PIDGIN ENGLISH IN FIJI: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY

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The development of pidgin English in the Pacific in connection with imported plantation labor has been well documented. Three varieties and their sociolinguistic histories have been described in detail: Queensland Canefields English (Dutton 1980), Samoan Plantation Pidgin (Mühlhäusler 1978), and Hawaiian Pidgin English (Reinecke 1969 [1935]). Nothing substantial, however, has been written on pidgin English in another important plantation country: Fiji.

Writers who have mentioned the language situation on Fiji's early plantations do not provide a very clear picture. For example, the pioneer of pidgin and creole studies, Hugo Schuchardt, writes: "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 that E. L. Layard, the British Consul in Noumea, "believes Bêche-le-mar English is acquired in Queensland and on the Fiji Islands" (Schuchardt 1980 [1883]: 16, 17). In a later article 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" (ibid. 1980 [1889]: 24, 28).

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Accounts of other contemporary writers also disagree. For example, Moss (1870:42) says of the imported laborers, "They learn a kind of broken English," whereas Anderson (1880:157-158) says of broken English, "In Fiji, this manner of conversing has not been introduced."

Fiji actually had two different types of plantations. First were the cotton, copra, or sugarcane plantations originally established by individual European residents in the 1860s, and located mainly on the southeast sides of the two main islands (Vitilevu and Vanualevu), and on Taveuni and islands of the Lau group. These were usually small plantations, often less than twenty acres and with fewer than twenty laborers. These laborers first came from Fiji itself, and later mostly from other Pacific islands (mainly Melanesian) that also supplied labor to Queensland and Samoa. Second were the much larger sugarcane plantations first established in the 1880s, mainly by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR), and located on the northwest sides of the two main islands. Laborers on these plantations were nearly all imported from India.

The Indian indenture system in Fiji has been described by Gillion (1962) and other authors, and it is clear that Hindustani was the language used to run the larger CSR plantations. But neither Fiji's role in the Pacific labor trade nor the language situation on the smaller plantations is clear. This fact is pointed out 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. . . . Some later writers identify this form of English as "bêche-de-mer." . . .

'The purpose of this article is to clarify the sociolinguistic picture of Fiji's smaller plantations by documenting to what extent Fijian and pidgin English were used. The evidence comes mainly from published and archival materials, including travelers' accounts, newspaper articles, journals, letters, official reports, and court records. These sources contain observations of the linguistic scene, an indication of contemporary attitudes toward language, and quotations that can be used as linguistic data. Clark (1979:23-24) has commented on the reliability of

this kind of evidence, and he and other authors (such as Mühlhäusler 1978) have used it extensively in their work.

This article first reviews information presented in Siegel 1982 showing that it was Fijian rather than English that was used among speakers of different languages in Fiji before and during the plantation era, It goes on to give a detailed account of the limited use of pidgin English in Fiji, and to present additional evidence concerning the major role of varieties of Fijian. Finally, the article suggests some reasons to explain how and why the sociolinguistic picture in Fiji differed from that of other places in the Pacific region.

Language Use before the Plantation Era

Communication among Fijians

Although the Fijian language is spoken throughout the Fiji group, it consists of many different dialects, some of which share as little as 60 percent cognate basic vocabulary (Schütz 1972:99). Before European contact, dialect diversity was even greater (Geraghty 1984:33), but communication between speakers of mutually unintelligible dialects took place 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). It was most similar to the Fijian spoken around the southeast coast of Vitilevu,[1] home of the two leading political powers, Bau and Rewa.

Fiji was therefore united by an indigenous language of wider communication before European contact. In this way it differed from other island groups of the southwest Pacific, which were characterized by linguistic diversity. For example, Vanuatu has over one hundred distinct languages (Tryon 1976) and the Solomon Islands over sixty (Tryon and Hackman 1983).

