin can".\(^9\) It could easily have been the case that the South Indian newcomers avoided using any words from their own languages in talking to outgroup members.

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\(^8\)There is no evidence of a similar use of baitho in any variety of Hindi/Hindustani found in India.

\(^9\)Mayer (1961:146) writes that one Northerner said it sounded like "peas shaken in a cup".
Eventually, however, the South Indian immigrants became more integrated into the North Indian community, and Fiji Hindustani became the language of nearly all Fiji-born Indians (see section 9.4). Now Pidgin Hindustani is used only for communication with non-Indians, but many features from PH have come into the Fiji Hindustani the Indians speak among themselves. It was thought that frequent use of PH with outsiders led to some of its features coming into FH, but the fact that PH was once used within the Indian community itself provides a much more satisfactory explanation.
PART IV: THE LINGUISTIC LEGACY OF THE PLANTATIONS
CHAPTER 9
THE DEVELOPMENT OF FIJI HINDUSTANI

About 60 per cent of the Indian labourers stayed on in Fiji at the end of their indenture (Gillion 1962:136), and today the Fiji Indians, mostly the descendants of these labourers, make up almost half the population. Their language, known as Fiji Hindustani (FH), or Fiji Hindi, has been described in detail by several writers (Siegel 1972, 1975, 1977; Pillai 1975; Moag 1977, 1979a; Tiwari 1979). In these studies FH is shown to have features from several Hindi dialects, but in terms of inflectional morphology in both the noun phrase and verb phrase, it is less complex than these varieties. It is also characterized by a large number of loanwords from both English and Fijian.

Because of the mixture of dialectal features exhibited in FH, the suggestion has been made that it is a "koine" (Siegel 1975:136; Pillai 1975:31; Moag 1978:1455-56) similar to languages of descendants of Indian indentured labourers in other countries which have also been called koines: Trinidad Bhojpuri (Mohan 1976, 1978) and Guyanese Bhojpuri (Gambhir 1981). This chapter first discusses the terms "koine" and "koineization" and then goes on to describe the major influences on the development of FH as a koine. It shows that these influences included not only the Hindi dialects brought to Fiji, but also the forms of Hindustani which were used on the plantations.

1Fiji Hindustani is also spoken in California by approximately 30,000 people--Fiji Indian immigrants and their descendants. (This figure was given in a Fiji Broadcasting Commission radio interview with Elias Hanif, Honorary Consul for Fiji in San Francisco, 15/8/1983.)
9.1 KOINES AND KOINEIZATION

So far this study has dealt with the results of contact between unrelated linguistic systems on the plantations. This section, however, deals with the results of contact between linguistic subsystems such as regional dialects (as defined in section 1.5).

9.1.1 Koines

The term "koine" comes from the Greek koinē 'common'. It originally referred to the variety of Greek that became the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean region during the Hellenistic period and was the official language of the Macedonian Empire. It was based mainly on the Attic dialect, but contained features of several other regional dialects of Greek, especially Ionic. However, it was less complex than any of the contributing dialects in certain areas of phonology and grammar (Thomson 1960:34-36).

The term "koine" has more recently been applied to many languages because of certain parallels with the original koine. The most common definitions of a koine are similar to this one from a linguistics reference book (Hartmann and Stork 1973:123): "a spoken dialect which becomes the common standard language for a politically unified region". On the basis of these criteria, the following languages have been called koines: Latin in the Roman Empire (Hill 1958:444), Standard Yoruba (Bamgboye 1966:2), High German (Germanic Review 1/4:297, 1926), Belgrade-based Serbo-Croatian (Bidwell 1964:532n), and Network Standard English [U.S.A.] (Dillard 1972:302).

Other definitions, however, emphasize the contribution of several dialects in a koine, as in the following (Graff 1932:xxxvii): "a form of language resulting from a compromise between various dialects and used as a common means of communication over an area covering all the contributing dialects". That a koine is a regional lingua franca resulting from contact between several dialects is also stressed by Ferguson (1959b:619), Pei (1966:139), Samarin (1971:133), and Dillard (1972:302), to name a few. Some authors also point out that a koine is characterized by formal simplicity in certain linguistic areas in comparison to the contributing dialects (Hymes 1971b:79; Samarin 1971:133-34; Gambhir 1981:185). On the basis of these criteria, the following diverse languages have also been labelled koines: the
ancestor of modern Arabic dialects (Ferguson 1959b:616), the vernacular of north China in the 7th to 10th centuries (Karlgren 1949:45), and Bahasa Indonesia (Fei 1966:139).

More recently, the term "koine" has been extended to the result of contact between dialects transported to a new location and spoken by immigrant communities. This type is called an "immigrant koine". It is still characterized by a mixture of features from several dialects and by some degree of formal simplicity in comparison, but unlike the "regional koine" described above, it is not a regional lingua franca or a standard language. Furthermore, it often becomes the primary language of the immigrant community and eventually supersedes the contributing dialects. Two immigrant koinès have been mentioned above: Guyanese Bhojpuri (Gambhir 1981) and Trinidad Bhojpuri (Mohan 1976, 1978). Others are Italian-American (Haller 1981:184) and "Slavish" (Bailey 1980:156). Eighteenth century American English (Traugott 1977a:89) is an example of an immigrant koine which later became a regional one. And Israeli Hebrew (Blanc 1968) is an immigrant koine which developed mainly from contact between different literary rather than regional dialects. ²

A koine, then, can be defined as a stable linguistic variety which results from contact between varieties which are subsystems of the same linguistic system. Linguistically it is characterized by a mixture of features of the contributing varieties and most often by comparative formal simplicity. Functionally it originally serves as a lingua franca among speakers of the contributing varieties but later may become a primary language.

9.1.2 Koineization

Although the term "koine" has a long history, the terms "koineizing" and "koineization" first appeared in the literature only recently (Blanc 1968:238-39 and Samarin 1971:134) to refer to the process of which the formation of a stable koine may be one stage.

Koineization is often equated with two processes which are sometimes confused. The first is "dialect levelling", defined by

² What Reinecke (1969:8) calls "colonial dialects", such as Hawaii Japanese, could also be considered immigrant koinès.
Dillard (1972:300) as "the process of eliminating prominent stereotypable features of difference between dialects". The second is "dialect mixing", defined by Samarin (1971:133) as an "amalgamation" of several regional varieties of the same language, characterized linguistically by the incorporation of features from these varieties. (Dillard 1972:300). The two processes differ in their possible outcomes. In dialect levelling, the original dialects in contact remain and become more like one another, but in dialect mixing a new compromise dialect may emerge which is used as a lingua franca among speakers of the original varieties. I assume that koineization involves dialect mixing.

With reference to Fiji, Moag (1979a:119-20) talks about dialect levelling with the emergence of one variety with "striking uniformity"—Fiji Hindustani. But since one variety emerged, it appears to be the result of dialect mixing, rather than levelling. However, as pointed out by Gambhir (1981:254), dialect levelling may occur at the initial stages of koineization (which he calls "koineization"), and perhaps this is what Moag refers to.

Several writers have extended the scope of the term "koineization" to include the results of contact between separate linguistic systems (Mohan 1976, 1978; Hymes 1971b; Gambhir 1981; and Gibbons 1979). However, for the contact situations described by these writers, other processes such as extensive borrowing (see Givón 1979) or convergence (Gumperz and Wilson 1971) would better apply. Therefore, I am restricting the term "koineization" to the result of contact between linguistic subsystems.

It is obvious that various subsystems can be in proximal contact for many years without koineization taking place, as in North India and North Malaita (section 3.3.2.1). The contact status quo may end, however, with certain political, social, economic, or demographic changes which cause either increased interaction between speakers of different varieties or decreased inclination to maintain linguistic boundaries, that is, a more integrative orientation (section 1.4.2). For example, the Greek koine arose with the unification that resulted from the increased economic and social interaction that accompanied the spread of panhellenic culture (Thomson 1960:34). And the Arabic koine arose with the spread of Islam (Ferguson 1959b).
Migration of speakers of different dialects to the same location, of course, brings the abrupt changes necessary for koineization to occur: increased interaction and, as stated by Domingue (1981:150), "the need for unification among speakers of different dialects in a new environment". In Fiji, this need for unification after the initial fragmentation caused by the plantation system resulted in emergence of a new common language, part of the "reconstitution" of the Indian community as described by Lal (1983:35), mentioned in section 6.1.2.

9.2 CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FH KOINE

Evidence that FH is indeed a koine can be seen in some of its linguistic features which can be attributed to the contributions of several different subsystems of Hindi/Hindustani. These include not only Hindi dialects, but forms of Hindustani used for wider communication first in India and then in Fiji.

9.2.1 Features from Hindi dialects

The contribution of various Hindi dialects to FH has been described in some detail (Siegel 1975; Pillai 1975; Tiwari 1979; Moag 1979a). As would be expected from the origins of the North Indian labourers (sections 6.2.1 and 6.3.1.1), the dialects of the eastern UP, mainly Awadhi and Western Bhojpuri, are the major contributors. The early influence of these dialects on Plantation Hindustani is illustrated in section 7.2.3.3. In modern FH, this influence is seen mostly in the large number of marked lexical items, that is items which would identify a speaker as originating from one of these dialect areas. Some of these are listed in Siegel 1975, and are repeated here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi Dialect</th>
<th>FH Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bār</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerā</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machrī</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khasārī</td>
<td>'goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goṛ</td>
<td>'leg, foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghām</td>
<td>'sunlight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bistuiyā</td>
<td>'lizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṭṭī</td>
<td>'soil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ākhī</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agor</td>
<td>'wait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīg</td>
<td>'throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hal</td>
<td>'go inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūt</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gardā</td>
<td>'dust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cauwa</td>
<td>'cattle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamtī</td>
<td>'less'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The FH pronoun system can be attributed to different combinations of dialects. The first person singular ham is a general feature of the Bihari area (Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili). The second person
singular familiar tum and formal āp are found in Eastern Hindi and in some Western Hindi dialects. The third person singular proximate ū and remote ū are characteristic of both the Bihari and Eastern Hindi areas. The FH plural pronouns of periphrastic origins (singular pronoun plus log 'people') are characteristic of Magahi, but are also found in some subdialects of Bhojpuri. (This information is according to Grierson 1903, 1904, 1916; Tiwari 1960; and Saksena 1971.) More details are given in Tables 9-1, 9-2, and 9-3.

FH verb morphology also points to several probable origins. For the imperfective suffixes, the first and second person -it (now going out of use and considered rustic) can be traced to Awadhi, while the third person -e can be traced to Bhojpuri (see Table 9-4). The imperfective suffix -at used with all persons in the periphrastic past construction (showing a habitual or progressive event) is also found in Awadhi (see example (3) below).

In the irrealis mode, the third person definite future is marked with -ī, as found in both Awadhi and Bhojpuri (see Table 9-5). The first and third person perfective suffixes match those of Awadhi: -ā for first person, -is for third person singular, and -in for third person plural (see Table 9-6).³

Also, the use of rah- 'stay' as the copula and auxiliary in periphrastic tense marking is a feature of some dialects of the Eastern Hindi and Bihari areas:

(2) tum kahā rah-ā
2S where COP-PFT

'Where were you?'

(3) ham khet me kām kar-at rah-ā
1S field LOC work do-IPF AUX-PST

'I was working in the field.'

In addition there are some vestiges of features from different dialects which now have only restricted usage in FH. One example is

³Note that these features are found in the petitions described in section 7.2.3.3 and are illustrated in examples (12) to (15) in that section.
the Bhojpuri verb stem plus -be infinitive, now used only in negative sentences conveying emphasis⁴:

(4) ham dekh-be naĩ kar-ā
1S see-INF NEG do-PFT

'I never saw (it).'

Another example is the numeral marker -go which in FH has become fused with ek 'one' in an emphatic form ekko:

(5) hamlog ekko suar naĩ mil-ā
1P one(EMPH) pig NEG get-PFT

'We didn't get even one pig.'

Table 9-1: FH first person pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
<th>Awadhi</th>
<th>Braj</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>FH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>mē,ham</td>
<td>maĩ</td>
<td>maĩ,hō</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>mohi,mo,</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>mo,muj</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>hamrā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>mor,more,</td>
<td>mor</td>
<td>merau</td>
<td>hamārā,</td>
<td>hamār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hamār,hamre</td>
<td></td>
<td>hamār,</td>
<td>mor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>hamni,haman,ham</td>
<td></td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>ham log</td>
<td>hamlog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ham log(an),</td>
<td></td>
<td>ham</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ham sab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>[= NOM]</td>
<td>ham,hamre</td>
<td>ham,hamāū</td>
<td>ham log(3)</td>
<td>hamlog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>[NOM+ke]</td>
<td>hamār</td>
<td>hamārau</td>
<td>[OBL+kā]</td>
<td>hamlogke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴The same construction also restricted to emphatic sentences occurs in Guyanese Bhojpuri (Gambhir 1981:173).
### Table 9-2: FH second person pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
<th>Awadhi</th>
<th>Braj</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>FH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2S INTIMATE OR CONTEMPTUOUS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM tē, tā</td>
<td>tai, tū</td>
<td>tū, tai</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL tohi, to</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>to, tuj</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS tor, tore</td>
<td>tor, tuhar</td>
<td>terau</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2S FAMILIAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM tā</td>
<td>tum, tā</td>
<td>tum</td>
<td>tum</td>
<td>tum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL tohrā</td>
<td>tum, tumre</td>
<td>tum, tumhārāu</td>
<td>tum</td>
<td>tumhārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS tohār, tohār (ke)</td>
<td>tumhārāu, tihārāu</td>
<td>tor, tohār</td>
<td>tumhār</td>
<td>tihār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2P</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM tohni, tunhan, tum log(an)</td>
<td>tum, tā</td>
<td>tum</td>
<td>tum log</td>
<td>tumlog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL [= NOM]</td>
<td>tum, tumre</td>
<td>tum, tumhārāu</td>
<td>tum log(ō)</td>
<td>tumlog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS [NOM+ke]</td>
<td>tumhārāu, tihārāu</td>
<td>tumlogke</td>
<td>tumhār</td>
<td>tihār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2 POLITE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM rauwā, raurā, apne</td>
<td>āp(u)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>āp</td>
<td>āp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL [= NOM]</td>
<td>āp(u)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>āp</td>
<td>āp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS rāur, raure, apan</td>
<td>āpka, āpke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9-3: FH third person pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
<th>Awadhi</th>
<th>Braj</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>FH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>3S PROXIMATE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM ī</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>yah</td>
<td>ī, īe</td>
<td>ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL e</td>
<td>e, eh(i)</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS ekar</td>
<td>ekar</td>
<td>yākau</td>
<td>iska, ekar</td>
<td>iske</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3S REMOTE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM ū</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>wah, wo</td>
<td>ū, uo</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL o</td>
<td>o, oh(i)</td>
<td>wā</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS okar</td>
<td>okar</td>
<td>wākau</td>
<td>uska, okar</td>
<td>uska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3P PROXIMATE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM inhan, ū log</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ī log, ī sab</td>
<td>īlog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL [= NOM]</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>in, inhaū</td>
<td>in, in log</td>
<td>īlog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS [NOM+ke], inkar</td>
<td>inkau</td>
<td>inkaū,</td>
<td>īlogke</td>
<td>in log kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3P REMOTE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM unhan, ū log</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>ū, ū log</td>
<td>ūlog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL [= NOM]</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>un, unhaū, win(i)</td>
<td>ū sab</td>
<td>ūlog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS [NOM+ke], unkar</td>
<td>winikau</td>
<td>unkā,</td>
<td>ūlogke</td>
<td>un log kā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9-4: FH imperfective suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
<th>Awadhi</th>
<th>Braj</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>SH</th>
<th>FH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S M</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>at, it, tā</td>
<td>at(u)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tā, at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P M</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>at, it, tā</td>
<td>at(u)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>tā, at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>at(u)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tā, at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P M</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>at(u)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>tā, at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S M</td>
<td>S, as(i)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>at(u)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>e, at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P M</td>
<td>an(i)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>at(u)</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>e, at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9-5: FH future suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
<th>Awadhi</th>
<th>Braj</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>FH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S M</td>
<td>bō, ab</td>
<td>bō, ab</td>
<td>ihaū, īgau</td>
<td>egā</td>
<td>egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P M</td>
<td>ab, bi, iha</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>ihaī, āgai</td>
<td>egā, enge</td>
<td>egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S F</td>
<td>bē, ba (a)</td>
<td>bē, ihai</td>
<td>(a) ihai, (a) īgau</td>
<td>egā</td>
<td>egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P F</td>
<td>bō, bau (a)</td>
<td>bō, bau</td>
<td>(a) ihai, augai</td>
<td>egā, enge</td>
<td>egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S F</td>
<td>ī, ihai, ē</td>
<td>ī, ihai, ē</td>
<td>(a) ihai, agau</td>
<td>egā</td>
<td>ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P F</td>
<td>ihe, ihen (a)</td>
<td>ihe, ihen</td>
<td>(a) ihai, āgai</td>
<td>egā, enge</td>
<td>ī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ī = [eː]
9.2.2 Features from Hindustani

9.2.2.1 General Hindustani vocabulary

It was shown in section 6.3.4 that the Indian lingua franca, Hindustani, was used in the indenture system and in section 7.2 that it was used on the plantations and in the courts in Fiji. Thus, one would expect that it too made a contribution to the FH koine. Of course, the acrolectal varieties of Hindustani, SH and Urdu, have influenced FH in recent years (see section 9.6), but only earlier contributions will be discussed in this section.

First, there are many lexical items in FH which are typical of varieties of Hindustani used for wider communication rather than marked as belonging to any regional Hindi dialect. There are also some FH items which are not found in Eastern Hindi and Bihari dialects (spoken by the majority of Indian immigrants) but are found in both Hindustani and some Western Hindi dialects (spoken by only a small number of immigrants), such as Khariboli, the dialect from which the lingua franca originated. Finally, some FH items may be found in Hindustani and also in one or two eastern dialects which were spoken by Fiji immigrants, but the number of speakers of these dialects was also small. Therefore, Hindustani is the most likely source for all three types of items just mentioned. Table 9-7 shows how in some cases a marked regional item such as 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ehojpur</th>
<th>Awadh</th>
<th>Braj</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>FH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M 1</td>
<td>lɔ, ḷ</td>
<td>eũ,a</td>
<td>(y)ay,o</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 1</td>
<td>ḷ, ḷ</td>
<td>iũ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 1P</td>
<td>ḷ, ḷ</td>
<td>ā, an, en</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>ḷ</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 2</td>
<td>le, ḷ, las</td>
<td>es, is, au</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>ḷ, lis</td>
<td>is(i)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 2P</td>
<td>ḷ(h)</td>
<td>eu, ū, eo</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>ḷ</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 3</td>
<td>las, le(s)</td>
<td>is, es, ai</td>
<td>(y)au,o</td>
<td>ā, is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>ḷ</td>
<td>i, isi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 3P</td>
<td>lan(i)</td>
<td>in, en, aĩ</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ā, in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>lin</td>
<td>f, ini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9-7: Three lexical items in various Hindi dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bihari</th>
<th>'head'</th>
<th>'woman'</th>
<th>'good'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maithili</td>
<td>sir, māth</td>
<td>stri</td>
<td>nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magahi</td>
<td>māthā, mūh</td>
<td>aurat, mehrārū</td>
<td>nek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhoj (Shahabad)</td>
<td>māth, kapār</td>
<td>maugā, mehrārū</td>
<td>niman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhoj (Saran)</td>
<td>māth, kapār</td>
<td>mehrārū</td>
<td>niman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarwaria</td>
<td>muṛ, kapār</td>
<td>mehrārū</td>
<td>nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Bhoj</td>
<td>kapār</td>
<td>mehrārū</td>
<td>nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Hindi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aw (Gonda)</td>
<td>mūr, kapār</td>
<td>mehrārū</td>
<td>bhal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aw (Partabgarh)</td>
<td>mūrh</td>
<td>mehrārū</td>
<td>nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aw (Unao)</td>
<td>mūr, kapār</td>
<td>mehrārīā</td>
<td>nik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagheli</td>
<td>mūr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattisgarhi</td>
<td>mūr</td>
<td>ḍokī</td>
<td>banē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Hindi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khariboli</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>lūgāī</td>
<td>chokkḥā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangaru</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>bayyar</td>
<td>chel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braj</td>
<td>mūru</td>
<td>lugāī, baiyari</td>
<td>bhalau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanauji (Kanpur)</td>
<td>mūru</td>
<td>logāī</td>
<td>niko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundelli</td>
<td>mūr</td>
<td>lugāī, aurat</td>
<td>bhalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hstni (Delhi)</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>aurat</td>
<td>nek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakhini (Bombay)</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>aurat</td>
<td>acchā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Hindi</td>
<td>sir</td>
<td>aurat</td>
<td>acchā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji Hindustani</td>
<td>mūr</td>
<td>aurat</td>
<td>acchā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cases it was a Hindustani form, such as aurat 'woman' and acchā 'good'. Other examples of what may be Hindustani rather than dialect words in FH are kuttā 'dog', ādmi 'man', ciriyā 'bird'; per 'tree', kharid- 'buy', and chotā 'small'.

9.2.2.2 The influence of basilectal Hindustani

The FH lexical items mentioned in section 9.2.2.1 are found in the entire range of the Hindustani continuum, but others are found mainly at the basilectal end, and are more typical of Bazaar Hindustani (BH) (section 6.3.1.2). In an earlier description of Fiji Hindustani (Siegel 1975:138), I suggested that BH may have provided the basis for FH or at least may have had a strong influence on it. I quoted Chatterji (1972:218) as follows:
Groups of people are growing up, whose home language and sometimes whose only language is this jargon or Bazar Hindustani—in the bustee slums of Calcutta, in the coolie lines in our jute mill areas, in the Andaman Islands, and among Indian emigrants in Fiji, Trinidad and British Guiana, and elsewhere.

I have since changed my position slightly. The FH features derived from Hindi dialects described above show that FH is not based entirely on BH. That Chatterji exaggerates its use has been pointed out by Moag (1979a:119) for Fiji and Gambhir (1981:276-86) for Guyana. These authors also emphasize that Fiji Hindustani and Guyanese Bhojpuri are based on varieties of Eastern Hindi and Bihari, the regional dialects spoken by the labourers, rather than on BH which, as a variety of Hindustani, is based on Western Hindi. But I think it is wrong to restrict the participants in koineization in Fiji only to regional Hindi dialects. It is clear that the Hindustani used for wider communication in India, although based on Western Hindi, was also used in the east. It is also clear that this Hindustani was known by many of the immigrants, especially its basilectal form which was used in Plantation Hindustani (section 7.2.3.2). Therefore, I still maintain that BH had a strong influence on FH because it too, as a language spoken by the Fiji Indians, played a role in the koineization process along with the eastern Hindi dialects. Not only did BH contribute some of its own unique features to FH, but also it reinforced other features which it shares with various Hindi dialects.

With regard to lexicon, the following common items from FH are mentioned as typical of BH by Chatterji (1972) or are included in the sample texts he gives (numbers in parentheses refer to page references):

(6) māng- (247,249) 'want'
khalās (246) 'finished'
is/us māfik (242) 'like this/that'
nagī (253) 'near'
muluk (244,249) 'place of origin'

The use of BH in the indenture system may also explain the presence of some of these items in the koineized languages of the descendants of Indian indentured labourers in other countries, mainly in Trinidad, Guyana, and Surinam. For example, māng- 'to want' is found in Trinidad
Bhojpuri (also called Trinidad Hindi) (Bhatia 1982b:144), Guyana Bhojpuri (Gambhir '98':50), and Surinam Hindustani (Huiskamp '80:61). In BH, *muluk*, refers to the provincial, rural origin of the migrants to urban areas. In Fiji and Guyana (Gambhir '98':32) it refers to India. 5 Another example, not mentioned by Chatterji, is *kauncI* 'what', a relatively uncommon form from the Magahi dialect (Grierson '03:38) but found in Fiji, Guyana (Gambhir '98':97), and Surinam (Damsteegt '83:15).

Chatterji (1972:243) writes that the vocabulary of BH is "strongly coloured" by Bihari and Eastern Hindi. Thus, BH may also be a source for some of the items listed in (1) above. BH also probably reinforced the use of certain lexical items shared with dialects which had only a small number of speakers in Fiji. Pillai (1975:29) points out:

FH sometimes employs a word common to the majority of dialects (e.g. āth ['eight']), and sometimes chooses a form found only in one area (e.g. ālog ke ['their']). FH can be quite capricious in the choice of item that is incorporated (e.g. che ['six'], which is preferred to the more widespread cha).

The item *che* is found in only one dialect, Chattisgarhi (Grierson '03, 1904, 1916) whose speakers made up only 2.6 per cent of the North Indian total (Table 6-5). Its use in FH is surprising, as Pillai points out, unless the fact is taken into account that the item also occurs in BH (Chatterji '72:233).

The same is true for the FH periphrastic plural pronouns. Although the third person forms īlog and ūlog are found throughout the Bihari area, the first and second person forms ħamlog and tumlog are found only in Magahi whose speakers comprised a mere 3.8 per cent of the total. But these forms are also found in BH (see Tables 9-7, 9-2, and 9-3).

Some of the FH verb morphology found in Hindi dialects could also have been reinforced by BH. This includes the -is and -in perfective suffixes (Chatterji '72:239) and the rah- auxiliary/copula. Both Moag (1979:19) and Gambhir (1981:285) discount the influence of BH because

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5 This item may have spread to plantations in Samoa. It is listed with the meaning 'home country' as a word of unknown origin in Samoa Plantation Pidgin by Mühlhäusler (1978:90).

6 Note: the -log pluralizer varies with -lOD in FH as well as in PH.
Chatterji (p.239) mentions था rather than रहा as its past tense auxiliary/copula. However, it does occur in the sample texts he gives at the end of his article (p.255).

BH rather than any Hindi dialect, though, appears to be the source of several other features of FH verb morphology. These are: (1) hai used as the present tense copula/auxiliary for all persons and numbers (Chatterji 1972:238); (2) the imperfective suffix -ता for first and second person, both singular and plural (see Table 9-4); (3) the definite future suffix -एगा also for first and second person, both singular and plural (see Table 9-5). Moag (1979:119) argues that the -ता and -एगा suffixes came into FH "directly from Standard Hindi, perhaps through the schools" rather than from BH. However, example (9a) in Chapter 7 shows the use of -ता with हम (where one would expect -ते in first person for SH) as early as 1893, more than twenty years before formal education for Indians began in Fiji. Also, if SH rather than BH were responsible for the use of these suffixes, one would expect to find them used with third person, as in SH. But in FH, that is precisely where they are not used, the most common third person forms being -े for imperfective and -़ for future. Instead, -ता and -एगा are used for first and second persons (see Tables 9-4 and 9-5).

9.2.2.3 Features from Pidgin Hindustani

According to the definition of linguistic subsystems (section 1.5), a pidgin variety can be considered a subsystem of its principal lexifier language. Whether or not the pidgin can be considered genetically related to other subsystems is debatable, but it does share with them the same superposed language. Thus, a pidgin is a possible participant in the koineization process (Mühlhäusler forthcoming). During the last dozen years of the indenture system in Fiji, more than 42 per cent of the labourers came from South India (section 6.2.2) and many of these spoke Pidgin Hindustani (section 8.2.3). Thus, with a large number of speakers within the Indian community, PH most probably did participate in the development of the FH koine. As pointed out in section 8.3.2, this fact, rather than contact with outsiders such as Fijians and Europeans, would better explain the presence of some Pidgin Hindustani features in FH.

The main feature of Pidgin Hindustani found in FH is the use of
the verb with the imperative ending -o in some non-imperative expressions (see section 8.1.4.1). It is commonly heard with certain verbs replacing the first and second person imperfective suffixes and without periphrastic tense marking. These verbs are jäh- 'know', sak- 'can', and mang- 'want':

(7) a. ham nai jämno
    1S NEG know
    'I don't know.'

b. tum sako
    2S can
    'Can you do it?'

c. kaunci mângo
    what want
    'What do you want?'

In addition, the -o suffix is used in the verb in the clausal object following sak- or mang-:

(8) tum áj sako ño (Moag 1977:115)
    2S today can come
    'Can you come today?'

(9) ham mângo dekho (Siegel 1975:135)
    1S want see
    'I want to see.'

(See also the examples from McMillan (1947) in section 8.2.2.)

These constructions are perfectly acceptable in informal contexts, but alternative constructions exist which would be more acceptable to many speakers. For example, the -o suffix is not used in this way in an untitled play by Pillai (1977), the only literary work in Fiji Hindustani:

(10) tum kaise sak-tä bol-e (p.17)
    2S how can-IPF speak-INF
    'How can you speak like that?'

(11) ham mâng-tä ñaun me rah-e (p.5)
    1S want-IPF town LOC stay-INF
    'I want to live in town.'
However, use of the -o suffix to mark verbs used as infinitives is more widespread and acceptable, and is found in Pillai's play in several places (e.g. p.4):

(12) hamār kām lā-kī lā-o, kūn me se pānī bhar-o
1S.POS work wood bring-INF well LOC ABL water fill-INF

'My work is to bring firewood, get water from the well.'

The history of this -o imperative suffix, then, is an interesting one. The imperative verb form was the most frequently heard in Plantation Hindustani; then it, rather than an infinitive form, was overgeneralized as the general verb form in Pidgin Hindustani. Now it has come full circle by being reanalyzed as the neutral infinitive form in Fiji Hindustani.7

It will also be noticed in examples (10) and (11) that the clausal object follows the main verb as in examples (8) and (9). These objects may also precede the verb (Siegel '975:135; Moag '977:23,115) as is usual in Indian varieties of Hindustani, but unlike these varieties, there is no same-subject constraint. This lack of constraint and the fact that the clausal objects more frequently follow the main verb may point again to the influence of PH.8

The large number of English and Fijian loanwords is also a characteristic of FH. The ones from Fijian are listed in Appendix F and those from English that date back to the indenture period are listed in Appendix G. (Far more are used in FH today since the beginning of English education in the '920s.) The earlier borrowings could have come into FH through contact with both languages, or through plantation Hindustani. But their use in PH and the subsequent incorporation of PH features into FH through koineization may explain the large degree of borrowing it exhibits.

The influence of PH may also explain some of the phonological features which distinguish FH from Indian varieties. One is the

7Richard Barz (personal communication, 2/0/84) notes the analogy with the use of the AH infinitive ending -nā in imperatives.
8A similar change in word order and subject constraints occurs in Trinidad Bhojpuri, reported as the influence of Trinidad Creole by Mohan ('976:9) and of English by Bhatia ('83b:144).
replacement of aspirated by unaspirated consonants in several lexical items (see sections 8.1.3 and 8.2.3.1). The following examples are among those given by Pillai (1975:4), who also attributes them to the influence of the South Indians:

(13) FH  kabî  SH  kabhî  'ever'
kangî  kanghî  'comb'
hât  hâth  'hand'
kuc  kuch  'some'

Another feature is the loss of intervocalic h, as in these examples reported by Pillai (p.5): kā (▶ kahā) 'where' and kāpî (▶ karahî) 'small cooking pot'.

9.2.3 Formal Simplicity in FH

Noun and verb phrase morphology in FH is much less complex than that of any Hindi dialect or variety of Hindustani (except Bazaar Hindustani). First of all, nouns lack inflected plural endings, and there are no separate forms of the noun for what has been traditionally called the nominative and oblique cases (Siegel '75:33; Pillai '75:8)\footnote{The oblique form of the noun is that which is followed by postpositions which mark relationships such as locative, ablative, accusative, and genitive.}. Adjectives are also uninflected in FH. The pronoun system lacks the three-way distinction for second person between intimate, familiar, and formal found in most dialects (see Table 9-2). The use of periphrastic constructions for the plural pronouns is another instance of increased regularity.

The Hindi dialects, as well as AH (as described in section 7.2.3.2), generally have complex verb morphology with suffixes referencing person, number, and gender, as well as intimacy or formality. In FH first and second person are not distinguished in verbal suffixes; gender is marked only optionally for the third person perfective on intransitive verbs; number distinction is found only in the third person perfective; and intimacy-formality is not marked (see Tables 9-4, 9-5, and 9-6).

\footnote{Loss of aspiration in final consonants is also described for Mauritian Bhojpuri (Baker and Ramnah 1984:3).}

\footnote{Richard Barz (personal communication, 24/11/1984) points out, however, that AH speakers consider this feature typical of sloppy or uneducated Hindi.}
Because this kind of comparative formal simplicity is so characteristic of pidgin languages, the first descriptions of FH (Siegel 1972, 1975; Pillai 1975) considered it to be a creole language, which developed from an earlier pidginized variety. It is now clear that this analysis is wrong; FH is a koine, not a nativized pidgin. As pointed out by Moag (1978:1456), "A koine and a creole follow very different courses of development and...a given language, such as Fiji Hindi, could be one or the other, but not both." How, then, can this formal simplicity be accounted for? One possible explanation is that, as mentioned in the definition of koines and koineization above, some degree of formal simplicity can be expected in a koine in comparison to the contributing varieties. Thus, Gambhir (1981:244) has attributed what he calls the "extreme simplification" in Guyanese Bhojpuri to the process of koineization. The same may be true for Fiji Hindustani, but the results of koineization and pidginization, although interrelated, cannot be equated.

9.2.3.1 Koineization vs pidginization

Because the varieties resulting from both koineization and pidginization are both characteristically less complex than the contributing varieties, there has been some discussion in the literature of the relationship between the two processes and between koines and pidgins in general (Nida and Fehderau 1970; Samarin 1971; Hymes 1971; Mohan 1976; and Gambhir 1981). Most of these writers agree that although the results of the processes are similar, the basic difference between the two is that the degree of comparative formal simplicity exhibited in koines is always much less drastic than that in pidgins. Because of this fact and the similarity between the subsystems in contact, koines, unlike pidgins, are never "structurally discontinuous from their linguistic parents" (Gambhir 1981:185) and are mutually intelligible with them (Nida and Fehderau 1970:152).

In addition, the social contexts of the two processes differ. Koineization requires free social interaction between speakers of the varieties in contact, whereas pidginization results from restricted social interaction. Another difference is the time factor. Pidginization is most often considered a rapid process in response to a need for immediate and practical communication. In contrast,
koineization is usually a process which occurs during prolonged contact between speakers who can almost always understand each other to some extent.

9.2.3.2 Pidginized varieties in koineization

But some of the features of FH are "structurally discontinuous" from any variety of Hindi/Hindustani found in India, for example, the use of sako as an independent verb followed by a clausal object. These are the features of FH derived from Pidgin Hindustani (section 9.2.2.3), and some of these features did arise from the need for immediate and practical communication rather than prolonged contact.

Thus, to say that pidginization and koineization are different is not to say that pidginization cannot play a part in koineization. For example, pidginization may occur with speakers of one dialect trying to learn another very different dialect on the opposite end of a dialect chain. Even more likely, it may occur with speakers of other languages becoming part of the koineizing community and trying to learn the koineizing language. These pidginized varieties, then, can also be thrown into the koineization melting pot, and they may be responsible for certain pidgin-like features in the resultant koine. This, I believe, is what happened in the development of Fiji Hindustani. Since it has been shown that several features of both Bazaar Hindustani and Pidgin Hindustani are present in FH, there is no reason why the formal simplicity of these varieties could not also have affected FH.

9.3 STAGES IN DEVELOPMENT

Like other koines, Fiji Hindustani is at one particular stage in a developmental continuum.

9.3.1 Stages in koineization

The stages in the development of a koine are analogous to those of a pidgin (section 1.3). The first is the unstable "pre-koine" stage in which various forms of the subsystems in contact are used concurrently. Some mixing has begun to occur, but no forms have emerged as the accepted compromise. In the next stage, a "stable koine" does emerge. Lexical, phonological, and morphological norms have been distilled from the various subsystems in contact. A new compromise subsystem has developed, but it is usually less complex in some grammatical areas
than the contributing varieties. Examples of stable koines are koineized colloquial Arabic (Samarin 1971:134) and the "interdialects" of Macedonian used in market centres (Lunt 1959:23).

Use of a stable koine may be extended to other areas besides intergroup communication. For example, it may become a literary or a standard language. This extension of use is often accompanied by linguistic expansion, for example, in greater morphological complexity and increased stylistic options. At this stage, it can be called an "expanded koine". An example is Belgrade-based Serbo-Croatian (Bidwell 1964:532). Finally, a koine may become the first language for a group of speakers, or a "nativized koine". This stage may also be characterized by further linguistic expansion. An example of a nativized koine is the original Koine Greek.

The stages in a koine developmental continuum are shown in Figure 9-1 (compare with Figure 1-1 in section 1.3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROCESS</th>
<th>STAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koineization</td>
<td>pre-koine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stabilization</td>
<td>stable koine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expansion</td>
<td>expanded koine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nativization</td>
<td>nativized koine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nativization of a koine can occur after any of the first three stages of development. For example, nativization can occur immediately after the pre-koine stage without prior stabilization or expansion. But as in creolization, these processes are part of nativization if they have not occurred already. The parallels are obvious with creolization at different stages as illustrated in Figure 1-2 in section 1.3. It is illustrated for koines in Figure 9-2 below, in which three examples are also given.

It should be stressed that the developmental continuum of a koine is not necessarily linear. At any stage, for example, "rekoineization" can take place if there is continued contact with the original closely
related varieties, or additional contact with different ones. Furthermore, a koine may be at different stages along the continuum for different speakers. For example, Greek Koine was nativized only for speakers of some urban areas; otherwise it was an expanded koine. For immigrant koines, recent immigrants may speak varieties at the pre-koine stage while the majority of the long-term immigrants speak a stabilized version and their children a nativized one.

9.3.2 The evolution of FH

Moag (1979a:120) discusses "two major stages to the dialect levelling process" in Fiji Hindustani: "the ferment stage and the standardization stage". In the ferment stage, he says, "forms from several regional dialects and social dialects [were] in use simultaneously". In standardization, which he says is "informal standardization", "one of several conflicting forms of a language becomes the norm by consensus and usage".

It was shown in section 6.3.3.1 that several regional Hindi dialects were in use in Fiji during the indenture era. In addition, various forms of Hindustani were also in use. This was the pre-koine stage, corresponding to Moag's "ferment stage". By "standardization", I assume Moag is referring to the development of a stable koine, but he does not spell out how this occurred. It appears, however, that stabilization came along with nativization (as in the Type 1 nativized
koine in Figure 9-2) because evidence shows that Fiji Hindustani emerged with the first generation of Fiji-born Indians.

First of all, according to informants, FH originated only after children were born in Fiji. For example, Munsami Reddy says that children born in Fiji spoke their own language, different from that spoken by their parents. Nanh u calls FH "lar̄kā wālā bhasā" 'children's language', and says it was a mixed dialect. These views correspond to that of Percy Wright (1910: 193), who lived in Fiji when FH was just beginning to develop:

Indian children born in Fiji will have a mixed language; there are many different dialects amongst the Indian population, and of course much intercourse with the Fijians. The children pick up a little of each language, and do not know which is the one originally spoken by their parents.

Because of the close quarters of the plantation lines (described in section 6.1.2), children born on the plantations were exposed to these many different dialects. Also, it was a practice on the plantations for the young children of the labourers to be left during working hours in what was an early version of a day care centre. Mohan (1978:13) describes the similar situation in Trinidad:

The result of this practice was the children's being isolated from their parents most of the time and made to integrate with a large group of children of their own age such that the major linguistic influence on these children came from within their own age group rather than from their parents, whose dialects they only vaguely remember.

There is also evidence that the children's language was based on not only the Hindi dialects, but the Jargon or Pidgin Hindustani they heard around them. Lenwood (1917:91) describes the "rabble Hindustani" of the plantations "mangled" by overseers and South Indians, and says "it was picked up by children born into such a medley". Also Burton (1914:118) writes: "There is also growing up in the islands a generation that has not known India, and these speak a pidgin-Hindustani, interlarded with Fijian and English words, mutilated to suit their organs of speech."

Thus, although FH cannot be called a creole in the conventional sense, it certainly does have certain pidgin features that have been nativized, and in this sense it can be said that creolization has taken place.
9.4 THE FATE OF OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES

With Fiji Hindustani being learned by nearly all Indian children born in Fiji, other languages began to be displaced. In 1929, W.J. Hands (1929:18) noted: "A form of Hindustani, hardly recognised by the newcomer from India, is becoming the common language of Hindu and Tamil alike." The Director of Education, A.A. Wright, observed in a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary (CSO E197/1930):

If a lingua franca is desirable to bind together the different Indian races speaking different languages, e.g. the Madrasi speaking and the Hindi speaking sections of the population, this is already coming into existence in the form of Hindustani the use of which is spreading rapidly among the Indians in Fiji.

Earlier he wrote of the fate of one language (CSO 4760/1927): "Tamil is dying out in Fiji and should possibly be encouraged to die out." This statement also reflects the unofficial government policy with regard to other Indian languages. It is stated more explicitly in a later memorandum (CSO 2258[E416]/1930): "We should avoid a tendency towards a multiplication of languages and without actually opposing Tamil or other Indian languages to foster a general adoption of Hindustani."

Although the first generation of South Indians born in Fiji did grow up speaking Fiji Hindustani, they were generally bilingual and maintained their Dravidian languages as home languages (Mayer 1961:145). Also, education in these languages, begun in the 1920s, continued for many years. In 1946 in schools run by the South Indian organization, Then India Sanmarga Ikya Sangam, there were 774 students of Tamil in 12 schools, 341 of Telugu in 11 schools, and 75 of Malayalam in 3 schools.12 But the sociologist A.C. Mayer (1961:106) reports that in a school composed entirely of children of South Indian descent, only 14 per cent elected to learn in their parents' language rather than Hindi. The displacement of South Indian languages was therefore taking place. The experiences of many were probably similar to this personal account by A. Krishna (1973:i):

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12 Then India Sanmarga Ikya Sangam, Fiji, 'Annual Report of Schools, 1946 (National Archives of Fiji)
My parents were staunch adherents of Telugu culture and traditions. When the indentured labour contracts were abolished, they purchased land at a village called Wavuwavu... This village was inhabited predominantly by North Indians who spoke Hindi. I grew up in this Hindi speaking environment. To keep the Telugu language alive my parents insisted that we must converse in our mother tongue. Unfortunately, outside our own homestead there was no opportunity to speak Telugu at all... I can still understand simple Telugu language but cannot converse in it. To be sincere I feel ashamed of myself for not knowing my ancestral tongue. It becomes very embarrassing when I have to reply in Hindi when spoken to in Telugu.

The census reports for 1956 and and 1966\(^{13}\), which contain language information about the Indian community, show the decline of the Indian languages other than Hindustani (see Table 9-8). The only exception is Gujarati, the language of a group of free immigrants who came to Fiji, mostly as craftsmen and traders, near the end of the indenture era or soon afterwards (Gillion 1962:130-35). Another group of free immigrants were the Panjabis, whose language is listed on the census as Gurmukhi (actually the name of its script). The "Other" category may

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>language name (as in census)</th>
<th>number of households 1956</th>
<th>number of households 1966</th>
<th>percentage of change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>+12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurmukhi</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>-62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>3,644</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>-78.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>1,498</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>-33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>-62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>-56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td>17,164</td>
<td>30,726</td>
<td>+79.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>+147.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>25,848</td>
<td>34,854</td>
<td>+34.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Siegel 1975:128

consist primarily of English, and the decrease in the use of literary forms of Hindustani, i.e. Hindi (probably interpreted as Standard Hindi) and Urdu, with the corresponding increase in the "Other" category, most likely reflects the move towards English among the educated (detailed in Siegel 1973).

Although Tamil and Telugu have been displaced to a large extent by FH, they are still spoken in Fiji. To my knowledge no linguistic study has ever been made of the Dravidian languages in Fiji to see if any distinctive local variety has emerged. In the only references which possibly refer to such a variety, Singh (1975:70) notes a "broken Tamil", and Krishna (1973:4) mentions that the Telugu language of some people living in isolation from organized Telugu communities "is criticised for its harshness and rustic accent, [and] for its host of words taken over [from] other languages". A study of Telugu or Tamil as spoken in Fiji would be a valuable one, not only in the context of localized language varieties, but also with reference to the subject of language death and language attrition (Dorian 1973, 1981; Hill 1978; Andersen 1982) (see section 10.3.3.7).

9.5 FH COMPARED TO OTHER TRANSPLANTED VARIETIES

The varieties of Hindi dialects or the Hindustani lingua franca which have developed in countries outside India are sometimes referred to as "transplanted varieties" (Bhatia 1982a). They are mostly found in countries where indentured Indian labourers were imported to work on plantations. The varieties other than Fiji Hindustani which have been studied in detail are: Mauritius Bhojpuri (Domingue 1971; Baker and Ramnal 1984); Guyanese Bhojpuri (Gambhir 1981); Trinidad Bhojpuri or Trinidad Hindi (Durbin 1973; Mohan 1978; Bhatia 1982b); and Surinam Hindustani or Sarnami (Huiskamp 1978, 1980; Krishna 1983; Damsteegt 1984).

Fiji Hindustani has puzzled students of these transplanted varieties because of its lack of certain Bhojpuri features, especially numeral classifiers and some characteristic verbal suffixes, which are

14 In fact, there has been a revival of interest in the teaching of Tamil among South Indians and a Tamil reader has recently been published (Fiji Sun 4/8/1984).
found in all the other varieties. Most notable is the lack of the \(-l-\) perfective suffix and the \(-b-\) future suffix. These are shown in Table 9-9.

Table 9-9: Verbal suffixes in transplanted Hindi/Hindustani

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mauritius</th>
<th>Guyana</th>
<th>Trinidad</th>
<th>Surinam</th>
<th>Fiji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERFECTIVE/PAST (transitive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S P</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>ali</td>
<td>lī</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S P</td>
<td>ale</td>
<td>al(e)</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S P</td>
<td>al(e),il</td>
<td>al(e),e</td>
<td>(i)l,al</td>
<td>il,al,</td>
<td>is in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEFINITE FUTURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S P</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>(a)b</td>
<td>ib,ab</td>
<td>ab,</td>
<td>b(e) egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S P</td>
<td>(i)be</td>
<td>he,ha</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>ihe</td>
<td>egā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S P</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>i,ih,</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i(gā)</td>
<td>ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ī,an sa</td>
<td>ihe,ih</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One proposed explanation is that FH has been influenced by Standard Hindi. This is Moag’s theory, mentioned in section 9.2.2.2 above. He says (1979a:199) that the \(-egā\) future suffix, for example, is the modern replacement of an older form, \(-ib\). Gambhir (1981:224) also gives a similar explanation, but he notes (p.288n) that whether the \(-b-\) future form ever existed in FH is not known at present. It was shown in section 9.2.2.2, however, that it is unlikely that the SH third person \(-egā\) future would replace the older first and second person \(-b-\) future, as it supposedly did in FH, rather than the third person \(-i-\) or \(-h-\) future, as it apparently did in Surinam Hindustani. The tenacity of this point of view is pointed out by Gambhir (1981:224) himself: "Why Standard Hindi affects different persons in the two varieties is a difficult question to answer on purely linguistic grounds."

The answer might be found in the backgrounds of the labourers. It was shown in section 6.2.1 that Bihar was the major source of Indian
indentured labour before the 1870s. Mauritius began importing Indian labourers in 1834, Guyana in 1838, and Trinidad in 1845 (Lal 1983:13). Therefore, the majority of these labourers, coming from Bihar, would have been Bhojpuri speakers. Fiji did not join the indenture system until 1879 when the recruiting areas had shifted to eastern UP; therefore, a large percentage of the labourers were Awadhi speakers (section 6.3.1.1). Thus, fewer Bhojpuri features could be expected in FH than in the varieties of the other countries. But Surinam also did not begin importing Indian labourers until 1873, and although Surinam Hindustani is more similar to FH than other varieties, it still contains the common Bhojpuri verbal suffixes. Furthermore, the -b- future is also found in Awadhi, and is especially characteristic of the eastern subdialects which were brought to Fiji (Gambhir 1981:218).

Another factor, however, is the number of labourers from South India. Although speakers of Bhojpuri made up more than a third of the labourers from North India from 1905 to 1916 (Table 6-7), they made up less than a fifth of the total labour force. The largest group during this period were the South Indians with over 40 per cent. It was stated in section 6.2.2 that South Indians composed approximately 24 per cent of the total number of labourers in Fiji from 1879 to 1916. In Guyana, the total was only 6.3 per cent, and in the West Indies (including Trinidad) it was approximately 6.2 per cent (Lal 1983:13,44). I have no information on the percentage in Surinam, but Kishna (1983:70-71) says that there were only a small number and that they had no effect of the development of Surinam Hindustani. Also, Lal (1983:44-45) describes both the reluctance of the South Indians to go to the distant Caribbean and the prejudice of the planters of the region against South Indian labourers.

Only Mauritius had a similar large proportion of South Indians--31.9 per cent, but there is one important factor which distinguished Mauritius from Fiji: the existence there of another lingua franca, Mauritian Creole or Kreol (a variety of French Creole). Whereas in Fiji, South Indians learned some form of Hindustani to communicate with other language groups (except where Fijian was the plantation language), in Mauritius, it appears that South Indians used Kreol rather than Hindustani or Bhojpuri (which was used on some plantations [Baker 1972:22-23]). Thus, in Fiji it was Hindustani which
eventually began to displace South Indian languages (see Table 9-8), while in Mauritius it was Kreol. This is shown by Stein (1982) in his detailed study of current language use in Mauritius. For example, 88.6 per cent of his informants with Tamil ancestry and 74.4 per cent with Telugu ancestry spoke Kreol at home. Only 8.8 per cent of the Telugus and none of the Tamils spoke Bhojpuri at home (p.505).

Fiji, then, differed from Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana, and Surinam in having a large number of Hindustani-speaking South Indians as an integral component of the koineizing community. And the Hindustani spoken by these South Indians was mainly that learned on the plantations: either Plantation or Pidgin Hindustani. This kind of Hindustani was characteristic more of the Hindustani lingua franca, especially its basilectal varieties, than of any Hindi dialect. This would explain the differences between FH and the other varieties and the large number of its features similar to those found in the forms of Hindustani used for wider communication in India.

9.6 THE POST-KOINE CONTINUUM

Although Standard Hindi may not have had much of an effect on the formation of FH, it certainly influenced it later, especially after the indenture era when formal education began for the Indians. The effect of SH on FH is noted by McMillan (1944:5) who writes:

> With the gradual passing of an illiterate adult population, the rapid spread of education, the influence of Hindustani Talkies, broadcasting, gramophone records, several local vernacular newspapers, and the importation of reading matter, the replacement of corrupt by more correct Hindustani is only a matter of time, though a certain dialect may remain, as is usual in other countries.

In the past in Fiji a classical diglossia situation existed (Ferguson 1959a) with acrolectal Hindustani (Standard Hindi (SH) or Urdu) as the superimposed variety (Siegel 1972, 1975; Moag 1979a). In formal situations which called for the use of SH, speakers could be placed along a continuum according to their competence in SH. But even in less formal contexts, the influence of SH filtered down to affect FH. First, it probably reinforced certain features already in FH from varieties of Hindustani such as BH, and helped to purge residual dialectal forms. For example, FH spoken on Vanua Levu and Taveuni is
more conservative than that spoken on Vitilevu, and it is still common to hear some dialectal forms which are rare on Vitilevu. Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>old form</th>
<th>current form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laŋkwā</td>
<td>laŋkā</td>
<td>'boy' (definite form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okar</td>
<td>uake</td>
<td>'his, her, its'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jan-it</td>
<td>jan-tā</td>
<td>'knowing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-wā</td>
<td>a-yā</td>
<td>'came'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each case, the current form corresponds to the SH form. The use of the -wā definite forms of nouns, the -it imperfective suffix, and the -wā perfective suffix on stems ending in vowels now are considered rustic and most often used on Vitilevu for joking.\(^{15}\)

Another effect of SH has also been to help purge certain features of Pidgin Hindustani which had come into FH. For example, baitho may have been used at one time in FH (see McMillan's "queer distortions" in section 8.2.2). And use of the -o verb forms may have been more common, but now remains only in a few constructions such as with clausal objects, where it is now becoming less acceptable (section 9.2.2.3).

Fiji Hindustani, then, can be described as a continuum with one end influenced by SH and the other end by PH. For some speakers, it is difficult to tell where FH ends and SH begins, for others, such as the South Indian girmitiyas, the same is true for FH and PH. Also some speakers have competence over the full range of the continuum while others may be restricted to only parts.

In recent years English has created another dimension. As shown in Siegel 1973, it has been replacing SH in most formal domains mainly because it is the language of education and government in Fiji. The Indians in urban areas use a very large number of English words in their FH and also indulge in a lot of code-switching into English. This passage from Pillai's untitled play (1977:5) is a good indication:

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\(^{15}\)Pillai uses some of these features in his play (1977) for the speech of an old woman. And these dialect features and others characterize the comedy of John Mohammed (Hibiscus Cassettes no. HS-100 [1981] and HS-107 [1982]).
Many people are going overseas from Fiji and there getting taken in. Look at my friends. There was a senior clerk in my office; now he's in Vancouver washing pots in some hotel. Another of my friends was a superintendent in the police; now he's working for a supermarket as a guard in the car park.

Thus, influences on FH come from three directions: SH, PH, and English. Speakers of FH differ according to the degree of influence from each of these directions. Therefore, varieties of FH cannot be placed along a simple two dimensional continuum.
A better model would be a three dimensional grid (see Figure 9-3) with three axes, representing the SH dimension, the PH dimension, and the English dimension. Around the origin would be the most widely used varieties generally acknowledged as PH.

The descendants of the Indian indentured labourers in Fiji have thus maintained linguistic links with their ancestral homeland and, at least in one dimension, with the plantation existence of their forebears. However, for most of the descendants of Pacific Islands labourers, there is quite a different story, told in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 10

DESCENDANTS OF PACIFIC ISLANDS LABOURERS

Exactly how many Pacific Islanders stayed on in Fiji at the end of their contracts is not known. But the percentage was considerably smaller than that for the Indian labourers. Those who did stay on were often men who married or lived with Fijian women. Some of these ex-labourers lived among the Fijians and became "almost indistinguishable from them in appearance and speech". But most of them either re-engaged as plantation labourers or obtained jobs in urban areas as house servants, road builders, storemen, or dock workers (Corris 1973:87). The languages of these Pacific Islanders and their descendants are the topic of this chapter.

10.1 BACKGROUND

10.1.1 Pacific Islander settlements: history

Labourers who had finished their contracts and stayed on in Fiji began living together in settlements near urban areas. One of these, near Lomaloma, was mentioned in section 3.3.3.2. Another early one was Koro Ivi near Nalaga, outside Ba (CSO 1029/1887). Like most of the settlements, it had a mixed population, consisting of men from Epi and Pentecost in Vanuatu and women from Kiribati.

Many settlements were located in the Suva area. One was at Nasinu consisting of men from Pentecost and the Solomons (CSO 5135/1905). (This settlement is most probably the still existing one called Manikoso, supposedly a corruption of the name Pentecost.) Two other early settlements in the Kaunikuila (Flagstaff) area of Suva were named after islands in Vanuatu: Malekula (Malakula) and Sadro (Santo)

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1 Report of Polynesian Immigration for 1884, Fiji Legislative Council Paper No.23 of 1886
(Rabukawaqa 1967:6). Large numbers of Islanders also lived in Toorak, Tamavua, Vunadila (Samabula), and Caubati.

Other settlements were organized by the Anglican Church, which first started working with Melanesian labourers in 1870 in Levuka. At the church's suggestion that the landless time-expired labourers live in a Fijian-style village, Naviro was built above Vagadaci in 1886 (Kuva [1974]:17). In the 1920s it was moved to Wailailai, Fijian-owned land leased by the church for the Islanders. In 1946, it consisted of 15 small houses and 150 people, and was described by one visitor as "a tropical slum--an Anglican slum".

In 1940 the Anglican Church bought 254 acres of land at Wailoku, just outside Suva, to provide one large, centralized settlement for Anglican Melanesians from the Suva area and also from Ovalau, Vanualevu, Taveuni, and Rabe. It was officially opened in August 1942, and called the Patteson Settlement. Also in the 1940s, the Solomon Islanders who lived on Taveuni and in southeast Vanualevu in settlements at Maravu, Laulevu, and Vunilagi were encouraged to settle on the church property of Natoavatu Estate, about 24 kilometres west of Savusavu. In 1951, the settlement there called Naviavia was formally recognized as the Campbell Settlement.

In 1952 a hurricane destroyed houses in many of the settlements around Suva, especially at Kaunikula. The Anglican Church in co-operation with the Suva City Council established two new settlements, New Town at Nasinu and another at Lami (Kuva [1974]:18). The last new settlement was established in 1966 on a 465 acre block purchased by the church at Waina-loka, Ovalau, about 15 kilometres from Levuka.

2 Church Gazette (Diocese of Polynesia) no.11 (1927):8
3 Letter from W.E. Moren of Auckland, New Zealand to Mr Long, August, 1946 (Church of England records, National Archives of Fiji)
4 Anglican Church Gazette: Golden Jubilee Issue (1958):27
5 ibid.
MAP 13: Pacific Islander settlements
10.1.2 Other Pacific Islanders today

According to the 1976 census, there were 6,822 "Other Pacific Islanders" in Fiji. In addition to the descendants of those who came as indentured labourers, these include free immigrants and their descendants from Tonga, Samoa, Kiribati, Tuvalu, and other islands. Nearly all the descendants of the labourers, however, are part Fijian, and many were probably included in the census with Fijians. Kuva ([1974]:19) gives the number of "Solomons" (or Kai Solomone)--as all descendants of Melanesian labourers are known in Fiji--as 8,000. He says that about 7,000 of these live in the four large church settlements mentioned above (Wailoku, New Town, Wainaloka, and Naviavìa) and in other smaller settlements. Descendants of Kiribati labourers also live in some of the smaller settlements. A list of all the settlements is given in Table 10-1,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>MAIN GROUPS</th>
<th>CHURCH</th>
<th>POP.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VITILEVU: SUVA AREA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1. Wailoku</td>
<td>NW of Suva</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*2. Veisari</td>
<td>W of Lami</td>
<td>Kir</td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*3. Kalekana</td>
<td>Lami</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*4. Matata</td>
<td>Lami</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tamavua-i-wai</td>
<td>Suva</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*6. Tacirua</td>
<td>N of Suva</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*7. Caubati</td>
<td>Nasinu</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. New Town</td>
<td>Nasinu</td>
<td>Sol, Van</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*9. Caqiri (Vilavou)</td>
<td>Nasinu</td>
<td>Kirk, Van</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Manikoso</td>
<td>Nasinu</td>
<td>Van</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Lagere</td>
<td>Nasinu</td>
<td>Sol, Van</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITILEVU (OUTSIDE SUVA)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*12. Navutu</td>
<td>Lautoka</td>
<td>Sol, Van</td>
<td></td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*13. Waidradra</td>
<td>Deuba</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*14. Cagilaba</td>
<td>Navua</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Naboro</td>
<td>Naboro</td>
<td>Kir</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVALAU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*16. Wailailai</td>
<td>Levuka</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*17. Naisoqo</td>
<td>Levuka</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Korovou</td>
<td>Levuka</td>
<td>Sol, Van</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Malekula</td>
<td>Levuka</td>
<td>Van</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*20. Wainaloka</td>
<td>Ovalau</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VANUALEVU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Nobu-ni-kadamu</td>
<td>Wainamu</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*22. Cawa-i-ra</td>
<td>Labasa</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*23. Naviavìa</td>
<td>Wailevu West</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Vunilagi</td>
<td>Savusavu East</td>
<td>Sol</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with location, major island groups, principal religious affiliation, and approximate population (mainly from Rabukawaqa 1967). (Those marked with an asterisk are the ones I visited during field work.) The locations are shown on Map 13. In addition, there are hundreds of descendants of Pacific Islands labourers on Taveuni, formerly one of the major plantation areas.

10.1.3 Language use

As shown in section 4.1.2, Fijian (or Pidgin Fijian) was the "adopted tongue" of the time-expired labourers who settled in Fiji. The settlers may have continued to use their own languages among themselves, but they generally did not teach them to their children. Therefore, the children, who mostly had Fijian mothers, learned only Fijian (Kuva [1974]:14). According to informants, even when both parents were from the same island and spoke the same language, they still spoke to their children in Fijian. Therefore, it was reported for one community in 1941: "The bulk of the older people can still speak their mother tongue...but the younger people are to all intents and purposes Fijians".

Of nine ex-labourers interviewed by Kuva ([1974]:13) in the early 1970s:

Five said that they still knew and used their languages, two said they lost some of the vocabulary, one that he knew only a bit, and one said that he knew less of his own language than Fijian. However, all used Fijian daily in their homes.

Nearly all of the men and women I interviewed speak Fijian as their main language, and are indistinguishable from Fijians in their speech. Only Jioji Abunio spoke Pidgin Fijian (section 5.2.1). A few of the first generation also know a little English, but not Melanesian Pidgin. One man, Pita Teqe, also speaks fluent Fiji Hindustani indistinguishable from that of the Fiji Indians.

The only ones who still speak their ancestral language in daily life are some of the descendants of Kiribati labourers who live in communities, such as Veisari, which include free immigrants from

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6Church Gazette no.66 (April 1941):10
Kiribati (described in section 10.2 below). The descendants of labourers from Vanuatu have no memory of their parents speaking in their native languages, and none of them can speak even a word of any Vanuatu language. As Rosalia Mataro says, "When our parents died, their language also died." The descendants of those from the Solomons, however, all remember the previous generation speaking to each other in their Solomons languages and some still know how to speak these languages. (One is described in detail in section 10.3 below.)

10.2 THE GILBERTESE LANGUAGE IN FIJI

Of the languages of the Pacific Islands plantation labourers only the Kiribati language (or Gilbertese) is still used in Fiji today. Although the language as spoken in Fiji has not been studied in any detail, a few observations are given in this section.

10.2.1 The survival of Gilbertese

Several factors led to the survival of Gilbertese in Fiji. First of all, its speakers made up the largest language group among the labourers (section 3.3.1). Second, as opposed to other groups, many Kiribati people came to Fiji as family units, and there was a large percentage of women (section 3.2.3). Therefore, there was not so much intermarriage with Fijians.

In spite of these factors, however, there was still a good chance that the language could have died out among the descendants of the Kiribati labourers. For instance, one informant, Toma Temo, tells how his parents, children of Kiribati labourers who stayed on in Fiji, spoke to each other and to their children in Fijian even though they knew Gilbertese. One reason may have been that the Kiribati and the Vanuatu labourers lived closely together at Nasese in the early part of the century. There was a lot of intermarriage between the two groups, and descendants of both groups still live together in the Caqiri settlement. Although some Vanuatu people may have learned Gilbertese (such as Rosalia Mataro), Fijian was generally used as the lingua franca.

Toma Temo did not learn Gilbertese until the age of fifteen, when he made up his mind to learn it because, he says, it is very bad not to know your own language. That there were still people speaking the
language was most probably a result of the most important factor which contributed to its survival in Fiji: continued contact with the home islands of Kiribati.

Kiribati (then the Gilbert Islands) became a British protectorate, along with Tuvalu (the Ellice Islands) in 1892. This established an important link with Fiji, then a British colony. In fact, the first British Resident Commissioner, C.R. Swayne, had been a magistrate in Fiji (McDonald 1982:76). People from Kiribati began coming to Fiji not to work on plantations but for other purposes, such as education. For example, many Kiribati medical assistants received their training at the Fiji School of Medicine. In addition, Kiribati missionaries from the Protestant church, such as the father of Temaiana Koau, one of my informants, came to Fiji to work with their countrymen. According to Temaiana Koau, many of the Kiribati people, unlike immigrants from other Pacific Islands, were in contact with their relatives back home. In fact, many people back in Kiribati sent money to their relatives in Fiji to buy land and then came as free immigrants. He estimates that of the approximately 2,000 Kiribati people in Fiji, only a minority are descendants of plantation labourers.

The biggest group of Kiribati free immigrants are the Banabans, the people of Ocean Island. Because of phosphate mining making their own island uninhabitable, they bought Rabe island in Fiji and settled there after World War II. These immigrants in addition to many visitors from the islands helped to keep the Kiribati language and culture alive in Fiji.

10.2.2 Characteristics of Gilbertese in Fiji

It has been reported of the Banabans on Rabe: "They have adopted Fijian words into their language and changed some Gilbertese words slightly. For example, ti a kabo which means good-bye in English is said ti boo..." The settlers and descendants of labourers on Vitilevu, all bilingual in Fijian, also speak Gilbertese which is

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7 Kiribati Ministry of Education, Training, and Culture 1979:103
8 Ibid. p.126-27
9 Ibid.
slightly different from that currently spoken back in Kiribati. The major differences are lexical and phonological. Fijian words, such as io 'yes', are used consistently, and among younger English-educated speakers who are not so fluent, many English words are also used. There are also examples of phonological transfer from Fijian, especially among the younger speakers. These include the following: (1) the Fijian alveolar trilled /r/ is used rather than the Gilbertese dental tap (Groves and others forthcoming); (2) the diphthong ai is similar in quality to the Fijian "potential diphthong" (Schütz 1984:511) in that the initial /a/ is lower and longer than usual in Gilbertese; and (3) sentence-final rising intonation is often used, as in Fijian. More detailed research is needed to see in greater detail how Gilbertese has changed in the Fijian environment.

10.3 WAI: A MALAITAN LANGUAGE IN FIJI

Speakers of North Malaitan dialects formed the second largest language group among the labourers after Kiribati, and they were by far the largest group in the latter years of the labour trade (section 3.3.2.2). The only surviving dialect in Fiji is one called "Wai" by its speakers. It is on the verge of extinction, unlike Gilbertese, mainly because of lack of contact with Malaita and displacement by Fijian. This section describes Wai on the basis of what limited data are available and looks into why it differs from any dialect currently spoken on Malaita.

10.3.1 Solomons languages in Fiji

The descendants of labourers from the Solomon Islands differentiate the main languages of their forefathers according to the names of their islands as they are known in Fiji: Malaita, Kalekana (Guadalcanal), Bugotu (Isabel), and Makila (Makira). All the Kai Solomone I interviewed trace their ancestry back to Malaita. The names they use for some of the language areas of Malaita are Langalanga, Marata, Koio, Vataleka, Bali, and Wai. Interviews revealed that Marata

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10This information was obtained from interviews with students from Kiribati who were in Fiji studying at the University of the South Pacific. The main informant was Reina Timau.
refers to 'Are'are (it is the 'Are'are word for Malaita), Koio is Kwaio, Vataleka is Fataleka and Kwara'ae, and Bali is To'abaita (actually the northwest coastal part of the To'abaita area). According to informants, the name "Wai" did not exist on Malaita. There in the local language the people were called tō i sai 'people of the sea or coast dwellers'. This translated into Fijian as kai wai. In modern times, their language back on Malaita has become known as Lau. (Malaitan languages are described in section 3.3.2.)

The five villages in the Wailoku settlement are named after some of these Malaita language groups (Kuva [1974]:24): Wai, Marata, Koio, Vataleka, and Balibuka (supposedly Bali combined with Buka, referring to New Guinea Islanders). It should be pointed out that only a few of the first generation and none of later generations know about the connection of the Fiji names with the language groups on Malaita.

The first generation informants from the Wai group know at least a few words of the language, and some know it well (see section 10.3.3.1 below). Some say Wai and Bali people speak the same language, but Koio and Marata are very different. Some informants from the Koio group know a few words of their fathers' language, but none are fluent, although they say there are some fluent speakers left alive. There are also supposedly one or two speakers of Kwara'ae still living.

In the past, the general pattern in the settlements was that each language group used their own language in speaking to other groups if they did not use Fijian. But if there was a lingua franca other than Fijian, informants agree it was Wai. (Pita Teqe compared it to Bauan.) In Wailoku it was reportedly spoken to some extent by people from the Vataleka and Koio villages. Many of the informants say that Wai was also used as a lingua franca back on Malaita. The Kai Wai were fishermen and traded fish for garden produce with other language groups. The Wai language was used for this trade, they say, because it was easy to understand and learn.

11 Roger Keesing (personal communication, 19/7/84) points out that "Koio" is the North Malaitan rendering of Kwaio.
12 This has been verified by Pierre Maranda (personal communication, 17/5/84), who says that at least Kwara'ae people have used Lau. However, Roger Keesing and Christine Jourdan disagree (personal communication, 19/7/84).
10.3.2 Background on North Malaitan

The languages of Malaita, and particularly the North Malaitan dialects (NM) are described earlier in this work (section 3.3.2.1). But some additional information about the linguistic area is needed to put Wai in the proper perspective.

10.3.2.1 Previous linguistic studies

Word lists for the different varieties of North Malaitan are available in Tryon and Hackman 1983, but the only dialects which have been studied in detail are Lau and To'abaita. Short grammars of two varieties of Lau were written by Ivens (1921, 1929), and a dictionary was compiled by Fox (1974). A dictionary of To'abaita was written by Waterson in 1924 (referred to in Simons 1982). Lichtenberk's (1984) study of a subdialect of To'abaita (called To'aba'ita) is the most detailed description of a North Malaitan dialect. It may be relevant to other dialects, however, as according to Ross (1973:50), "all North Malaitan dialects share essentially the same grammar".

10.3.2.2 Coastal vs bush language

Many authors make the distinction between the language spoken by the "coastal people"--those living on the small off-shore islands--and that spoken by the "hill" or "bush" people--those living inland. The coastal language is Lau and the bush language comprises the other NM dialects. Ivens (1929:323) points out that the language spoken at Ataa Cove (at the southern end of Lau lagoon) "has a closer affinity to the languages of the hill peoples of the mainland than has Lau proper". Fox (1974) also gives some "hill words" in his dictionary of Lau, such as maleu 'sleep'.

10.3.2.3 Language use and attitudes

The North Malaita people themselves take a great interest in linguistic habits, and language is one of the most important factors in group identification, as mentioned by Ross (1973:50). This is quite apparent in the names of some of the language-culture groups themselves

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13 Only since European contact have villages been established on the coast of the mainland. Before, for strategic reasons, they were either on small natural or man-made islands or inland.
(on which the dialect names are based), or at least in their folk etymologies which he describes. For example, bae is 'speak or say' in Lau and Baegu. The name for Baelelea supposedly comes from its speakers' habit of reduplicating the word lea 'go' to lelea. The name Baegu is from its speakers' way of answering the greeting 'Where are you going?' with nāo gu 'nothing', implying 'I do not wish to say'. And the name Fataleka is composed of the descriptive use of two words which differ from other dialects: fata 'speak, say' and leka 'go' (Ivens 1930:24; Ross 1973:50).

Dialect use in intergroup contact has also been described by Ross (1973:50): "When speakers of different dialects interact, each for convenience uses his own dialect but understands the other's." This "passive bidialectalism" also occurred in the past, as described by Ivens (1930:28-29), who also mentions linguistic accommodation as well as maintenance of linguistic boundaries:

When the men or, as happens at market, the women of two different peoples forgather, each person uses his or her own language, and the listener in each case understands...many individual words of another's speech are known through practice, and a man, when speaking to another, will often make the necessary consonant changes in his own words in order to agree with the practice of the other. However, in the main, each man talks his own language, and indeed people who dwell among those of another speech seldom seem to learn that speech, but continue to use their own tongue.

These accounts agree with what informants say went on in Fiji and show that North Malaitan speakers had a passive knowledge of synonymous forms from other dialects. In addition, they also most probably knew but did not use several synonymous forms in their own dialects as a result of word tabooing.

10.3.2.4 Word tabooing

Word tabooing in Malaitan languages has been described in detail by Keesing and Fifi'i (1969) and Simons (1982). It is taboo to say the name of a dead ancestor and to use any common words which are components of the name. Tabooed words are replaced by new forms using a variety of methods (Keesing and Fifi'a 1969:166-68) including borrowing, semantic shift, phonological modification, or simply adopting an already available alternate form. In addition to the forms resulting from word tabooing, some languages have alternate honorific
forms and forms used to refer to women (Simons 1982:218n). Therefore, speakers of Malaitan languages have passive knowledge of several synonymous forms for many lexical items, even though some may not be actively used for cultural reasons.

10.3.3 Description of Wai

10.3.3.1 Informants

Although Wai is no longer used for everyday communication, six informants knew it well enough to record an extended discourse. Their backgrounds and how they learned the language are given here.

The first is Jone Gagalia of Wailoku. Both his parents were from Manaoba Island off Malaita, a Lau speaking area, and in contrast to others they generally spoke to him in their own language, which Jone says was Wai. He is by far the most fluent of the informants. Jone's half brother, Pita Teqe of Waidradra, says he was born in the Solomons and came to Fiji as a child with his mother, but he is nowhere near Jone in fluency.

Charlie Kelo, of Navia via, learned Wai by listening to the old people talk because his parents spoke to him only in Fijian. His father was from the Fataleka area, and his mother was a part-European from Fiji. His wife, Eni Birena, learned Wai by listening to the conversation of her parents, who also spoke to her in Fijian even though they were both from the Wai area of Malaita.

Makitalena of Waidradra learned a bit of Wai from her father, who tried to teach her his language (her mother was Fijian), but he died when she was very young. Jone Mawia of Wailoku also learned Wai from his father, who came from the Suafa area (which he says is Wai). He relates that his father would slap him if he didn't speak it properly.

Tape recordings of the Wai informants were transcribed and analyzed with the help of several informants from the different dialect
areas of North Malaita. The general opinion of these informants is that Wai contains a mixture of vocabulary from the various NM dialects, especially Lau, To'abaita, Baelelea, and Baegu. They also mention the influence of Fijian. Those from Lau think that basically Wai sounds like the language spoken by inlanders (that is, the other NM dialects). However, those from non-Lau areas think the rhythm and intonation sound like Lau. They also think that some of the Wai speakers are not fluent and sound like they are just learning the language. This is not only because of hesitation, they say, but also because of leaving out certain words and speaking in what they say is a simple way. These two characteristics, mixture of dialectal features and relative formal simplicity, in addition to the observable influence of Fijian, make Wai different from any dialect currently spoken on Malaita. These features also suggest that Wai, like Fiji Hindustani, may have evolved in Fiji as the result of dialect mixing, or koineization. This possibility is examined here.

10.3.3.2 Wai phonology

The phonology of Wai is not identical with that of any particular dialect of North Malaitan (NM) and appears to be influenced by Fijian. But, for the most part, NM and Fijian phonologies (including dialects other than Bauan) are similar, as shown in Tables 0-2 and 0-4, and the overlapping areas are found in Wai. The vowels of Wai are the same as those of both NM and Fijian, including phonemic vowel length. The consonants also appear to be basically those found in both. Wai includes the labiovelar /kw/, /ŋw/ (Fijian gw), and /ŋw/ (Fijian gw), found not in Bauan but in Western Fijian and some eastern Vitilevu dialects (Geraghty 1983:42-47) as well as in some NM dialects. Also, some Wai speakers use /h/, also not in Bauan but in some Western Fijian

14 In September 1982 I worked with Barnabas Lauia, a Lau speaker, and in July 1983 with Manuel Maesua, a Baelelea speaker. Both were then students at the University of the South Pacific. In November 1982 Darrell Tryon and I went to the Marist Brothers Training Centre at Tutu, Taveuni, where we worked with Brother Paul Maefiti (To'abaita), Brother Peter Sukuomea (Baegu), and Brother Timothy Beliga (Baegu), who were all also familiar with Lau. Also in June 1983, I worked with three North Malaitan students at the Papua New Guinea University of Technology in Lae: Bentley D. Collin (Lau), Enaly Fifira (To'abaita), and Frank Loboi (Baegu).
dialects and in Lau. The following Fijian consonants not found in NM are also not in Wai: ç [ç] and dr [NFr].

The main differences between Wai and NM phonology appear to be the result of transfer (both positive and negative) from Fijian. First, NM /f/ (To‘abaita [f]) is realized as /v/ [β] for most speakers: e.g. vera (Lau fera) ‘village’, kavo (Lau kafo) ‘water’. Note, however, that Ivens (1929:324) mentions /f/ sometimes going to /v/ on Sulu Vou island where he studied Lau.

Second, voiced stops are usually prenasalized in Wai as in Fijian. In Lau, prenasalization either does not occur or it is very slight. In To‘abaita, it varies from strong in word-medial position to weak or nil in word-initial position (Lichtenberk 1984:3). Ivens (1929:323) notes, however, that /ŋg/, /nd/, and /mb/ do not appear in Lau but that they are used in the "hill languages".

Third, some phonemes absent in Fijian but present in NM are also absent in Wai. The NM glottal stop, especially in initial position, does not occur in the speech of most Wai speakers: e.g. ave (Lau afe) ‘wife’, iya (Lau ɪ'a) ‘fish’. The voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ in To‘abaita and Baelelea also does not occur in Wai. Instead, the Lau, Baegu, and Fataleka reflex /s/ or /h/ occurs.

### 10.3.3.3 Lexicon and pronoun systems

Apparent dialect mixing in Wai can be observed mainly in the lexicon and in the pronoun system in the concurrent use of some marked NM lexical items. By marked items, I mean those that in North Malaita would identify the speaker as belonging to a particular language-culture group: either one or more of the main dialect areas or coastal versus bush. The names Baelelea, Baegu, and Fataleka themselves are comprised of such marked items as mentioned above. Marked items may include words that are known by a group but cannot be used by them because of word tabooing, and therefore, these items are marked as belonging to other groups.

In Wai, sometimes only one marked form appears. For example, NM informants noted that the demonstrative 'this' is ne or ne’e in bush areas and na in coastal areas (Lau). Another example is bush kufia 'drink (it)' versus coastal gwoufia. In Wai only the bush alternative is found for these items:
(1) nau tō i vera nā  
1S stay LOC village this  
'I live in this village.'

(2) arai nā kū-vi-a kwakwanga uri-a na koito  
old.man this drink-TR-OM kava like-OM DEF dog  
'This old man drinks kava like a dog.'

On the other hand, some marked coastal forms also exist in Wai, such as -
items with h like haitamana 'know'.

There are also examples in Wai of items marking a particular "bush language" group, such as BGU andea 'make, do' and the proper article -
sa, and also the TOB intensifier bo'o.

(3) o ande-a tā  
2S do-3S what  
'What will you do?'

(4) hata-na arai sa jek k.  
name-3S.POS ratu PRP J. K.  
'His name was Ratu Jack K.'  
("Ratu" is explained in section 10.3.3.4.)

(5) diana mamana bō  
good true INT  
'really good!'

Some lexical items in Wai mark two or three groups of Nm,  
excluding others, for example: BLE, BGU, FTK sēki 'here'; LAU, BLE,  
BGU lea 'go'; and LAU, TOB tā 'what'.

While the examples above represent the consistent use of one of  
several possible marked items, there are also instances of two items in  
use concurrently. Some of these are LAU, BLE, BGU bae along with TOB  
nata 'talk' and BLE, BGU, FTK ngā along with LAU tā 'mother'. Most  
often different speakers use only one of the alternatives as in the  
following examples (from two different speakers):

15Abbreviations used here are as in Table 3-12: BGU (Baegu), BLE  
(Baelelea), FTK (Pataleka), and TOB (To'abaita).
(6)  a. ngā kamelu mae nā
mother 1XP die PFT

'Oour mother has died.'

b. tū nau nia mae sui nā
mother 1S 3S die COMP PFT

'My mother has died.'

However there are instances in which two marked items may be used by the same speaker, even in one utterance:

(7) molu ŋata diana, molu bae
2P talk good 2P talk

'You talk well, you talk.'

Wai 'not': There is wide variation among speakers in negative constructions. Four speakers use only one of two marked negative verbs (NEGV), either LAU, BLE laŋi or BGU, VTl nao (sometimes shortened to na), usually followed by the negative particle (NEG) si and often without the 3S subject marker e:

(8) maka kia laŋi si lea lau
father 1IP NEGV NEG go again

'Our father didn't go back again.'

(9) kera nao si haitamana
3P NEGV NEG know

'They didn't know.

One informant used only the negative accomplished mode subject marker as in To'abaita (see Lichtenberk 1984:7):

(10) maka kia ke-si riki-a vera kia
father 1IP 3P.SM-NEG see-OM village 1IP

'Our fathers didn't see our village.'

One informant used both constructions (as in Lau):
(11) a. malevo laŋi si baita
money NEG V NEG big
'The money (pay) isn't a lot.'

b. mī-si voli-a te-si dō diana
1XP-NEG buy-OM one-NEG thing good
'We don't buy anything good.'

To see if Wai can be attributed to any any particular dialect, forms for 50 lexical items which show variation in NM are compared in Table 10-2 below (mainly from the word lists in Tryon and Hackman 1983). Word lists, of course, cannot be expected to provide complete information, especially in light of the degree of synonymy in Malaitan languages described in section 10.3.2.4. Nevertheless, comparing Wai with the different dialects may give us at least some idea of its linguistic affiliations. In making the comparisons, I have first taken into account the regular phonological differences which result from transfer from Fijian, such as f to v and loss of glottal stop.

The comparison shows that 29 Wai forms also occur in LAU, 21 in TOB, 27 in BLE, 23 in BGU, and 14 in FTK. In some cases only one dialect has forms corresponding with those of Wai, while in other cases all dialects have corresponding forms. Mostly, however, correspondences occur in different combinations of two or more dialects. The frequencies of the different combinations are illustrated in Table 10-3 for the four most important dialects. This table shows a complex pattern, with items attributable to nearly every possible combination of dialects. Lau appears to be the most important, although not by much. However, if the presence of prenasalized voiced stops in Wai is attributed to transfer from Fijian rather than to the bush dialects, then the contribution of Lau is even more significant, with an additional seven items.

The Wai pronouns present a different picture. The independent or free pronouns (by far the most frequently used in Wai) are shown in comparison to NM dialects (based on Simons 1980) in Table 10-4. Only three of the eleven Wai pronouns can be attributed to Lau. In contrast, six occur in TOB, nine in BLE, ten in BGU, and eight in FTK. In fact, none of the Wai independent plural pronouns appear to be derived from Lau. It may be argued that again there is the influence of transfer:
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Table 10-4: North Malaitan and Wai independent pronouns

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<td>gomolu</td>
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</table>
since the voiced velar stop ʔ does not occur in Fijian without prenasalization, it may have come into Wai as the voiceless stop k. But even if this argument is accepted, that still leaves four out of eight plural pronouns which appear to be derived from dialects other than Lau if the vowels are compared.

10.3.3.4 Semantic and functional extension

The influence of Fijian has brought about the innovative use of some NM forms in Wai. First, a semantic extension has occurred for a few NM lexical items to fit Fijian culture. Most common is Wai kwakwanga 'kava' (Fijian yaqona). According to NM informants there is no kava drinking on Malaita, and kwakwanga is a plant with leaves similar to those of the kava plant found in Fiji. Another is the Wai use of arai NM 'married man, elder' as an honorific title corresponding to Fijian ratu (see example (4) above). Also, NM mouri or mauri 'to be alive' is used in Wai as a greeting corresponding to Fijian bula.

Second, a functional shift has occurred for Wai mai. In NM mai functions only as a directional marker indicating action towards the speaker or the point of reference (see Lichtenberk 1984:18). In Wai, it takes on the additional role, as in Fijian, of a marker of general or distant location (Geraghty 1976; Schütz 1983:354) as in this example:

(12) e lai to mai luma
3S.SM NEG stay LOC house
'(It) is not in the house.'

10.3.3.5 Formal simplicity

Wai appears to be linguistically less complex than any of the NM dialects in derivational and inflectional morphology. Although the degree of simplicity varies between speakers, they most often use only one of several available NM grammatical strategies. For example, four out of six speakers use only the negative verb rather than negative SM pronouns (examples (8) to (11) above). All but one speaker use the independent pronouns rather than the subject marking (SM) pronouns in affirmative sentences in which the subject has a human referent. The co-occurrence of the independent rather than the SM pronoun with the subject NP, as in the following Wai example, is not acceptable to NM informants (see also example (6b)): 
(13) ave nau nia geni i bugotu
wife 1S 3S woman LOC B.

'My wife is a Bugotu woman.'

Although the basic pattern in NM includes the subject marking pronouns as an obligatory part of the verb phrase, they may be omitted stylistically in some dialects (Simons 1980:7), such as in To'abaita when the referent of the subject can be recovered from the context (Lichtenberk 1984:13). However, NM informants thought that Wai speakers' elimination of subject markers was excessive. For example, in correcting the transcript of one Wai speaker, a NM informant inserted the subject marker ku:

(14) nau [ku] tō i vera nē i viti
1S [1S.SM] stay LOC village this LOC Fiji

'I stay in this village in Fiji.'

NM dialects have two classes of possession: alienable and inalienable. Like Fijian, inalienable possession is marked by adding a possessive suffix to the head noun. But unlike Fijian, alienable possession is marked simply by placing the independent pronoun after the head noun (Simons 1980:7). For some kinship terms such as 'father', there are two different items, one alienable, one inalienable, for example, TOB Qarna-ku and maka nau 'my father' (Lichtenberk 1984:54). Wai speakers consistently use the alienable alternatives. One speaker uses the alienable construction where the inalienable one is required in NM:

(15) ata nau arai sa jon
name 1S ratu PRP J.

'My name is John.'

Another speaker overgeneralizes the use of the third person singular inalienable possessive suffix:

(16) vinda-li-a amba-na
clap-TR-OM hand-3S.POS

'Clap your hands.'
(Literally: 'Clap his hands.')
Wai speakers also leave out the locative marker i:

(17) vera nē faqa diana uri-a faqa vera kia
village this food good like-OM food village 1IP
'Is food in this village good like in our village?'

The following examples show reduced derivational morphology in that the nominalizer -la or -la is not used in Wai where it would be expected in NM:

(18) a. ma nau na si haitamana bae[-la] ne
and 1S NEGV NEG know talk[-NOM] this
'And I don't know this language.'

b. dami[-la] e la{i
chew.betelnut[-NOM] 3S.SM NEG
'There's no betelnut chewing.'

10.3.3.6 Discussion

On the basis of preliminary data, it is difficult to ascribe Wai to any one North Malaitan dialect. It appears to be characterized by a mixture of lexical forms which currently differentiate the different dialects and by the influence of Fijian, especially in phonology. It is generally less complex than any of the NM dialects, resulting in some constructions which are ungrammatical according to NM speakers.

These linguistic features are typical of those which result from koineization. In addition, Wai developed under some of the social conditions in which koineization typically takes place: migration and the breaking down of linguistic boundaries when the need for unification arises in a new environment (see section 9.1.2). Is Wai an immigrant koine then? The answer to this question has to be "no" because of the variation among Wai speakers. The mixture shows that koineization probably did take place, but the variation indicates that in general it did not get past the pre-koine stage of development (section 9.3.1). Certain areas of Wai grammar, however, such as the independent pronoun system, do show that at least some stabilization had taken place. It is possible that if the Solomon Islanders had not adopted the Fijian language and culture, Wai might have been further
stabilized and developed into a nativized koine, like the Fiji Hindustani of the Fiji Indians.

10.3.3.7 Language attrition

The degree of formal simplicity in Wai, however, cannot be attributed only to koineization. As pointed out in section 9.2.3.1, the formal simplicity that results from koineization is much less drastic than that resulting from pidginization, and therefore, koines are never "structurally discontinuous from their linguistic parents" (Gambhir 1981:185). However, the fact that many Wai sentences are unacceptable to NM speakers because of the their lack of certain grammatical features indicates that the degree of simplicity in Wai may be too excessive to be the result of only koineization. Other processes must be considered, and it may be that the Wai spoken by the informants does not necessarily represent the language spoken by their parents.

The first possibility is that this lack of complexity indicates pidginization itself, the result of incomplete language learning. In fact, the overgeneralized use of the 3S inalienable possessive suffix, the use of the independent rather than SM pronouns, and the lack of locative marking are also characteristics of Pidgin Fijian (see section 5.2.4.2). Only one of the informants learned Wai as his first language along with Fijian; all the others learned it later. (This would explain the phonological transfer from Fijian.) But without adequate opportunity to use the language, it may never have been learned completely. The reason for this restricted use was that Wai was being displaced by Fijian; in other words, it was (and still is) a dying language.

In her studies of language death, or language attrition over successive generations, Dorian (1973, 1982, 1983) describes how parents may speak the dying language to each other but not to their children. She says that in immigrant communities, for example, the utility of the mother tongue is seen to be reduced and, therefore, it is often deliberately not transmitted to the children (1982:46-47). Children in this situation, if they do learn any of their parents' language, become one type of what Dorian calls "semi-speakers"—imperfect speakers of a dying language. It may be that all but one of the Fiji informants are semi-speakers of Wai because of inadequate input during childhood and
few opportunities to use the language later. Some of the linguistic features resulting from the process of language death or language attrition, described by several authors (Dorian 1973, 1981, 1983; Hill 1978; Andersen 1982), are similar to those of Wai, such as reduction and regularization of morphology.

Another explanation for the degree of simplicity is that the Wai informants may have acquired the language thoroughly as children but attrition occurred from lack of use (Andersen 1982:85)—especially after most of the NM native speakers had died. All the Wai speakers said that they had not used the language for many years, and some said they had trouble remembering some of the words. Also, some of the NM informants had the impression that at least one speaker started off speaking as if he was just learning the language, but later in the discourse sounded more fluent. Examples (14) and (16) above illustrate reduced and regularized morphology in Wai. But the same speaker comes up with the following more acceptable sentences later in the same discourse:

(19) vinda-li-a ambamolu
    clap-TR-OM hand-2P.POS
    'Clap your hands.'

(20) Nau ku kū-vi-a kwakwanga nē
    1S 1S.SM drink-TR-OM kava this
    'I drank this kava.'

Thus, it could be that for this speaker the attrition was only temporary and the language came back to him as he started to use it.

10.3.3.8 Summary

Several sociolinguistic factors could have led to the characteristics of Wai as described above. First, emigration probably disrupted cultural traditions, and the need for solidarity in a new environment broke down boundaries between language-culture groups. This resulted in the active use of some of the more widely known lexical items that may have been in the passive repertoire of speakers of some dialects or communalects. Thus, the apparent lexical mixing in the language of the Wai informants may be attributed to the process of koineization which has been described for other immigrant communities.
The morphological reduction and regularization, however, are more likely the result of other sociolinguistic processes. These may be individual language attrition from lack of use, or community level language attrition (language death) resulting in incomplete language learning in individuals.

10.3.4 Attitudes on language loss

All the first generation descendants of Melanesian labourers I interviewed mourn the death of their parents' languages in Fiji. The ones who do not know the language well condemn their parents for not teaching them properly. The ones who do know it are extremely proud that they can communicate with people from the Solomons, such as the students from the University of the South Pacific who often visit the settlements. Maika Brown proudly described the reaction of one student to his speaking Wai: "'I'm very glad in my heart to hear our language that you and me speak--just like you and me speak in the Solomons, in our home.'"

Charlie Kelo tried to teach Wai to his son, but he would not learn. So he scolded him: "If you don't know your language, how can you say you're a Solomon Islander? The Kai Idia [Indians], Kai Rotuma, Kai Samoa, they all know their language, but the Kai Solomone, no! Very bad!" And all Kai Solomone of a group I was in fully agreed with the comment of one Samoan: "How can they communicate with their ancestors if they don't know their language?"

The parents of these men and women, like many immigrant parents in other countries, made the decision to integrate into their new home and adopt the local language and culture. But despite this decision, their children are still considered Kai Solomone and have not been accepted as Fijians. Many complain that even though they speak and act like Fijians, they still feel ostracized by them, that they are poor because they do not own land, and that the government considers them Fijians at election time when it wants their votes, but does not consider them Fijians when they apply for special privileges reserved for Fijians, such as loans from the Fiji Development Bank. For these reasons, many are not happy with their lives in Fiji, but since they have no money and have lost their language, they cannot go back.
This song they sing in Wai and Fijian sums up their feelings:

Nau tū mai vera, nau tū diana
1S stay LOC village 1S stay good

Nau lea mai viti, nau tū ta'a
1S go DIR Fiji 1S stay bad

Geni i viti kera oso nau
women of Fiji 3P betray 1S

Malevo nau e sui vua-na
money 1S 3S finished for-3S

Tiko mai noqu koro, au tiko vinaka;
Au lako mai Viti, au tiko vakacā.
Na yalewa ni Viti, era cavilaki au;
Na noqu ilavo e oti vei ira.

I stayed in my village, I was okay;
I came to Fiji, I'm ruined.
The women of Fiji betrayed me;
I've spent all my money on them.
CHAPTER 11
PIDGIN LANGUAGES IN FIJI TODAY

According to DeCamp (1971:16), a pidgin rarely survives for a century. He points out that if the interlingual contact ends, the pidgin usually ends, too. If the contact is maintained for a long time, generally one group learns the standard language of the other. He continues, "The only way a pidgin may escape extinction is by evolving into a creole." Nonetheless, two pidgins exist in Fiji today as the linguistic legacy of the plantation era: Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani. This chapter looks at these two pidgins as they are spoken today. But first, it deals with reports that a variety of Pidgin English also exists in Fiji.

11.1 PIDGIN ENGLISH IN FIJI TODAY

Chapter 4 illustrated how Melanesian Pidgin English never took root in Fiji, but at least two authors have reported that it still existed there only fifteen years ago. Wurm (1971:1008) writes: "Beach-la-mar is, more or less in its original form, still used as a lingua franca and contact vernacular in the New Hebrides, and is still known in Fiji." And Hymes (1971a:44) mentions "Beach-la-mar" in Fiji as one example of pidgins which "continue in use without immediate danger of extinction, although without promise of expansion either". Also, a "Fiji Pidgin English" is described by Geraghty (1977, 1984). This section examines these reports to see if some form of Pidgin English is actually spoken in Fiji.

11.1.1 Does MPE still exist in Fiji?

In my interviews with dozens of descendants of Pacific Islands labourers, I did not find any beach-la-mar or any variety of MPE still in use in Fiji. Some of the informants are familiar with a few features of MPE such as "belong", "savvy", and "piccaninny" (see Table
3-4). They learned these few words either from some of the old-timers who came from Queensland or more recently from visiting Solomon Islanders, such as students from the University of the South Pacific who often visit the settlements. But I found no instance where any MPE is used for communication within any community in Fiji. Also, those who know English speak it without any features of MPE.

The information given by Jone Gagalia of Wailoku near Suva is typical. Most of the labourers from Malaita spoke to their children in Fijian. They used their Malaitan language only with wantoks of the same generation. Other Malaitans who had worked in Queensland, such as Jone's uncle, knew pidgin English, and often used it to talk with fellow ex-Queenslanders when they first arrived. But they quickly learned to speak Fijian, and if they married, they never used pidgin English to their children, only Fijian, or Pidgin Fijian. Some Europeans did speak pidgin English to the ex-Queenslanders, but these were only ones who had been to the Solomons or Queensland. Thus, as shown in Chapter 4, although MPE was brought to Fiji, it reached a dead end there. It may have been spoken as recently as the early 1970s by some of the original labourers who had worked in Queensland or Samoa, but as they all have since died, MPE in Fiji has died along with them.

11.1.2 Basilectal Fiji English

A colloquial variety of English is currently spoken in Fiji mainly as an inter-communal language. It is called "Fiji Pidgin English" by Geraghty (1977, 1984), "Colloquial Fiji English" by Moag (1977), and "the dialect" by Sister Francis Kelly (1975), who gives the most detailed description. I consider it to be really the lower part of a continuum of Fiji English which has Formal Fiji English at the acrolectal end. Therefore, I call it Basilectal Fiji English (BFE). Fiji English in general needs to be studied in much greater detail, and I consider BFE here only to answer two questions relevant to this study: Is BFE related to MPE, and is BFE really a pidgin language?
11.1.2.1 The main features of BFE

Some of the main features of BFE which distinguish it from other varieties of English are given here. It must be emphasized, however, that the occurrence of most of these features is highly variable. Examples are from two recordings made in Suva. The first is of female first year secondary students representing nearly every ethnic group in Fiji. The second, made by Paul Geraghty, is of boys 4 to 12 years old, Fijians and part-Europeans. (Note that as no orthography has been worked out for BFE, standard English orthography is used here. Glosses are given only where the meaning is not transparent.)

Phonology:

BFE has a five vowel system, similar to that of Fijian, plus schwa. The consonant system is close to English; however, /r/ is a trill [ɬ] as in Fijian, and some speakers may lack /z/, /θ/, and certain consonant clusters (see Geraghty 1977:4). Intonation patterns are similar to Fijian, for example in raised register throughout for questions.

Noun phrase:

"One" is used as an indefinite article:

(1) Tonight I'm going to one party.

"Plenty" is the pre-nominal quantifier;

(2) Plenty people should come and taste the grog.

The pronoun system is as follows: first, "us two" is used as the first person dual inclusive:

(3) I can't give you us two's money because us two poor.

Second, "gang" is used as a plural marker with personal pronouns:

(4) No, but us gang take it for a joke.

(5) What you gang doing?

(6) We gonna be like those gang. [i.e. like them]
Third, "fella" is used as the third person pronoun with [+ human] referents, both male and female:

(7) When Jone look up in the tree, fella saw the thing between the leg.

(8) Fella put that fella's hand in front. ['He put his hand in front']

Fourth, "the thing" is often used as the third person with [- human] referents:

(9) You know one time she threw the chalk and the thing hit over here.

The Fijian focus marker gā is often used in the NP (and also in the VP):

(10) You gā, you gā tell it.

Verb phrase:

BFE is similar to other nonstandard varieties of English, such as basilectal Singapore English (Platt 1978), in these variable features of the verb phrase: (a) lack of copula, especially in present tense; (b) lack of third person singular marking on the verb; and (c) lack of past tense marking, except for common forms such as "went" and "ate".

Other, more unique, features of the BFE verb phrase are first the use of "been" as a preverbal past tense marker:

(11) He been swear. ['He swore!']

Second, "full" is a preverbal intensifier:

(12) The boy just full shouted.

Third, "got" is used for 'have':

(13) Us gang got the video ['We have a video.']

The Fijian initiation or politeness marker mada is often found in the VP:
Lexicon:
Many Fijian words, and a few Fiji Hindustani ones are used. Also, many English words have shifted or restricted meaning, such as "bluff" 'lie, deceive'; "grog" 'kava'; "good luck" 'it serves you/him/her right'; and "not even" 'no way!' (see Geraghty 1977:4).

11.1.2.2 Is BFE related to MPE?
It can be seen from the brief listing of distinctive features above that BFE bears little resemblance to Melanesian Pidgin English. The most characteristic grammatical features of MPE, such as the -em transitive suffixes and the use of "long" and "belong" as prepositions, are absent. Common MPE lexical items, such as "savvy" and "pikinini", are not found. BFE uses "us two" instead of "you me", for the first person dual inclusive, and "gang" for a plural pronoun suffix instead of "fellow". In fact, of Clark's 30 comparative features of MPE (Table 3-4), BFE includes only three: "plenty", "been", and "got", and all three could easily have been independent developments. As Geraghty (1977:3) points out, then, MPE is most likely not a lineal ancestor of BFE.

11.1.2.3 Is BFE a pidgin?
Geraghty (1977:2) defines a pidgin as "a language which is a second language to its speakers with a grammar and phonology resembling that of another language". Even if we accept this definition (which would not be accepted by many creolists), it is still difficult to agree with his view (p.4) that "almost every aspect of Fiji Pidgin but the forms of the lexical items strongly resembles Fijian".

It is true that some of the features of BFE may be attributed to the influence of the Fijian substratum, for example, the inclusive-exclusive distinction in pronouns. Also, compare the use of "one" as an indefinite article to the Fijian:

1But as shown in Schütz 1984:321, Fijian e dua is not congruent with English "a"; it is a marker of generality in discourse rather than of grammatical indefiniteness.
In addition, the use of "full" as a pre-verbal intensifier parallels the use of rui in Fijian:

(16) odrau sā rui soli-a vaka-totolo
2D ASP INT give-OM MAN-quick

'You two really gave it quickly.'

Furthermore, certain BFE idioms are obviously calques of Fijian, for example, "not even" from sege sara (negative + intensifier).

On the other hand, much of BFE grammar is English rather than Fijian: consistent SVO word order, English possessive marking and English possessive pronouns, English plural marking, and verb morphology such as the -ing durative and some past tense forms. Other features of BFE, such as lack of copula and third person singular marking, may be the result of Fijian influence, but they are also found in other nonstandard varieties of English, and therefore, it is difficult to substantiate their origin.

Thus, on a grammatical basis alone it is difficult to classify BFE as a pidgin. It may be, of course, that BFE was once a pidgin, and is now a "post-pidgin continuum", that is, it is being restructured towards more standard English because of strong influence from the English superstratum (Mühlhäusler 1980). But unlike Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani, there is no historical or sociolinguistic evidence that BFE was ever a stable pidgin (or even a jargon with recognizable conventions). Therefore, I think it is safe to say that BFE is not a pidgin language.2

2Geraghty (personal communication, 27/7/1984) actually agrees that what he calls "Fiji Pidgin English" may not be a pidgin as defined in sociolinguistics, but says that he uses the term because that is how it is commonly known in Fiji.
11.1.2.4 BFE as a "creoloid"

Platt (1975, 1978) uses the term "creoloid" to refer to Singapore Colloquial English, or basilectal Singapore English. The parallels with BFE are striking. First, both exhibit some creole-like features, although they did not develop from a pidgin (thus the term "creoloid"). These grammatical features are mainly those of the verb phrase described above: variable copula realization, past tense marking, and third person singular marking. Second, both show the transference of features from the languages of different ethnic groups, as illustrated above for Fijian. Third, English (the "standard or superordinate" language) is one of the official languages of both countries. Fourth, both are used for inter-ethnic communication. Finally, both developed through the educational system. It appears, then, that BFE fits the definition of a creoloid quite well.

11.2 CURRENT PIDGIN FIJIAN

As mentioned earlier in this work, Pidgin Fijian is used in Fiji today as an inter-group contact language, mainly by Indians and Chinese in communicating with Fijians and sometimes with each other. This current Pidgin Fijian (CPF) has been described in some detail by Moag (1978). It was shown in Chapter 5 that a stable Plantation Pidgin Fijian (PPF) developed on the plantations, and in Chapter 7 that it was almost certainly spoken by some Indian labourers. A comparison of Moag's description of CPF to that in Chapter 5 of PPF clearly shows that the current variety is a direct descendant of the plantation one. But along with its new role came some significant linguistic changes which are also described in this section.

11.2.1 Pidgin Fijian's new role

The biggest change in the role of PF after the plantation era was that it came to be used mainly in dual language contact situations involving Fijians, whereas on the plantations it was used as a lingua franca among several language groups which often did not include Fijians. Moag's description of the origin of PF (1978:1471) is as follows:
Significant racial contacts, and hence the need to use PF, did not occur until Indians moved onto subsistence agricultural plots in the vicinity of Fijian villages after completing their indenture. The advent of small numbers of Chinese engaging in agriculture, or commerce, or operating small shops in the countryside created similar conditions of limited contact with Fijians in which PF was brought to use. Both these situations were bi- rather than multilingual.

While Moag is wrong about the origins of PF in general, which did occur on plantations, his description fits the development of current PF very well.

PF's continued existence as a contact language rather than a plantation language is the result of not only limited contact between Indians and Fijians but also the maintenance of social boundaries. First, unlike the Pacific Islanders who stayed in Fiji, the Indians did not attempt to assimilate with Fijian society, and there has been little intermarriage. Indians have therefore maintained their own language and culture and have not adopted the Fijian language as the Islanders have. (This is also true of Chinese and Europeans.) Second, the Fijians have not encouraged the Indians (or other outside groups) to integrate into their society, and have always maintained their separate ethnic identity.

With this social distance between Fijians and Indians, and their "segregative orientation" toward each other (section 1.4.2), complete language learning resulting in bilingualism would not be expected. In fact, use of a nonstandard variety by both sides may have been a way to maintain social boundaries. The post-plantation contact between Fijians and Indians is very similar to that described by Hall (1962:153) for the long-term, but nevertheless slight, contact in the first stage of pidgin development:

Here the "slightness" of contact is one of continued non-intimacy, because of the desire of one side to keep the other at arm's length; in other words, the situation is invidious, involving social distinction for whose maintenance the continued use of the pidgin is one of the means. On occasion, both sides may use the pidgin to keep each other at arm's length...

3Although there are many Indians fluent in Standard Fijian or local dialects in areas such as Nadroga and Cakaudrove where they have more than superficial contact with Fijians, these are definitely the minority.
Also, the "speech accommodation theory" of social psychology (Giles 1977; Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977; Beebe and Giles 1984) is of some relevance here. According to this theory, people may adjust their speech with others to either reduce or accentuate linguistic (and hence social) differences between them (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977:324). An adjustment towards others is called speech "convergence" and away from others is speech "divergence". According to Giles (1977:35), "non-convergent language [or speech divergence] can be used by ethnic groups as a symbolic tactic for maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness". Accentuation of existing ethnic speech markers for use in interethnic contexts is one of the means (Beebe and Giles 1984:13).

In Fiji the salient features of Pidgin Fijian have become markers of the way that non-Fijians speak Fijian. Fijians maintain group boundaries by using these features in speaking to out-group members, especially Indians. This of course creates barriers to Indians' access to more standard Fijian. But because Indians regard themselves as an out-group, they do not attempt to go beyond these barriers, thereby perpetuating Fijians' perceptions of the way they speak Fijian. It is a vicious circle, with the use of PF both marking ethnic boundaries and helping to maintain them.

Nearly all Fijians, except for those in the outer island groups, have some contact with Indians. Thus, Pidgin Fijian is so familiar to most Fijians that some of its features have become part of their language, a part reserved for addressing outgroup members, or a Foreigner Talk register. Of course there is variation in the degree that the Foreigner Talk of different individuals approaches the PF of the Indians, but the salient features are widely known. In fact, the words to a popular Fijian song, given in the following example, even contain a few of these features. Some of them will be recognizable from the description of PPF in Chapter 5; others are explained below:

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4 Not to be confused with language convergence as described by Gumperz and Wilson 1971.

5 Thanks to Br Alekesio Tatini for telling me of this song.
11.2.2 Features of current Pidgin Fijian

The following information is based on recordings of Indians and Chinese speaking PF made during field work in 1983. Examples in this section are all from speakers over 30 years of age. Unlike other informants, they wished to remain anonymous. Examples from Chinese speakers are marked "(C)".

11.2.2.1 Phonology

The phonology of CPF is basically the same as that of PPF (section 5.2.3) with the following exceptions. First, the SF dental fricative \( s \) generally becomes \( d \) ([d] with no prenasalization), as pointed out by Moag (1978:1459). Thus, CPF Dakau 'reef' (SF cakau) 'reef' and tabina 'brother' (SF taci-na 'his younger sibling'). Note, however, that some lexical items have \( t \) rather than \( d \) in place of SF \( c \), as in PPF, for example, takataka 'work' (SF cakacaka). The following example has both:

(18) CPF sa sutu ikē keDe
PM born here all

'They were all born here'

SF era sucu kece e kē
3P born all LOC here

Another difference is that for Indian speakers the SF prenasalized trill \( dr \) becomes either \( r \) as in raki 'weather' (SF draki) or a consonant cluster of \( d \) plus \( r \). Also \( r \) is a tap rather than a trill for
Indian speakers. For Chinese speakers, the distinction between \( r \) and \( l \) is lost and \( dr \) is realized as \( l \) (see Appendix E). Furthermore, SF \( g \) \([g]\) usually becomes \( q \) \([g]\) or \( G \) \([g]\). In initial position it may also become \( \emptyset \). Some examples are:

(19) CPF  na Gone  SF  na gone  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{qadeqade} & \quad \text{gàde} \quad \text{unu} \quad \text{gunu} \\
\text{'the child'} & \quad \text{'stroll, roam around'} \quad \text{'drink'} 
\end{align*} \]

As Fiji Hindustani has no phonemic contrast between \([b]\) and \([v]\), the SF \( v \) is often realized as \( B \) \([b]\), for example CFH DaBa 'what' (SF cava). This, however, is similar to PPF.

11.2.2.2 Verb phrase morphology

Verb morphology for CPF is virtually the same as that described for PPF in section 5.2.4.1. The only difference is that SF existential tiko comes to be used as the possessive 'have' in CPF:

(20) CPF  koau sa tiko lawa  
\[ \begin{align*} 
1S & \quad PM \quad have \quad net \\
'I & \quad have \quad a \quad net.' 
\end{align*} \]

SF  e tiko na no-qu lawa  
\[ \begin{align*} 
3S & \quad exist \quad DEF \quad POS-1S \quad net 
\end{align*} \]

(21)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{kitou sa tiko na bisnis} \quad (C) \\
1P & \quad PM \quad have \quad DEF \quad business \\
'We & \quad have \quad a \quad business.' 
\end{align*} \]

11.2.2.3 Noun phrase morphology

CPF has the same pronoun system as PPF, although koau seems to be preferred to koyau for the first person singular. Also the demonstrative \( (o)qo \) or CPF \( aqo \) 'this (one)' is often used in place of kokoya for the third person singular:

---

One lexical item used to express both existentials and possessives is reported by Bickerton (1981:66) as occurring in a wide range of creoles.
CPF possessives show a marked difference from PPF, perhaps because of the Hindustani substratum. In PPF the possessor most often follows the head NP, but in CPF the order is the reverse:

(24) PPF na vale koyau
    DEF house 1S
CPF koau na vale
    1S DEF house
SF na no-qu vale
    DEF POS-1S house

'my house'

(25) CPF na kai idia na kakana
    DEF Indian DEF food

'Indian food'

(26) sa lakomai vata koyau na tamana vata tinana (C)
    PM come with 1S DEF father with mother

'(I) came with my father and mother.'

The definite article is used in place of locative markers e and i which are most often simply omitted in PPF:

(27) koau tale sa tiko na viti
    1S also PM stay DEF Fiji

'I also live in Fiji.'

(28) oqō sa lako na Merika (C)
    3S PM go DEF America

'He went to America.'

See also the example in the song above.
11.2.2.4 Sentence level

Some speakers of CPF use *vata* or *Bata* (derived from SF *vata* 'together' and/or SF *baleta* 'because' and/or English "but") as a multi-purpose conjunction to mark adversative and reason clauses:

(29) koau sega ni rawa saqa tiko na pramas Bata koau sa tiko
1S NEG SUB able cook DUR DEF primus CONJ 1S PM stay

na koro koau saqa na kakana tautauvata na koro
DEF village 1S cook DEF food like DEF village

'I couldn't cook with a primus because when I was in the village I cooked village style.'

(See also Appendix H.)

With regard to other complex sentences, *taim* rather than *taimi* or *gauna* (section 5.2.5.2) is used to mark temporal clauses:

(30) taim koau na qone sa lailai tiko kece,
time 1S DEF child PM small DUR all

koau roti saqa vaqo
1S roti cook like this

'When all my children were small, I cooked roti like this.'

Furthermore, the SF verb phrase marker *beka*\(^7\) is used both as a dubitative adverb 'perhaps' and as the marker of the protactic clause in conditional and counterfactual sentences (compare to the use of *sait* 'perhaps' in Pidgin Hindustani, examples (34) and (35) in section 8.1.4.3):

(31) beka sa change tiko koau
perhaps PM DUR 1S

'Maybe I'll be changed.'

\(^7\)Schütz (1984:287) calls it a moderative marker of initiation: "beka is used to avoid making a flat statement of fact or asking an abrupt question...It can also add an element of doubt."
(32) beka sega tiko lewa koau sa lako qadeqade makawa
if NEG exist girl 1S PM go travel long.ago

'If it weren't for my daughter, I would have gone travelling long ago.'

(33) sa kunea tiko na niu,
PM find DUR DEF coconut

beka sega kunea tiko lako na maket
if NEG find DUR go DEF market

'(I) look for coconuts, and if I don't find them, go to the market.'

11.2.2.5 Lexicon

Additional fused forms (see section 5.2.6.2) are common in CPF. First, as in PPF there are verbs fused with the directional SF directional mai, such as CPF toromai 'bring' (SF taura mai). But not found in PPF are nouns fused with the definite article na, such as CPF nakai 'bivalves', naqari 'sea crab', and naqona or negona 'kava'. This fused form is used again with the definite article as in the song above, example (17), and in the following:

(34) keitou sa kana vaqo, na siDi, na nakai,
1P PM eat like.this DEF shell DEF bivalve

sa levu tiko ekē
PM a.lot exist here

'We eat this kind of food, shellfish, bivalves; there's a lot around here.'

Several Fiji Hindustani words are used consistently in CPF, such as kasera 'tapioca' in the song above. Many have also come into SF, perhaps via CPF. (A complete list of FH loanwords in SF is given in Appendix F.) Some of these are:

(35) piala 'small bowl' FH piyālā
joro 'steal' cor 'thief'
kira 'cucumber' khīrā
thariya 'basin' thariyā
daru 'liquor' dārū

8 This last example results from na qona, qona being the PPF form of yaqona with the typically lost initial ya (see section 5.2.6.3).
Some English words which are not found in SF are also used consistently:

(36)

| taim | 'time' |
| lusi | 'loose' |
| femli | 'family' |
| bisnis | 'business' |

CPF is also characterized by variation in use of a large number of lexical items from Fiji Hindustani, English, and nonstandard Fijian dialects. This aspect is discussed in the following section.

11.2.3 The destabilization of PF

It has been shown throughout this work that there are usually two conditions for the development of a stable pidgin, that is, for the stabilization of the wide range of usage found in a jargon or pre-pidgin continuum. These conditions are withdrawal of close contact with the target language and use of the jargon among several linguistic groups, often not including the TL speakers—in other words, tertiary hybridization. But it has just been shown in section 11.2.1 that PF, having passed from the jargon stage to the stable pidgin stage in the polyglot environment of the plantations, has once again come to be used mainly in a dual language environment after the plantation era. In fact, the post-plantation contact between Fijians and Indians is very similar to that of the jargon stage in a pidgin developmental continuum, as described by Hall (1962:153) and quoted above. It might be expected that when the sociolinguistic conditions change back to those characteristic of the jargon stage, the stable pidgin may also revert to the jargon stage. This is what seems to have happened with CPF; it has become "destabilized" and is characterized by greater variation than is expected in a stable pidgin. This variation is found in individual versions of CPF from both Indian and Fijian speakers.

11.2.3.1 Variation among Indian speakers

The lexical and grammatical variation found among Indian speakers of CPF can be attributed to overgeneralization of certain CPF features and to substrate influence, both pointing to imperfect learning. For example, one informant overgeneralizes the use of the durative marker tiko in examples (22), (30), and (31) to (33) above, and in (37) below, so that it seems to be almost a predicate marker along with sa.
Although the ordering for CPF possessives is usually as given in example (24), this varies with the PPF ordering for some speakers:

(37) tamana tinana kitou sa mate tiko
father mother 1P PM dead DUR

'Our parents are dead.'

Furthermore, although the CPF word order is generally SVO, the Fiji Hindustani SOV order sometimes surfaces as in example (30), and the following:

(38) koau dua na bisnis sa rawa tiko
1S one DEF business PM can have

'I can have a business.'

A great deal of lexical variation occurs in CPF as speakers randomly substitute a Fiji Hindustani or English word for the Fijian one which is not known or temporarily forgotten. This is possible in such dual contact situations where a certain amount of bilingualism may be taken for granted. In this example, the English word is used before the Fijian one is recalled:

(39) koau sa sell tiko sa -- io -- voli tiko keDe na ka
1S PM DUR PM yes sell DUR all DEF thing

'I sell everything.'

Here the FH word machri 'fish' is used, even though the CPF one ika was used earlier in the discourse:

(40) sa vinaka tiko na machri
PM good DUR DEF fish

'The fish are good.'

In this example both an English word, "job", and a Hindustani word, safā 'clean', are used (motokā is also a loanword in SF):

(41) liu sega tiko na job, walegā safā na motokā
before NEG exist DEF only wash DEF car

'Before there was no job, only washing cars.'
In addition, quite a few items from Fijian dialects are found in different Indian versions of CPF, contrary to Moag's claim (1978:1458). In the following two examples, maleka 'good' from the Rewa dialect is used (recorded in Suva) instead of SF vinaka, and hilihili 'bathe' from the Nadi dialect (recorded at Nubutu in the Nadi district) instead of SF silisili:

(42) sa maleka tiko
PM good exist
'It's good.'

(43) koiko lako hilihili
2S go bathe
'Go have your bath.'

11.2.3.2 Fijian versions of CPF

Although certain features of CPF are characteristic of the Fijian Foreigner Talk register, there is still substantial variation. First, Fijians' versions of CPF are expectedly influenced more by Standard Fijian, and may vary along a continuum with SF at one end and CPF as spoken by most Indians at the other. This variation may even occur in the speech of one speaker within a single discourse. For example, here a speaker uses the fused PF form tamana 'father' and the PPF possessive ordering with the SF independent pronoun (o iko rather than koiko):

(44) na cava na tamana o iko
DEF what DEF father PRP 2S
'What about your father?'

Later in the conversation, however, she uses the SF possessive:

(45) e no-mudou vanua
LOC POS-2T land
'In your land?'

Also she uses the CPF pronoun koiko with the SF object pronoun au within the same sentence, and in a later sentence uses the CPF pronoun koyau as an object:
(46) a. koiko tukuna vei au
2S tell to 1S

'You tell me.'

b. koratou sa dau raica koyau
3P PM HAE see 1S

'They usually see me.'

(Furthermore, an Indian speaker would not use the preverbal habitual marker dau.)

This type of variation is similar to that described for "Tok Masta" versions of pidgin English (section 4.3.2.2). TL speakers have varying knowledge of a pidgin derived from their own language, and they speak it with uncharacteristic TL features.

11.2.4 The depidginization of PF

Destabilization of a pidgin language can also occur when full access to the TL is regained, usually because of changed social conditions. In this case the pidgin as spoken by non-TL speakers may become more and more like the target language, increasing in complexity and becoming restructured in the direction of the TL. This is called "depidginization" (Schumann and Stauble 1983:264-66). As mentioned above, the continuum of usage ranging from the pidginized form to the TL is called a "post-pidgin continuum". But it is a "restructuring continuum" rather than a developmental one such as a learners' continuum (Mühlhäusler 1980:22).

In Fiji the changed social conditions are that recently the ethnic barriers and the "vicious circle" described in section 11.2.1 seem to be breaking down, especially among younger people in urban areas. Young non-Fijians appear to have become aware of the stereotyped features of CPF, and try to avoid these features if they speak in Fijian. (The majority would, however, use English.) In response, young Fijians use more standard Fijian with their non-Fijian peers. The result is a more

9Like the term "pidginization", "depidginization" (along with "decreolization") has also been applied to an individual (psycholinguistic) phenomenon: continued contact with the TL in second language learning which results in the interlanguage gradually approximating the TL (Andersen 1983:10).
integrative orientation and more convergent linguistic accommodation. Thus, I have not been able to record any typical CPF from speakers under 30 years of age. Rather, their Fijian usually approaches SF with only some remnants of CPF features. For example, a recording of a young Chinese speaker included these three possessive contructions:

(47) a. no-qu vale tiko mai Suva
   POS-1S house exist LOC S.
   'My house is in Suva.'

   b. na yaca-qu o Jone
      DEF name-1S.POS PRP J.
      'My name is Jone.'

   c. e vica na luvena o iko
      3S how.many DEF child PRP 2S
      'How many children do you have?'

The first two, one alienable, one inalienable, are the same as in SF. The third avoids the CPF ko- pronoun, but still uses the CPF possessive construction, as opposed to the first two, as well as the inalienable noun luve fused with the third person possessive suffix -na.

Here an Indian speaker avoids the marked PF use of sa as a predicate marker in one example but uses it in another, although he also uses the SF first person inclusive pronoun rather than the PF one:

(48) e levu na toa
     3S many DEF chicken
     'There are a lot of chickens.'

(49) datou sa marau
     1IT PM happy
     'We are happy.'

Of course, these observations are impressionistic, and more detailed study of variation in CPF needs to be done.
11.3 CURRENT PIDGIN HINDUSTANI

Current Pidgin Hindustani has been described in section 8.1. The parallels between it and current Pidgin Fijian are striking. Like CPF, CPH is the descendant of an earlier pidgin which stabilized in the multilingual plantation environment. After the plantation era, it took on a new role and has been used for communication in dual language contact situations, mostly between Indians and Fijians. Fijians may have learned PH from Indians after the plantation era, but it is also likely that they picked it up working for plantation owners and free Indians during the seasonal sugarcane harvest, as they still do today.¹⁰

The main difference between the use of PH by Indians and the use of PF by Fijians is that PH was used extensively by Indians themselves on the plantations, and many of its features came into Fiji Hindustani (section 9.6). However, with the influence of Standard Hindi, these PH forms were assigned very low prestige, and became the very bottom end of the Fiji Hindustani continuum (section 9.6). Eventually, this end was cut off and became unacceptable for ingroup communication. Rather, it was reserved for outgroup communication, and became a Fiji Hindustani Foreigner Talk register. This register, based on PH, is parallel to the Fijian Foreigner Talk register based on PF.

Also analogous to CPF, the use of CPH in the past has resulted from segregative orientation and has perpetuated ethnic boundaries. Fijians have not had access to more standard forms of Fiji Hindustani, nor have they wished to get this access. Indians have not tried to provide it. By using CPH both groups could communicate while at the same time keeping each other "at arm's length" and maintaining their separate ethnic identities. This arrangement is shown in the following interaction in which a Fijian speaker clearly chooses to use CPH rather than more standard Fiji Hindustani when he repeats in agreement an Indian speaker's statement:

¹⁰ This statement in a letter from the CSR Cane Inspector to the Manager in Fiji (CSR 142/2260, 22/9/1903) indicates that Fijians have a long history of working for Indians as cane cutters: "Coolie cane growers all around are finding an extraordinary difficulty [this year] in securing Fijians to cut their cane such as was rarely experienced in the past."
11.3.1 Destabilization of PH

Because CPH, like CPF, is now used mainly in a bilingual rather than multilingual setting, some destabilization, or "reversion" to a jargon-like stage, can also be expected. Since detailed information on the earlier Plantation PH is not available, it is difficult to pinpoint this reversion if it exists, but it may be manifested in some of the CPH features described earlier. One area of extreme variation is in word order, mentioned in section 8.1.4.3, between SVO and SOV. These two examples are from the same speaker and do not differ in emphasis or focus:

(51) a. ham Simioni milo
1S S. meet
'I met Simioni.'

b. ham bejo ek larikā
1S send one boy
'I sent a boy.'

There is also a great deal of lexical variation, as in CPF. Words listed in sections 8.1.5.4 and 8.1.5.5 are found in the recorded texts, but are not necessarily used regularly by all speakers. They may be substitutions for CPH words which are not known or remembered.

11.3.2 Depidginization of CPH

The recent breakdown in linguistic ethnic barriers between Indians and other groups is also reflected in CPH, again parallel with the situation for CPF. Younger Chinese and Fijian people who choose to speak Fiji Hindustani, do so with fewer stereotyped CPH features. The following examples show young speakers who are not fluent in FH nevertheless avoiding some of the salient features of CPH and attempting to speak a more standard variety, thus also illustrating that they have some access to it. In the first a Fijian speaker tries...
to use the imperfective suffixes rather than the typical CPH -o endings:

(52)  
   a. ham deko hamārā fren ā-we  
     1S see my friend come-IPF  
     'I saw my friend coming.'  

   b. ābī hamloṣ torābākī jā-tā Nāndī, torā gumo Nāndī  
     now 1P about.to go-IPF N.  a.little round N.  
     'Now we're about to go to Nadi, round a bit in Nadi.'

In this example, a Chinese speaker avoids using the marked CPH copula bai to even though he still omits the locative marker:

(53)  
   hamār gar suvā hai  
   my house S. COP  
   'My house is in Suva.'

Thus, depidignization is causing the CPH of younger Fijians, much the same as the CPF of younger Indians, to become more like the accepted in-group variety. This trend, along with the increasing use of English for intergroup communication and as a language of intergroup solidarity, could mean the eventual extinction of both descendants of plantation languages in Fiji.
12.1 SUMMARY

Fiji differed from plantation islands in the Caribbean and Indian Ocean in several respects: (1) it had a viable indigenous population which did not allow the Europeans to exercise full control; (2) the labour force in the early plantations was exclusively from this indigenous population; and (3) the imported labour force consisted of indentured labourers (from other Pacific Islands and India) rather than slaves. Fiji also differed from other island groups of the Pacific, such as the Solomons and Vanuatu, in having an indigenous language of wider communication which was used in early contact with Europeans.

The plantation languages in Fiji were based on Fijian and Hindustani rather than on English, the language of the European colonial power. Several factors affected this choice of languages: (1) Fijian rather than English had become the established contact language before the plantation era; (2) the first plantation labourers were Fijians, and therefore Fijian was the established plantation language when the imported Pacific Islands labourers arrived; (3) a variety of Hindustani/Hindi was the language of plantations with indentured Indian labour in other British colonies, such as Guyana and Trinidad; (4) Fiji's European population generally believed that non-whites should not learn English; and (5) social attitudes and government policy encouraged Europeans to learn Fijian and/or Hindustani.

The actual plantation languages of Fiji, however, were pidginized versions of Fijian and Hindustani, much as the plantation languages of other countries were pidginized versions of European languages. In the case of Fijian, the use of the pidginized contact language that arose prior to the plantation era, Jargon Fijian, was subsequently extended to the plantations where it stabilized with use by Pacific Islands labourers to become Pidgin Fijian. In the case of Hindustani, contact
between European overseers and labourers on the plantations in Fiji led to the creation of a Jargon Hindustani, partially based on the basilectal Hindustani lingua franca used in India. This stabilized with the arrival of South Indian labourers to become Pidgin Hindustani. In both cases Europeans were at least partially responsible for the incipient pidginization.

There was no creolization of Pidgin Fijian because most Pacific Islands labourers returned home at the end of their contracts, and those who stayed assimilated with Fijian society. Some features of Pidgin Hindustani, however, became creolized as they, along with features of several Hindi dialects, became part of the nativized immigrant koine of the first generation of Fiji born Indians, Fiji Hindustani. The two pidgins remained, however, with new roles as auxiliary contact languages used mainly between Fijians and Indians. But they both have become destabilized to some extent in their new roles in primarily dual language contact.

### 12.2 THEORETICAL QUESTIONS

Now that the situation in Fiji has been described in detail, the theoretical questions outlined in the introduction can be returned to.

#### 12.2.1 The pidginized language of the plantations

The history of plantation languages in Fiji shatters the stereotyped (and ethnocentric) image of the European colonial masters high on their pedestal while their language is being pidginized below by the inept "natives". First, the language chosen by the controlling Europeans to run the plantations does not necessarily have to be their own. They may choose another language because of any of the following factors: (1) they are not in a position of power to impose their own language; (2) there is another language known to both them and the labourers; (3) their social attitudes discourage "natives" from learning their language.

Second, the European masters themselves can be involved in the dirty business of pidginization, especially if they choose an indigenous language to run the plantations. However, the Europeans are still in command on the plantations, and therefore no matter what language they speak to the labourers or how they speak it, that
language has prestige to become the common language of the polyglot labour force.

12.2.2 Evidence from non-European-derived pidgins

Although evidence from Fiji's pidgins does not exactly conform to current theories of pidgin development which have been based on pidgins with lexicons derived from European languages, it does conform more to theories of structure. As with pidginized European languages, the most complex areas of grammar in both Fijian and Hindustani are the ones which show marked comparative formal simplicity in the pidginized varieties. In comparison to the extremely complex Fijian pronominal system, for example, Pidgin Fijian has only six all-purpose pronouns based on the SF independent forms. Such comparatively simple pronominal systems are also characteristic of African pidgins derived from languages with complex systems similar to that of Fijian. Pidgin Hindustani, analogous to European-based pidgins, does not have the complex verb morphology which is more characteristic of Fiji Hindustani (which is itself less complex than that of the acrolectal Hindustani of India).

In addition to comparative morphological simplicity, Fiji's two pidgins have other common features: (1) smaller lexicon than the TL with semantic shift or extension in remaining items; (2) more frequent reduplication; (3) bimorphemic question words; and (4) a post-verbal completive marker. As these features have also been reported in a wide range of pidgins in comparison to their lexifier languages, both European and non-European, their occurrence in Fiji's pidgins may lend support to their being considered universal tendencies.

12.2.3 The origins of pidginization

Both Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani show that it is impossible to ascribe features solely to either Foreigner Talk or Broken Language. It is clear that many features are used as Foreigner Talk by native speakers of Fijian and Hindustani, but it is equally clear that some of these features, such as the PF fused forms and the PH -o verb endings, are derived from the imperfect language learning of non-native speakers. Therefore, the Fiji pidgins support a compromise theory of pidginization in which both Foreigner Talk and Broken Language play a part.
In addition, this study of both pidgins underlines the importance of looking into the history of a pidginized variety before making claims about its genesis. A jargon which initially emerged from contact between speakers of two languages may later be used as a lingua franca by speakers of several quite different languages and then develop into a stable pidgin. Therefore, the ethnic groups who are currently the main speakers of a pidgin may have played no part in its incipient pidginization, although they may have affected its stabilization.

12.2.4 Conditions for stabilization

The history of Fiji's two pidgins supports, rather than refutes (as claimed in Moag 1979b), the tertiary hybridization theory that the development of a stable pidgin occurs only when a contact jargon is used among two or more substrate groups. A dual contact situation may lead to a jargon with many recognizable conventions or salient linguistic features. This jargon may even last for fifty years or more (as Jargon Fijian and Jargon Hawaiian did). But the conventions of the jargon will not be used consistently—that is, stabilization will not occur—unless the jargon becomes used in a multilingual contact situation.

12.2.5 The life span of a pidgin

Pidgin Fijian has existed for over a hundred years, Pidgin Hindustani for over seventy. Neither has become a creole, as was the fate of Caribbean pidgins, mainly because the indentured labourers, unlike the slaves, left the plantations at the end of their contracts. Also, neither has become an expanded pidgin, as was the fate of some varieties of Melanesian Pidgin English when they were spread by returning labourers. (Pidgin Fijian could have become an expanded pidgin in the Solomons in the early part of this century, but it was displaced by MPE.) The majority of speakers of Pidgin Fijian either left Fiji or were absorbed into Fijian society. The majority of speakers of Pidgin Hindustani were absorbed into the Indian community. The two pidgins survived only by taking on new roles as auxiliary languages for intergroup communication, and their connection with the plantations is virtually unknown among their speakers.
12.3 THE FUTURE

Perhaps the Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani could have escaped extinction indefinitely if it were not for the new era in which they are being displaced by English, ironically now seen as the language of national solidarity instead of the language of colonial subjugation. It appears that by the next generation both Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani will no longer be used as languages of intergroup communication. The current ethnic languages, however, will be maintained, and Fiji Hindustani will provide the only living linguistic evidence of language contact on Fiji's plantations.
APPENDICES

The following is a list of information interviewed during their time in Paris, April 1920 to January 1921. Notably, the information gathered during this time was crucial in the process of understanding the context and background information on various topics. The notes included in this section are made to provide a comprehensive understanding of the language and culture during this period.

Phonetics in Paris

The only native speaker interviewed who was present in Paris was Daniel Ander. He arrived in Paris in January 1910, spent time there, and returned to the States in April 1910. He was interviewed in April 1920 and excerpts from the interview are as follows:

Date of Interview: April 20, 1920

Daniel Ander

Place: Paris

Conditions: This interview was conducted in a quiet room with minimal distractions. The interviewee was cooperative and provided detailed responses.

Key Points:

- The French language is highly influenced by the historical and cultural background of the country.
- The pronunciation of certain words varies depending on the region.
- The phonetics of French have evolved over time, with changes occurring in the 19th century.

Excerpts from the Interview:

Q: How would you describe the pronunciation of French in Paris?

A: The pronunciation of French in Paris is characterized by its clarity and distinctness. Certain regional differences are present, but overall, it is the most standardized form of the language.

Q: What are some common mispronunciations of words you've noticed?

A: One common mispronunciation is the correct pronunciation of the hard 'c' sound in words like 'cafe.' Many native English speakers tend to pronounce it as a soft 's.'

Q: How important is phonetics in the teaching of French?

A: Phonetics is essential in teaching French, as it helps learners understand the pronunciation of words and sentences. It is the foundation upon which fluency is built.

The interview was concluded with a discussion on the importance of understanding the phonetics of French for students learning the language. The interviewee emphasized the need for a thorough understanding of pronunciation to master the language.
APPENDIX A
INFORMANTS

Following is a list of informants interviewed during field work in Fiji, August 1982 to January 1983 and July to December 1983. Those listed in the first section are ex-indentured labourers or descendants of indentured labourers who provided both linguistic data and background information on language use in the past. They are divided into three groups: Pacific Islanders, Indians, and others. Informants listed in the second section are those who provided primarily linguistic data on current language use.

A.1 INFORMANTS FOR LANGUAGE USE IN THE PAST

A.1.1 PACIFIC ISLANDERS

The only Pacific Islander informant who was not born in Fiji was Jioji Abunio, of Matata, Lami. He arrived on the Clansman, most probably in 1910 or 1911, from the Kwaio area of Malaita. He was interviewed on 5 November and 8 December, 1982. The others are all Fiji-born.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>HOME IN FIJI/ DATE INTERVIEWED</th>
<th>BACKGROUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agnes Aibong</td>
<td>Caqiri, Suva 19/9/1982</td>
<td>on father's side: grandfather from Lamap district, Malakula (Vanuatu), grandmother half-Fijian, half-Santo; mother: Fijian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jo Auvuru</td>
<td>Caubati, Suva 21/10/1982</td>
<td>father: 'Are'are, Malaita mother: Fijian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eni Birana</td>
<td>Naviavia, Wailevu West; 29/11/1982</td>
<td>both parents: &quot;Wai&quot;, Malaita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Maika Brown  Wainaloka, Ovalau  9/11/1982  both parents: Lau, Malaita; born in Fiji 13 July, 1874

Jone Gagalia  Wailoku, Suva  22/9 and 17/11/1982  both parents: Manaoba, Malaita

Joe Indu  Wailailai, Levuka  8/11/1982


Luisa Kona  Naisogo, Levuka  father: "Vataleka", Malaita mother: Fiji (part-European)

Fr Ilai Lakavutu  Levuka  8/11/1982  grandfather from "Vataleka"

Makitalena  Waidradra, Deuba  27/10 and 18/11/1982  father: "Wai", Malaita mother: Fijian


Jone Mawia  Wailoku, Suva  15/9/1982  father: "Wai", Malaita mother: Fijian


Seruwaya Sera  Waidradra, Deuba  18/11/1982  father: "Wai" mother: ?

Samu Siata  Wailailai, Levuka  8/11/1982  both parents: "Wai", Malaita


Luisa Tavusia  Waidradra, Deuba  18/11/1982  father: "Wai" (Fiji-born) mother: ?


Toma Temo  Caqiri, Suva  28/9/1982  father: Kiribati mother's father: European mother's mother: Kiribati
Pita Tege Waidradra, Deuba 27/10 and 18/11/1982 both parents: "Wai", Kalaita

Asilika Tokona Caqiri, Suva 19/9/1982 father: Malakula, Vanuatu
mother: Fijian

Adriu Tovilu Wailoku, Suva 17/11/1982 father: Malaita
mother: Fijian

A.1.2 INDIAN

The following men and women came to Fiji from India as indentured labourers or as children of labourers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>HOME IN FIJI/ DATE INTERVIEWED</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE/ YEAR ARRIVED, SHIP</th>
<th>AGE AT INTERVIEW</th>
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<tr>
<td>Abdul Satar</td>
<td>Tavurara, Savusavu 29/11/1982</td>
<td>Bareilly, UP, 1914, Chamab II</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhagan</td>
<td>Batiri, Labasa 2/12/1982</td>
<td>Gorakhpur, UP, Virawa IV, 1907</td>
<td>95</td>
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<td>Ganga Dei</td>
<td>Waya, Sigatoka 14/10/1982</td>
<td>Agra, UP, Santhia II, 1910</td>
<td>82</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gangamma</td>
<td>Viseisei, Lautoka 16/11/1983</td>
<td>?, Tamil Nadu, (2 years old when arrived)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutamma Koniya</td>
<td>Lovonivou, Tavuni 21/11/1982</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munsami Reddy</td>
<td>Natabua Old People's Home: 7/10/1982</td>
<td>Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, Ganges I, 1911</td>
<td>85</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mutamma</td>
<td>Veisaru, Ba 13/10/1982</td>
<td>Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, Ganges VI, 1913</td>
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<td>Mutappa Reddy</td>
<td>Navoli, Ba 13/10/1982</td>
<td>Chitoor, Tamil Nadu, Mutilah IV, 1915</td>
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<td>Nanhu</td>
<td>Cuvu, Sigatoka (recorded by V.Sharma)</td>
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<td>Rahamat Ali</td>
<td>Natabua Old People's Home: 1/10/1982</td>
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<td>81</td>
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<td>Raj Kumari</td>
<td>Vilalevu, Sigatoka 14/10/1982</td>
<td>Basti, UP, Arno III, 1904</td>
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<td>Ram Bakas</td>
<td>Waqele, Labasa 1/2/1982</td>
<td>Basti, UP, Ganges III, 1912</td>
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<td>Ram Dulare</td>
<td>Naselai, Nausori 10/9/1982</td>
<td>Kanpur, UP, Chenab III, 1916</td>
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</table>
The following descendants of indentured labourers also provided detailed information:

Lachmi Nararyan  Togo, Nadi 11/10/1982 (parents from North India)
Wasu Shanakaran  Nabuono, Taveuni 26/11/1982 (parents from Malabar [Kerala])

A.1.3 OTHERS

Tevita Kama  Navutu, Lautoka 12/10/1982
Stevenson Johnson  Sydney, Australia May, 1982 (born in Fiji in 1926, worked for CSR)
Demesi Taibo  Navutu, Lautoka 6/10/1982 (born in Kwaio, Malaita; came to Fiji in 1925 when working on a ship)
Darrell Tarte  Suva September, 1982 (from an old planter family on Taveuni)
Br Alekesio Tatini  Tutu, Taveuni 22/11/1982
J.S. Thomson  Suva September, 1982 (came to Fiji in 1941)

A.2 INFORMANTS FOR CURRENT LANGUAGE USE

NAME  HOME  DATE INTERVIEWED
Seci Bola  Vatutu, Nadi  19/1/1983
Lum Chong  Lautoka town  11/11/1983
Joe Chow  Suva city  22/10/1983
Charlie Chow  Suva city  22/10/1983
Josivini Haudai  Navisabasaba, Nadroga  2/12/1983
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chand Kuar</td>
<td>Vatuwaqa, Suva</td>
<td>5/10/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tarayasi Kubukawa</td>
<td>Navisabasaba, Nadroga</td>
<td>2/12/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paula Kunawa</td>
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<td>Seva Naia</td>
<td>Navisabasaba, Nadroga</td>
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<td>Deo Narayan</td>
<td>Togo, Nadi</td>
<td>21/1/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>Wailoku, Suva</td>
<td>22/10/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shiu Prasad</td>
<td>Vatuwaqa, Suva</td>
<td>5/10/1983</td>
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<td>Daya Ram</td>
<td>Togo, Nadi</td>
<td>19/1/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hari Ram</td>
<td>Raiwaqa, Suva</td>
<td>21/1/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aparosa Ratu</td>
<td>Saweni, Lautoka</td>
<td>16/11/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Risidriu</td>
<td>Nubuta, Nadi</td>
<td>21/1/1983</td>
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<td>Sainiana Tinai</td>
<td>Vatuwaqa, Suva</td>
<td>5/10/1983</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Yee</td>
<td>Tamavua, Suva</td>
<td>22/10/1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Yee</td>
<td>Nadi town</td>
<td>16/11/1983</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Although Fiji’s role in the Pacific Labour Trade from 1864 to 1911 has been described by several authors (see section 3.2.1), nothing has been published on the exact numbers and origins of the Pacific Islanders who were brought to Fiji during the trade. Scarr (1973:226) estimates the number at between 22,000 and 23,000 for the years 1877 to 1911. Both Parnaby (1972:126) and Newbury (1980:6) estimate the total number at 20,000. Corris (1973:149) estimates more than 10,000 Solomon Islanders alone from 1870 to 1911. In a more recent study based mainly on statistics from official reports, Shlomowitz (1983) has calculated that approximately 26,460 contracts were entered into by the labourers, but he has not dealt with their origins.

In order to work out the linguistic backgrounds of the labourers for this study, information on their numbers and origins was necessary. Thus, mainly demographic research into primary sources had to be undertaken.

B.1 Sources

No detailed records of the labourers are available from the period from 1864 through 1875, that is, from the time the first ships were officially commissioned to recruit labourers for Fiji until over a year after cession to Great Britain. Thus, information had to be compiled from several sources. Various reports found in the Great Britain Parliamentary Papers cover the period from 1864 through June, 1870.¹ These reports give information on the numbers of labourers, the island groups they came from, and in some cases the particular island.

¹1864-67: GBPP 1869, XLIII, 408, incl.6 in no.18; 1865-69: GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468, incl.3 in no.51; January to June 1870: GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468, incl.1 in no.52.
Shipping reports in the *Fiji Times* were used for the period from July, 1870 through 1875. These reports announced the arrival of recruiting vessels and most often included the numbers of labourers and their island groups. On rare occasions the exact island was mentioned.

Detailed information for the period from 1876 through the end of the trade in 1911 is found in the "General Register of Polynesian Labourers Introduced to Fiji" (three volumes) in the National Archives of Fiji. The register contains the immigration number, name, sex, and island of origin of each labourer, as well as information regarding employer, date of allotment, death or repatriation. In some years, there is also indication of the country where a labourer may have been employed previously.

Another source of data also exists, the annual government "Report on (Polynesian) Immigration" from 1877 to 1914. However, these reports were on the whole not used for this study for several reasons. First, the reports do not always give information on the origins of the labourers. Second, the reports are inconsistent in their methods of calculating the number of labourers. After arriving at the depot in Fiji, some labourers were rejected for poor health, while others died either before or after allotment. In some cases these labourers had already been given immigration numbers. Thus, some reports count all the recruits brought to Fiji, some count only those given registration numbers, some only those who were allotted to employers, and some only those who were actually delivered.

Another inconsistency in the official reports concerns whether or not children were counted. And if they were counted, the age at which a recruit was considered an adult varied from year to year. Thus, sometimes children under 14 were included in the tally of labourers and sometimes not. In the report for 1878, two children under 14 were considered equal to one adult for the tally (CSO 386/1879).

**B.2 Method**

The information from the various sources was compiled as follows. For each voyage the islands or island groups of origin and respective numbers of labourers were recorded. The figures for all the voyages which arrived in a particular year were then added to obtain the year's
The data from the Fiji Times shipping reports were the most incomplete. For example, no figures were given for seven voyages which arrived in 1870, two from Tanna, one from the New Hebrides in general, and four with no location specified. These voyages, however, are still included in the total (see Table B-1). In 1871, the arrival of a total of 41 labourers was announced, but again no origins were specified. In other cases some detective work had to be done. For instance, no figures were given for the Daphne which arrived on 11 November, 1874. But an item stated that it carried some of the 68 survivors of the wreck of the Hallie Jackson off Santo. Another later item announced the arrival of the remaining 59 survivors. Thus, at least nine must have been aboard the Daphne.

Figures for the total number of labourers for the years 1873 to 1875 is also found in the Great Britain Parliamentary Papers. However, the higher figures the Fiji Times shipping reports were used as they most probably include labourers who were brought in unofficially. On the other hand, the 1875 figure has been adjusted upward to match the number given in the 1877 government report.

The Registers of Polynesian Immigrants were examined in Fiji. The numbers of labourers from each voyage were tallied according to island of origin. Unlike the official reports, only recruits who were assigned immigration numbers (including children) and actually allotted and delivered to employers were counted as labourers and added together to get the yearly totals. Thus, the figures here do not always correspond with those of the reports. A separate tally was made of unindentured recruits—those who were relanded or rejected and sent home, and those who deserted or died at sea or on arrival. These figures can be found along with the numbers of recruiting voyages in Table B-1. Figures for the unindentured recruits who were assigned immigration numbers are given in Table B-2.

2 The only exception was the voyage of the Energy which arrived at the very end of 1879. As the labourers were not processed until the new year, the figures were included with those of 1880.
3 GBPP 1876, LIV, c1624, no.49
4 The Report for the Immigration Department for 1877 is found in the Fiji Royal Gazette 4/6 (1878): 51-60.
### Table B-1: Number of voyages, and unindentured recruits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Arrival</th>
<th>No. of Ships</th>
<th>No. of Voyages</th>
<th>No. Re-landed</th>
<th>No. Deserted</th>
<th>No. Died at Sea</th>
<th>No. Died on Arrival</th>
<th>Jected</th>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>488</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table B-2: Immigration numbers in the General Registers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final immigration number assigned</th>
<th>17,818</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers assigned to recruits who were later:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reUanded</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deserted</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>died at sea</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>died after arrival in Fiji</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rejected and sent back</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers skipped or missing</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong entries (e.g. those entered twice)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL numbers not counted</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra numbers which were counted (e.g. 1754A)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B.3 Island names

A difficult part of this study was sorting out the alternative names and spellings of names which were used for individual islands, as well as for the groups mentioned in section 3.2.3. For example, Ambae, an island in Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides), has only recently had its name changed from Omba, and in the records it is also called Aoba (with various spellings), and Lepers Island. In this study, the most recently applied names are used. A list of some of the alternative names and spellings is given in Table B-3.

It should be pointed out that figures for larger islands, such as Malakula and Santo, most probably include numbers from smaller off-shore islands. But wherever the smaller islands were specified in the records, figures are given here. The only case in which individual figures are not given is that of Malaita for which North Malaita and South Malaita (sometimes called Maramasike) have been combined. Since the two are separated by only a narrow channel, most recruiters considered them to be parts of one island, and thus, with only one or two exceptions, did not give separate figures.

See Price and Baker (1976) for similar problems in their study of the origins of Pacific Islanders in Queensland.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table B-3: Alternate names and spellings of islands and groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eradaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maewo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merelava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalcanal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontong Java</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Guinea Is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nissan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilinailau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simberi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lihir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arorae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onotoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikunau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabiteuea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonouti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abemama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B.4 Organization of the data

In this study the islands of origin of the labourers are organized according to modern political divisions into four main areas: Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, the New Guinea Islands region of Papua New Guinea, and Kiribati. Numbers of labourers from these areas brought to employers in Fiji for each year of the labour trade are given in Table 3-5 in Chapter 3, showing an estimated total of 27,027. The "Others and unknown" column includes 21 from Tuvalu and Nauru and 2 from New Caledonia in 1871. It also includes figures from sources in which Vanuatu and the Solomons were not differentiated: 174 in 1871, 116 in 1872, and 121 in 1875. Furthermore, the 1870-71 figures for the Solomons include labourers from some of the New Guinea islands which are geographically part of the Solomons chain.

The numbers from the individual islands of each area are given in Tables 3-6, 3-7, 3-8, and 3-9, also in Chapter 3. The listing of the islands is organized according to modern administrative divisions—districts in Vanuatu and provinces in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. Although figures were worked out for each year, for the purpose of this study the 48 years of the trade are divided into four periods of twelve years: 1864-75, 1876-87, 1888-99, and 1900-11.

B.5 Women labourers

Figures on the number of women brought to Fiji are available only from 1876 to 1911. These are given here in Tables B-4, B-5, B-6, and B-7. A summary of the figures in these tables is given in Table 3-10 in Chapter 3.

B.6 "Old hands"

The numbers of "old hands" and where they worked before are not noted consistently in either the immigration reports or the registers. However, the two sources were used together to determine the figures given in Table 4-1 in Chapter 4. It will be noticed that 346 had previously worked in Fiji. Nevertheless, they were given new immigration numbers and thus counted again in the yearly totals. Therefore, an estimate of the actual number of individual Pacific Islanders who worked in Fiji as contract labourers would be the total allotted and delivered (27,027) minus 346, or 26,681.
Table B-4: Female labourers from Vanuatu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanna</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erromanga</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Futuna</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: SOUTHERN</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efate</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nguna</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eradaka</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emae</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epi</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: CENTRAL 1</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paama</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lopevi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrym</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakula</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>961</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: CENTRAL 2</td>
<td>2918</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3006</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malo</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>1717</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mavea</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutuba</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambae</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maeso</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merelava</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaua</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vamalava</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nata</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valua</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ureparapara</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torres</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOT: NORTHERN</td>
<td>3013</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>3461</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISLAND UNKNOWN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6287</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>6846</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table B-5: Female labourers from the Solomon Islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duff</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikopia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: TEMOTU</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makira</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulawa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uki</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Ana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Catalina</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: MAKIRA</strong></td>
<td>605</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: GUADALCANAL</strong></td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaita</td>
<td>4961</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>5113</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dai</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontong Java</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: MALAITA</strong></td>
<td>4997</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>5149</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savo</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gela</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellona</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: CENTRAL</strong></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: ISABEL</strong></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Georgia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranongga</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vella Lavella</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mono</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choiselul</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: WESTERN</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISLAND UNKNOWN</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>7432</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>7680</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table B-6: Female labourers from the New Guinea Islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>% female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bougainville</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buka</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nissan</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilinailau</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: NORTH SOLOMONS</strong></td>
<td>708</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Ireland</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hanover</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simberi</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lihir</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: NEW IRELAND</strong></td>
<td>473</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Britain</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke of York</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watom</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOT: E. NEW BRITAIN</strong></td>
<td>358</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table B-7: Female labourers from Kiribati

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>% female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arorae</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamama</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onotoa</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikumau</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benu</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabiteua</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanouti</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abemama</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiana</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaiang</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ISLAND UNKNOWN</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>729</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>1237</td>
<td>41.1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
B.7 Conclusion

It is not claimed that all the figures in these tables are completely accurate. However, they are most probably close enough to the mark to be useful to this work and to other scholars working in areas related to Fiji and the Pacific labour trade.
This poem (?) by A.R. Pinkerton was found in the back of the Katafaga Journal, part of the Hennings Papers in the National Archives in Fiji. The paper is in very bad condition, and some of the words in the last stanza are illegible. The poem is included here not only because it shows that the "Tokelau" (Kiribati) "cooky" (cook) speaks Fijian, but also because it shows something of the life of a European planter.

Who sports my dinner day by day
Who wastes and breaks but cannot pay
Who lies and steals, need I then say
   my cooky

Who never does what he is bid
This stinking beastly dirty kid
Who blathers Fiji when he's chid
   my cooky

Vaka viti his idea
Dirty Seluka behind his ear
When I come home he's _never_ near
   my cooky

He never feeds the little chicks
Unless I'm there with sundry kicks
And clouts from massive orange sticks
   my cooky

Who cannot boil a piece of Beef
An uvi's bound to come to grief
When trusted to this brutal thief
   my cooky

What he does all day is a mystery quite
From daylight 'til the dark I ne'er get a sight
Of his filthy figure as black as night
   my cooky
Who fills the bath with sticks and stones
And when I lick him never owns
But fills the air with cries and groans
my cooky

[Who] never washes from week to week
[Who's] wasting with Tokelau boyish "cheek"
[Who's] up to every dirty freak
my cooky

---------
NOTES: vaka viti 'Fijian style'
seluka 'cigar' (SF suluka 'dry leaves for rolling cigars')
uvi 'yam'
APPENDIX D
FIJIAN WORDS USED IN ENGLISH

The following is a list of Fijian words (with examples) which were used without explanation in the Fiji Times and the Fiji Colonial Secretary's Office correspondence during the plantation era (1865-1916).

balawa
kind of pandanus tree (FT 9/5/1906)

balolo
a kind of annelid appearing on the reefs at the end of October and the end of November (FT 16/12/1882)

belo
crane: "...belo on the Suva beach" (FT 9/5/1906)

bilo
cup made out of a half coconut shell: "bilo's" (FT 6/4/1911)

bokola
death body of an enemy to be eaten (FT 22/6/1887)

bose vakaturaga [bose vakatūraga]
Great Council of Chiefs (FT 19/1/1881)

bose
council: "bosess" (FT 7/9/1910)

buli
officer in the Fijian administration in charge of a tikina

buliship (buli)
the position of buli: "change of buliships" (CSO 5711/1909)

bulu
place of departed spirits: "They might die and go to 'bulu' together." (Wallis 1851:56)

bure
Fijian style house [not a family house] (FT 5/11/1910)

buturaka
a group attacking someone and jumping up and down on his body: "Complaint of one John Chute re natives 'buturaka'-ing him at Vunikovi" (CSO 2007/1902); "They started off to buturaka Mr G. Baillie...but the buturaking did not come off." (FT 12/10/1881)
cama
outrigger: "...the cama of the canoe came off." (CSO 25 7 5/1888)

cauravou
unmarried man (FT 19/8/1885)

cibicibi
kind of timber (FT 4/4/1885)

cika
inflammation of the eye (FT 22/4/1882)

coko
yaws (FT 3/12/1884)

daniva
kind of fish (like the sardine) (FT 28/3/1885)

dogo
kind of mangrove tree: "Europeans cutting dogo on native lands" (CSO 5057/1909)

drau-ni-kau [draunikau]
magic practised by sorcerers (FT 13/8/1904): "a complaint which had been preferred against him for having "vaka drau ni kau taka'd" some people in his neighbourhood" (CSO 39/1878)

gade [gādē]
journey [stroll]

kai 1.
bivalves

kai 2.
inhabitant of: e.g. Kai Solomone (a Solomon Islander)

kai colo
inland people: "He is afraid to return alone to Santo being a 'Kai Colo'." (CSO 2528/1894)

kaisi [kaisI]
person of low rank (derogatory term) (FT 4/6/1887)

kanakuita
flogging (CSO 1029/1887)

kau mocemoce [kaumocemoce]
kinds of plant that has leaves which fold up at sunset: "...a blight killing off the kau mocemoce" (FT 16/2/1884)

kavika
tree and fruit of Malay apple (FT 6/12/1884)

kawai
a tuberous plant similar to the yam (FT 7/4/1883)

kerékere
"a system of gaining things by begging for them from a member of one's own group" (FT 20/5/1905); "kerekered" (FT 15/9/1915)
koro
Fijian village

koro ni cakacaka
hardworking village (CSO 2873/1885)

kudrukudru [vosakudrukudru]
complaining: "Some reason must be found for the 'kudru kudru'."
(FT 13/5/1882)

kuita
whip

kumala
sweet potato: "kumalas" (FT 7/4/1883); "...attack on kumala leaves by insects." (CSO 1474/1911)

kuta
kind of soft sedge used for making mats

lala
order of a chief requiring work to be done [lālā]:
"the right of lala which the chiefs have" (FT 18/10/1884);
"...'lala' imposed by Mr Commissioner Swayne." (CSO 853/1904)

laij
slit gong, wooden drum (CSO 2910/1891; FT 17/2/1906)

loka
large wave [large waves caused by storms or waves caused by cross currents, as at the mouth of a river]: "Owing to the prevalence of lokas at Sigatoka, the cutters...were unable to negotiate the passage." (FT 24/4/1908; 18/8/1909)

lovo
earth oven (FT 18/1/1888)

luve ni wai [luveni wai]
related to certain traditional supernatural beliefs and practices: "A number of Fijians and Polynesians were charged for practising the heathen custom of 'Luve ni wai' under N.R. 5, 1887)."

magimagi
sinnet: "rolling of magimagi" (FT 5/4/1882; CSO 2874/1902)

magiti
feast (FT 6/4/1881; 29/6/1910)

malo
traditional male dress: a piece of cloth passed between the thighs and fastened with a girdle: "He did not wear a malo." (CSO 132/1889)

malua [mālua]
bye and bye; not yet: "...the Works Department has got the real malua." (FT 3/8/1910)

malua marusa [mālua mārusa]
a proverb: 'delay means ruin' (FT 17/11/1886)
marama
woman (FT 29/6/1910)

masi
tapu cloth (FT 18/1/1888)

mata ni vanua
a chief's official herald or spokesman (FT 18/1/1888)

matai [mātaí]
skilful person, carpenter (FT 14/1/1888)

matanitu [matanitū]
government (FT 12/10/1904)

mate lawaki
faking sickness: "...whether the man is really sick? or a victim of mate lawaki?" (FT 6/2/1886)

mate-ni-solo [matanisolo]
ringworm (CSO 1753/1902)

moku
beat, strike, kill: "...let's moku them" (CSO 3497/1891)

moli
citrus: "...commenced throwing 'molis' at each other" (FT 5/7/1878)

ovisa (>E officer)
policeman (FT 7/2/1885)

rara [rārā]
village green, playground (FT 14/8/1886)

sala [isala]
hat: "They didn't remove their salas." (FT 7/7/1886)

saqa
kind of fish (trevally) (FT 10/12/1887)

sasa [sasā]
dried coconut leaves or their ribs: "...a lot of sasa lying about" (FT 25/5/1887)

sautaka
enforce: "...sautaka'd by the Government for taxes" (FT 18/12/1886)

seluka [suluka]
cigar [dry leaves for rolling cigars] (FT 9/5/1906);
"No one would throw a lighted 'seluka', for instance, on the roof." (CSO 3447/1893)

sici
trochus shell: "...employment of natives by a Japanese firm for sici shell fishing." (CSO 559/1915)
solevu

large gathering of people for ceremonial exchange of food (FT 6/4/1881; CSO 3542/1894; 2225/1902); "The basely born is vakasolevutaki'd as though he were to be honoured..." (FT 15/3/1884)

soro

make an offering, humble oneself and make atonement:
"...whether the custom of 'soro'ing is to be recognised as precluding from prosecuting in serious cases." (CSO 713/1903)

sulu

sarong

tabu

"...it is tabu'd by the chiefs." (FT 15/11/1884)

tabua

whale's tooth (FT 7/7/1886)

takia

small outrigger canoe (FT 30/6/1886)

talaidredre

disobedience (CSO 3182/1896)

talanoa

telling stories (FT 13/12/1888)

taukei

owner of the land: "taukei's" (CSO 2842/1892)

tibitibi

thatch; to thatch (with overlapping folded leaves such as pandanus) "...the Wisemans have been up here while their house is being re-tibi-tibied." (Partington 1883:192)

tikau

kind of wild yam (FT 7/4/1883)

tikina

district in the Fijian administration

tiri

mangroves (CSO 1528/1902)

tivoli

kind of wild yam (FT 7/4/1883)

tokalulu

spying on women bathing: "charge of Tokalulu" (CSO 1421/1896)

tuka

religious cult (CSO 3000/1896)

turaga

man (usually white man or Fijian chief)

turaga ni koro

head of the village in the Fijian Administration (FT 18/1/1888)
ula [iula]
small throwing club
vagunuvi [vāgunuvi]
custom of giving the bride and groom a drink after the wedding ceremony: "The bride and the groom according to custom were vagunuvi'd." (FT 8/8/1885)

vakalolo
Fijian 'pudding' made with coconut cream (FT 11/12/08)

vakatubuca [vakatubucā]
causing trouble: "...the vakatubuca regulation" (FT 13/8/1904), a regulation against troublemakers

vakaucača [vākaucāca]
spreading damaging reports: "...charge of vakaucača" (FT 12/8/1905)

vakaviti
Fijian style (FT 13/12/1888, 11/12/1908)

vale kava
iron house

vale ni bose [valeniboise]
council house (FT 22/11/1884)

vale ni kana [valenikana]
restaurant: "...native and Polynesian vale ni kana's" (FT 2/2/1911)

vale tibitibi
thatched house (CSO 3447/1893)

vara
sprouted coconut: "The natives are not allowed to sell or use their coconuts or produce until the tax is paid when the nuts are vara'd and useless." (FT 15/11/1884)

vata
shelf: "...vatas were put up." (FT 8/10/1884); "...that three vatas be put up in his quarters." (CSO 1925/1904)

vavalagi [vāvālagi]
white man

veilewai
legal process through the courts: "Any native selling even the smallest quantity of produce to a Kai Vavalagi shall be veilewaid and fined 5 pounds." (letter, FT 18/5/1915)

veitalanoa
chatting together (FT 30/6/1886)

veitalia [veitalia]
no matter, do as you please: "They have been working on the estate 'vitalia'." (CSO 3535/1891)
vidikoso
a skin ulcer (CSO 3490/1887)

voivoi
a kind of pandanus the leaves of which are used to make mats

vunau [ivunau]
sermon (CSO 422/1901)

wa kalou [wākalou]
a kind of vine: For the bachelors' ball, the hall was decorated with "festoons of wa kalou arranged with taste and a critical eye to picturesque effect". (FT 3/10/1883)

walu
kingfish (FT 15/10/1912)

waqaqa
elephantiasis: "...picturesque no doubt but rather too suggestive of waqaqa and mosquitoes." (FT 16/1/1886)

yaka
kind of tree commonly used for timber (FT 23/6/1906)

yaqona 1.
kava

yaqona 2.
trade items or money given to recruit labourers (FT 19/11/1904):
"The natives asked for 'yaqona' for the little girl No.15 so we gave them a knife and 1/2 axe." (Journal of R. Haddock, Government Agent, 1877)

yasana
province in the Fijian administration

yavu
raised mound for a house (CSO 1029/1887)
APPENDIX E

STORIES

There are many jokes and stories about the funny way Pacific Islanders (and also Chinese) spoke Fijian. Some of them are given here, although, of course, they lose something in translation.

1. This story (from Tevita Kama) illustrates the Pacific Islanders' substitution of d for dr (section 5.2.3) and also Chinese ₁ for dr (section 11.2.2.1)

A Solomon Islander wanted some gum [SF dregə]. He went into a Chinese shop and asked the shopkeeper, "Do you have any dega?" The shopkeeper said, "No, there's none here, but we have leqa [SF 'trouble']."

2. This story (from Toma Teimo) illustrates Gilbertese speakers' substitution of t for s (sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.1):

An old woman from Kiribati went into a butcher shop to buy a bone for soup. She said to the butcher:

(1) tolia na tui give DEF bone

'SGive (me) the bone.'

SF solia na sui

The butcher replied, "Oh, the tui is in England." [SF tui 'king']

3. Jone Gagalia tells of the way some Malaita men spoke Fijian substituting ₁ for r.¹ Some examples he gives are:

¹These men were probably speakers of Kwaio in which [₁] becomes [r] preceding non-high vowels (Keesing 1975:xiv).
(2) taula mai na wai
   take DIR DEF water
   'Bring the water.'
   SF taura mai na wai

(3) taBa sa bela mai
   what PM late DIR
   'Why are you late?'
   SF a cava o sā bera mai (kina)
APPENDIX F
LOANWORDS

F.1 Fiji Hindustani Loanwords in Fijian

This list was compiled with the help of Tevita Nawadra and Di Bera of the Fijian Dictionary Project, Suva. Items occurring only in western Vitilevu are marked WF.

FIJIAN

ajara  Indian pickles
amarutu  guava
aqarabati  incense sticks
baïnâ, païnâ  brother: term of address or reference for an Indian man
baïgani  eggplant
baini, paini  sister: term of address or reference for an Indian woman
bajâ, bazâ  meat of a calf
balatî, baladî  bucket
baziâ  Indian savoury: spinach-like leaf in batter, deep-fried
bidi  okra (vegetable)
dala  dal (dhal): soup made of split peas or pulses
dãnîa  coriander (spice)
daru  liquor (especially "home-brew")

FIJI HINDUSTANI ORIGIN

acãr
ãmarûd
agãr battî
bhaiyâ 'brother'
baïgân
bainî, bahani 'sister'
baccâ 'offspring'
bâlдж
bhâjiâ
bhîndî
dâl
dhâniyâ
dãrû 'liquor'
dauri  threshing rice or other grain by spreading it on a pala (q.v.) and having tethered oxen or horses walk over it

Diwali  the Hindu festival of lights

dolaki  Indian two-sided drum

duata  yoke (for oxen)

heqa (WF)  field leveller (farm implement)

ilaijī  cardamom (spice)

jatanī  chutney

jāvuka  whip

joro  steal

karamuā  fresh water creeper with edible leaves (Ipomoea aquatica)

karela  bitter gourd (vegetable)

kira  cucumber

koidā, koidū  an Indian religious procession, especially of the kind held before firewalking

kujilā  Indian relish, e.g. shredded mangoes

kurikuria (WF)  plough-like implement for clearing grass between rows of sugar cane

kurutā  long shirt or blouse

kutari  hoe

lakarī  an Indian sweet

laqa  long Indian skirt

masala  Indian spices for curry powder

matari  roasted peas with spices

meti  fenugreek (spice)
mirījā, miritiā chillie; a devious person mirca 'chillie'
mītai Indian sweets miphāī
molovī Muslim priest maulvī
muluki home country, place of origin muluk
mulukī Sikh (referring to a man with a beard and turban) Gurmukhi
namasite Hindu greeting namaste
oronī long scarf or shawl orhnī
paidara go on foot paidar
pala sacks sewn together and used as a mat or ground sheet pāl
piala, biala (Lau) small metal enamel bowl piyālā
pani areca nut chewed with betel leaf ("betelnut") pān
paniwala water carrier, especially for preparing yaqona pānīwālā
pati leaf: used with certain spices, e.g. dānia patti 'coriander leaves (as opposed to seeds)'
puri deep-fried Indian flat bread pūrī
qasita sledge ghasīṭā
qovī (WF) English cabbage gobhī, gobī
qulauqulā an Indian sweet (like "doughnut holes") gulāgulā
qulavuqumun an Indian sweet gulāb jāmun
Ramulila a Hindu religious festival Rām Līlā
ramulili ferras wheel (ferras wheels were a feature of the Rām Līlā festivals)
roti Indian flat bread (like tortillas) rotī
sarasō mustard seed (spice) sarsō
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Fiji Hindustani</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saratari</td>
<td>sardar (sirdar): the leader of a sugar cane cutting gang</td>
<td>sardār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sari</td>
<td>sari: Indian woman's dress</td>
<td>aārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sātū</td>
<td>Indian holy man or ascetic</td>
<td>sādū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sena</td>
<td>an Indian savoury made with taro leaves</td>
<td>sainā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seo</td>
<td>an Indian savoury</td>
<td>seo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suara</td>
<td>term of abuse</td>
<td>suar 'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suki</td>
<td>homegrown village tobacco</td>
<td>sūkhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surūā</td>
<td>kind of curry with a lot of liquid, especially for sea food</td>
<td>surūwā 'liquid of the curry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talasi</td>
<td>frisk (as in a police search); take things out of another's pockets (as in a robbery)</td>
<td>talās 'search'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarakari</td>
<td>curry, cook curry</td>
<td>tarkārī 'vegetable; curry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taria</td>
<td>basin</td>
<td>thariyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawa</td>
<td>thick round iron plate for cooking roti (q.v.)</td>
<td>tāwā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tazipati</td>
<td>curry leaves</td>
<td>tej pattī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turupu</td>
<td>Indian card game</td>
<td>trūp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yādrū</td>
<td>bull; uncastrated male animal</td>
<td>āngū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaleBi</td>
<td>an Indian sweet</td>
<td>jalebī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zira</td>
<td>cumin (spice)</td>
<td>jīrā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### F.2 Fijian loanwords in Fiji Hindustani

Some of these loanwords were listed in Siegel '975, Pillai, and Moag '979a.

#### F.2.' General

**FIJI HINDUSTANI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fijian</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ānuānū</td>
<td>island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bābī (karō)</td>
<td>barbecue, roast, bake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIJIAN ORIGIN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fijian</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
badū (karo)  punch (with fist)  vacu
bākānduā  all at once  vakadua
bālambālā  fern  balabala 'tree fern'
bāu '  bark used for rope or string  bau
bāu 2.  a tree with brownish-red wood (Sapotaceae)  bau
bele  leafy green vegetable (Abelmoschus manihot)  bele
besi  a hardwood tree (Intsia bijuga)  vesi
bīlimbīlī  raft  bilibili
bīlo  coconut shell bowl  bilo
bīmbā (karo)  quarrel  veibā
bītālia  never mind, leave it  veitālia
bode  oar, paddle  ivoce
budesa  lazy  vucesā
bukete  pregnant  bukete
būlā  Fijian greeting  bula
bulangī  visitor  vulagi
cīkau  wild yam (Dioscorea nummularia)  tikau
cilou  "pardon me": expression used when walking above someone (same as tulou)  tilou
dakāu  reef  cakau
dākuā  kauri tree  dakua
dālā  error  caia 'err, be in error'
dālo  taro  dalo
dinā karo  fish at night with a torch or lantern  cina
dogo  red mangrove tree (Bruguiera gymnorhiza, Rhizophoraceae)  dogo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Durūkā</th>
<th>edible plant related to sugar cane (Saccharum edule, Gramineae)</th>
<th>Duruka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gilbāt</td>
<td>fishing goggles</td>
<td>Kilivati, qilivati 'goggles or short metal spear shot with a rubber tube' (&gt; Gilbert [Is.])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailā (māro)</td>
<td>shouting, making noise</td>
<td>Kaila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasou</td>
<td>very drunk</td>
<td>Kasou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'ilomā</td>
<td>person of mixed race, &quot;part-European&quot;</td>
<td>Kailoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'ivālāngi</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>Kai vāvālagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'ivātā</td>
<td>companion</td>
<td>Kāivata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'ivītī</td>
<td>Fijian</td>
<td>Kāi Viti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'nikānī</td>
<td>scales and roughness of skin caused by excessive yaqona drinking</td>
<td>Kanikani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'ra</td>
<td>pole for propelling a boat</td>
<td>Ikara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'raa</td>
<td>wife's sister's husband; &quot;brother&quot; (term of address)</td>
<td>Karua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'sā</td>
<td>run aground (of a boat)</td>
<td>Kasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kā'takātā</td>
<td>angry</td>
<td>Katakata 'hot, angry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kēreskere (karō)</td>
<td>begging something</td>
<td>Kerekere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koro</td>
<td>Fijian village</td>
<td>Koro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōsa</td>
<td>dregs of yaqona</td>
<td>Kōsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūmalā</td>
<td>sweet potato</td>
<td>Kūmala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lālī</td>
<td>slit gong (Fijian drum)</td>
<td>Lālī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāmusonā</td>
<td>very frightened</td>
<td>Lāmu sona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāwā</td>
<td>customs, traditions</td>
<td>Lāwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lēgā, lenā</td>
<td>problem, distress (especially financial)</td>
<td>Lēqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lēwenā</td>
<td>yaqona stem (as opposed to root (see waka)</td>
<td>Lēwenā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lōbo (karō)</td>
<td>barbecue, roast, bake Fijian style; pit oven</td>
<td>Lovo 'pit oven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokā</td>
<td>waves</td>
<td>loka 'waves caused by storms, or by cross currents, such as at a river mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lotū</td>
<td>church, prayers</td>
<td>lotu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māmāngi</td>
<td>miserly</td>
<td>māmāqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mārāmā</td>
<td>woman, wife</td>
<td>marama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mātāngālī</td>
<td>extended family, relative</td>
<td>mataqali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mātāu</td>
<td>post-hole digger</td>
<td>matau 'digging stick' (WF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māteni</td>
<td>drunk</td>
<td>mateni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meke</td>
<td>Fijian dance</td>
<td>meke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moto</td>
<td>spear</td>
<td>moto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naibī</td>
<td>Fiji chestnut (Inocarpus fagiferus, Leguminosae)</td>
<td>na ivi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangonā,</td>
<td>yaqona (kava)</td>
<td>na yaqona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nengonā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rourou</td>
<td>cooked taro leaves</td>
<td>rourou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sā</td>
<td>an interjection of surprise</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sālāto</td>
<td>nettle plant</td>
<td>salato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salūkā</td>
<td>cigarette or cigar rolled in leaves</td>
<td>suluka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salūlū</td>
<td>hanging loosely (e.g. loose fitting trousers or skin on an old person)</td>
<td>salulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāsā</td>
<td>broom made of ribs of coconut leaves</td>
<td>sāsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sevusevū (karō)</td>
<td>Fijian customary presentation of yaqona</td>
<td>sevusevu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorobiā</td>
<td>go full speed, let loose</td>
<td>sorovia 'let go' (WF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūlū</td>
<td>sarong</td>
<td>isulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabāle</td>
<td>wife's brother</td>
<td>tavale 'brother-in-law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tākī</td>
<td>command to serve yaqona</td>
<td>taki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talānoa (karō)</td>
<td>sit around telling stories</td>
<td>talanoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāmbū</td>
<td>forbidden</td>
<td>tabu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIJIAN ORIGIN

bakera [N1234]  
sea crab

bākewa  
sucking fish (Echeneis naucrates)

būlū  
white, bony fish (Megalops)

būsū  
"half-beak" fish (Hemirhamphus)

dākūnbūndi  
long nose emperor (Lethrinus miniatus)

dāmbīā  
reef eel (Lycodontis)

dāmū  
freshwater red fish (Lutjanus argentimaculatus)

dānīvā  
small fish like sardine (Sardinella)

FIJI HINDUSTANI

bakera (Vanualevu)  
sea crab

bākewa  
sucking fish (Echeneis naucrates)

būlū  
white, bony fish (Megalops)

būsū  
"half-beak" fish (Hemirhamphus)

dākūnbūndi  
long nose emperor (Lethrinus miniatus)

dāmbīā  
reef eel (Lycodontis)

dāmū  
freshwater red fish (Lutjanus argentimaculatus)

dānīvā  
small fish like sardine (Sardinella)

F.2.2 Marine life

This list was compiled with the help of Paul Geraghty who provided the Fijian origins and the scientific names. The dialect areas from which the loanword originated are given in square brackets (see Map 14).

tāmbūa  
whale's tooth (important Fijian ceremonial article)

teboro  
ghost, devil

tiritiri  
mangroves

tulou  
same as cilou (q.v.)
tulou

turāngā  
man (usually an important man)
tūraga

ūbī  
yam

wākā  
root of yaqona

yākā  
tree known for the beautiful grain of its timber (Dacrydium elatum, Taxaceae)
yaka

yāsī  
sandalwood tree

yasi  
sandalwood tree (important Fijian ceremonial article)

- ... yasi

whale's tooth (important Fijian ceremonial article)

tēvoro  
ghost, devil
tiri

tulou  
same as cilou (q.v.)
tulou

tūraga  
man (usually an important turaga man)
uvi

waka  
root of yaqona

yaka  
tree known for the beautiful grain of its timber (Dacrydium elatum, Taxaceae)
yasi

F.2.2 Marine life

This list was compiled with the help of Paul Geraghty who provided the Fijian origins and the scientific names. The dialect areas from which the loanword originated are given in square brackets (see Map 14).

FIJIAN ORIGIN

bakera [N1234]  
sea crab

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dākūnbūndi  
long nose emperor (Lethrinus miniatus)

dāmbīā  
reef eel (Lycodontis)

dāmū  
freshwater red fish (Lutjanus argentimaculatus)

dānīvā  
small fish like sardine (Sardinella)
spotted rock cod (Plectropoma)

donū

dūmū

trigger fish (Balistes);

leatherjacket (Rhinacanthus)

gitawā

grunter with longitudinal stripe (Therapon jarbua)

kādīkā

fish (Lethrinus xanthochelius or Lethrinella xanthocheilia)

kāikāi

ponyfish (Equula)

kaikososo

saltwater bivalve

kāke

sea perch (Lutjanus fulviflamma, L. monostigma, L. russelli, L. kasmira)

kālīā

doubleheaded parrotfish

kambāćiā, kambātiā

sea perch (Lethrinus harak)

kanāde

mullet (Mugilidae)

kawāngo

spangled emperor (Lethrinus nebulosis)

kāwakāwā

yellow-finned groper (Serranidae)

kī

kind of goatfish

kuītā

octopus, squid

kūkā

red and black mangrove crab

lero

land crab

mātū

salt water fish (Gerridae)

nakāi

freshwater bivalve

mandrāvā

fresh water fish

red and black mangrove crab

lairo [W23, E234, N24, L] (Gerridae)

matu [W123, E1235, N4, L] (Gerres macrosoma)

na kai [E1345, N23]

na drava [W23] (Kuhlia marginata)
nandunana  freshwater eel  na duna [E12345, N1234, L]
nangari  sea crab  na qari [W2, E2345, N1, L]
(Vitilevu)  (Scylla serrata)
nangio  shark  na qi5 [W23, E12345, L]
nunga  salt water fish (Siganus)  nqna [W23, E2345, N4]
ongo  barracuda (Sphyraena barracuda)  ogo [W3, E2345, N234, L]
pai  ray (fish)  vai
rawarawä  parrotfish (Scarus)  rawarawa [W1, E124, N23]
sambutu  general name for two similar salt water fish, one bream-like and one sea perch (Lethrinus and Lutjanus)  sábutu [E1245, N23]
sangä  trevally (Caranx)  saqa (mainly adult C. ignobilis and C. sex-fasciatus)
sakü  long nosed fish; "Long Tom" (Belonidae)  saku
salala  mackerel (Rastrelliger)  salalä
sonisoni  ponyfish (Equula)  soni [W123]
(Western)  sulua [W123, E145, N1]
suluä  octopus, squid  sulua [W123, E145, N1]
ulabi  red parrotfish (Scarus)  ulavi (Scarus harid)
vasaä  giant clam  [male only in all but E14 and L]
wala  giant clam  vasa
  kingfish, mackerel (Scomberomorus commersoni)  walu
MAP 14: Languages of Fijian Homes 1976, (estimated numbers of speakers in thousands).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Region</th>
<th>Speakers (in thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western 63 (24%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern 148.5 (57%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colloquial Fijian Only 48,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 260,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

from Geraghty 1984:50.
APPENDIX G

ENGLISH LOANWORDS FROM THE INDENTURE PERIOD

These words are found in correspondence from Indian labourers to the government in the Colonial Secretary's Office records or are used by former indentured labourers (see section 7.2.3.1). Some also appear in Pillai '1975 and Moag '1979a. (N) refers to use only in the Northern Division (Vanua Levu and Taveuni). Those marked by an asterisk are no longer in current usage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIJI HINDUSTANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH ORIGIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āpul</td>
<td>'apple'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>astabal*</td>
<td>'stable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baggî*</td>
<td>'buggy (horse-drawn)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belo*</td>
<td>'work break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boil (karō)</td>
<td>'boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boṭ</td>
<td>'boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breik</td>
<td>'brake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buk</td>
<td>'book'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bul</td>
<td>'bull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cain</td>
<td>'chain' (22 yards)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cek karō</td>
<td>'check'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cāk</td>
<td>'wedge for blocking wheels of a cane train car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ābal*</td>
<td>'excessive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āndar*</td>
<td>'doctor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ārīpū*</td>
<td>'depot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēkar*</td>
<td>'acre'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēstēt*</td>
<td>'estate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fen, fāin</td>
<td>'fine (penalty)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fīl*</td>
<td>'field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fīrī*</td>
<td>'post-indenture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fīrīmān*</td>
<td>'person who'd finished indenture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fulāwā</td>
<td>'plough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gej</td>
<td>'paddock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geṇ</td>
<td>'work gang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilās</td>
<td>'glass (drinking)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giri̇s</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girmi</td>
<td>'indenture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girmitiyā</td>
<td>'indentured labourer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorment*</td>
<td>'government'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāfā (N)</td>
<td>'part of a task in sugar harvesting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāmā</td>
<td>'boss of a labour gang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heṭmān</td>
<td>'head man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX H
SHORT TEXTS

H.1 Pidgin Fijian

H.1.1 Pidgin Fijian spoken by a Solomon Islander

This is a conversation given by Charlie Kelo as typical of the way Solomon Islanders used to speak Fijian:

"Where's your house? Oh, my house is at Bibi, at the end. Oh yeah? Do many people stay there? No, only me and my grandmother. That's all. Not many, just me and grandma. Oh, what did you do? Nothing. We cooked food. There was no food, so we killed some chickens and ate them. After finishing, we came here. Yes, where are you going now? I'm going spear fishing. I'm going to spear some fish to eat in the evening. Yes, yes, good-bye Sale. Yes, good-bye."

e fei na fale koiko? o, fale koyau tiko mai Bibi e sau.
LOC where DEF house 2S INTJ house 1S stay LOC B. LOC end

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with

io, e? sa levu na tamata tiko kina? segai walegā koyau fata
yes eh? PM many DEF people stay there NEG only 1S with
H.1.2 Pidgin Fijian spoken by an Indian

This is an extract from a recording of Chand Kuar made at Vatuwaqa, Suva:

koau dua na taDina vata kitou, walega dua na taDina sa tiko e? 1S one DEF sibling with 1P only one DEF sibling PM stay eh?

tamana tinana kitou sa mate tiko. dua na taDina koau saqa takatataka father mother 1S PM die DUR one DEF sibling 1S

ikē na hotel vata koau sa sega takatataka. oqō sa kāDi koau Bata here DEF hotel CONJ 1S PM NEG work this PM call 1S CONJ

turaga sa vosa kua lako e? ...koau sega takatataka. man PM speak NEG.IMP go eh? 1S NEG work

koau walega sa muku tiko na ika. muku tiko na ika keDe na 1S only PM kill DUR DEF fish kill DUR DEF fish all DEF

mataqali e? koau volivoli tiko...rua na qone koau sa tiko vale kind eh? 1S sell DUR two DEF child 1S PM stay house

dua na lewa dua sa lako merika ... sa toromai kitaka na taip, one DEF girl one PM go America PM bring do DEF tape

lakomai kitou na taip. kitaka telefon. raiDa, beka oqo na baki come 1P DEF tape do telephone see maybe this DEF year

sa kāDi tiko kitou. koau sa via qadeqade Bata koau sega ni lako PM call DUR 1P 1S PM want travel CONJ 1P NEG SUB go

e? Bata sa tiko na lewa. beka sega tiko lewa koau sa lako eh? CONJ PM exist DEF girl if NEG exist girl 1S PM go

qadeqade makawa.

travel long.ago

'One of my sisters stays with me. Only one sister is here, eh? Our father and mother have died. One of my sisters works as a cook here in a hotel, but I don't work. She called me [to work with her], but my husband said don't go. I don't work; I go fishing, catch fish, all kinds, eh? I have two children at home. One girl went to America. She makes some tapes which come for us. She telephones. Look, maybe this year she'll call us. I want to go travelling but I haven't gone, eh? But there's the girl. If it weren't for my daughter, I would have gone travelling long ago.'
H.1.3 Pidgin Fijian spoken by a Chinese

This extract is from a Chinese woman (who wishes to remain anonymous) recorded at Nasinu, Suva:

koyau sa lakomai jaina; sa suDu mai jaina. koyau na taim...bake vitu
1S PM come China PM born LOC China 1S DEF time year eight

sa lakomai viti. sa lakomai vata koyau na tamana vata tinana. nikua
PM come Fiji PM come with 1S DEF father with mother now

bake tolu-sagavulu-rua. Nikua sa vakamau oti. sa oti tini-ka-rua
year three-tens-two now PM marry COMP PM finish ten-and-two

na bake. sa tiko lima na gone ...so sa lako vuli. va sa lako
DEF year PM exist five DEF child some PM go study four PM go

vuli. kitou sa tiko na bisnis, na stoa ... kei samabula. na aq5
study 1P PM have DEF business DEF store LOC Samabula DEF this

na bisnis sa vinaka. kece na kasatama sa lakomai, kai-idia,
DEF business PM good all DEF customer PM come Indian

kai-jaina, kai-valagi. kece sa lakomai sa volivoli na yaya. kitou
Chinese Europeans alll PM come PM buy DEF goods 1P

sa viakata na viti vakalevu.
PM like DEF Fiji a.lot

'I came from China. I was born in China. When I came to Fiji, I was
eight years old. I came with my father and mother. Now I'm thirty-two.
I'm married--twelve years ago. I have five kids. Some go to school.
Four go to school; one is at home. We have a business, a store...in
Samabula. The business is good. All the customers come--Indians,
Chinese, Europeans. All come to buy their goods. We like Fiji very
much.'

H.2 Pidgin Hindustani

H.2.1 Pidgin Hindustani spoken by a Fijian

This extract is from Seci Bola, recorded at Vatutu, Nadi:

ū roj ekdām pātī bī baito. ek misineri hāmlog sānge jāo.
that day EXPH party also COP one M. 1P with go

Misineri bātāo...deko tumlog kālī kāto. hām kuk baito. būjo, sapāiā,
M. tell look 2P only cut 1S cook COP roast eel

jīngā, būjo ū wālā nā? wa kā wārī baito? kātā nābū
prawn roast that one eh? there what worry COP sour citrus

sāb baito, mircā. bās, ū jāo kerā pātī lekeāo ekdām bicoā
all COP chillie enough 3S.R go banana leaf bring EXPH spread
'That day there was also a great party. One Misineri went with us. Misineri told us: "You all just cut things up. I'll be the cook." He roasted eels and those prawns. No worries! There were lemons and chillies. Then he brought some banana leaves and spread them out. After putting out the food, it was stubbies [small bottles of beer] all around. He only forgot one thing that day—photos, mate. If he'd only brought a Kodak camera, a fantastic camera.'

H.2.2 Pidgin Hindustani spoken by a South Indian

This extract is from Gangamma, who came to Fiji as a child with her mother who was an indentured labourer (recorded at Viseisei, Lautoka):

'amār maiyā gāri deo, sardār ka māro, kulambar ka māro. amār my mother insult give sirdar ACC strike overseer ACC strike my
maiyā tab gāi kām deo sardār, lāin me baiṭo...sānab mother then babysitter work give sirdar lines LOC stay white.man
bolo tum jāo gāi kām karo lāpkā kilāo nā māngo fiIl speak 2S go babysitter work do boy make play NEG want field
me...hamlog nā kām karo...hamlog gīrīt kālās, cār sāl ce LOC 1P neg work do 1P indenture finished four year six
māina ka lāpkI...tab sādī, bāpā ādmī bīs umir ādmī ke sādī month POS girl then marri age big man ACC marriage
karo, e? phir maiyā gare baiṭo bāpā aurāt hojāo, terā sāl, do eh then mother house stay big woman become thirteen year
tab jāo ādmī ke gare...dekho, tum koi mārāmā sumo tab sako bolo, then go man POS house look 2S any woman listen then can speak
na? ulog nā jāno, ham baiṭo sab bāt. paile makāwā ismāfik eh? 3P.R NEG know 1S tell all talk before long ago this kind of
sādī paile. abī nā, bāpā bāpā aurāt bīs sāl tīs sāl marriage before now NEG big woman twenty year thirty year
baiṭo.
COP
'My mother gave insults and struck the sirdar and the overseer. Then the sirdar gave her babysitting work, staying the the lines [labourers' barracks]...We didn't do labour. When our indenture was finished, I was a girl of four years and six months...then marriage, with a grown man twenty years old. Then I went back to stay at my mother's house. When I became a grown woman, thirteen years old, I went to the man's house...Look, you listen to any woman and think you can talk. They don't know. I'm telling the full story. Before in the old days there was this kind of marriage. Now no more; women are twenty or thirty.'
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