Early contact with Europeans

The first Europeans to live in Fiji were the victims of the shipwreck of the *Argo* near Lakeba in 1800. These and later "beachcombers" (Maude 1968:135) were dependent on the indigenous communities in which they took refuge, and therefore learned the language and culture of their hosts. Because of this knowledge, many beachcombers were used as interpreters or "linguists," as they were called, during the sandalwood trading period from 1804 to 1814. That Fijian was used by Euro-

peans in dealing with Fijians is evident in word and phrase lists prepared for use in the sandalwood trade. The earliest of these was compiled by Lockerby in 1809 (published in Dodge 1972). (Geraghty 1978 discusses the variety of Fijian used.)

Fijian was also the contact language in bêche-de-mer trading from 18I3 to 1850. During this period large shore establishments were set up for drying and curing the bêche-de-mer, employing as many as one hundred Fijians. European supervision was often required, and resident Europeans were hired as interpreters or supervisors (Ward 1972:102).

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). Eagleston (1833-1836:371) remarks that he met a chief off Lakeba who knew English, as he had been a pilot and an interpreter on a ship.

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 be had been to Sydney, where he picked up his English. She gives the following example ([Wallis] 1967 [1851]: 161):

(1) 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 Tongan man came to Mrs. Wallis' door in 1845 (p. 58) and the following exchange took place:

(2) "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 (p. 128), a Fijian from Tavea who was a member of the crew of her husband's beche-de-mer ship, *The Star:*

(3) . . . 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 Mr. 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):

> (4) 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.[2]

Although the examples above are said to be English, they are obviously not 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, however, say that islanders spoke "broken English" or "a little English," to show that it was not standard.

But these examples do not illustrate merely idiosyncratic broken English. They also show the influence of Jargon English (Mühlhäusler 1979:56-58) or South Seas Jargon (Clark 1979:32-35), an English-based contact language that arose in the Pacific in the first half of the nineteenth century, mainly as a result of whaling and the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades. A jargon here refers to the preliminary result of contact between different linguistic groups. It exhibits features of pidginization, but it varies extensively between different speakers. Thus, it has not stabilized to become a full-fledged pidgin; rather it is a pre-pidgin continuum (Hymes 1971b:68). But despite the variation in a jargon, certain conventions appear that become salient linguistic features of a subsequent stabilized pidgin,

Some of the "English" used by non-Europeans in Fiji contains examples of such conventions from 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 conjunction "if"; and (e) *no* as a preverbal negative marker. Many of these conventions became salient features of later stabilized pidgins in the Pacific (see table 2).

Thus, there is some evidence 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 maritime ventures. In the above examples, all the speakers had been abroad in ships sailing around the Pacific. Furthermore, many of the part-Europeans (as people of mixed race are called in Fiji) were involved in ship-building and sailing within Fiji, and one contemporary observer (Smythe 1864:19) writes of them: "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."

Language use in other parts of the southeast Pacific

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 stabilized 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 the Loyalties differed from the Fiji trade in several respects. First of all, it lasted for a much longer period and involved much more contact. Second, the trade was with many language groups, and there was no interpreter who could know all the languages. Third, members of one language group were often contracted as laborers 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 laborers from other islands working on Santo (Shineberg 1967:191-192).

Thus, 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. This situation was parallel to that in other parts of the world where stabilized pidgins developed: speakers of different languages using a jargon among themselves without access to the language from which the jargon is derived (Whinnom 1971:106; Clark 1979:36).

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 in 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. More missionaries arrived with a printing press in 1838, and in 1839 the first book was printed in Fiji. All teaching and proselytizing were done in the Fijian language, thus establishing the pattern followed for the next seventy years: using Fijian as the language of the churches and schools for Fijians and other Pacific Islanders in Fiji.

The Beginning of the Plantation Era

The plantation era in Fiji began in the early 1860s when some European long-term residents had obtained land and started growing cash crops such as cotton and sugarcane. When the world cotton prices increased as a result of the American Civil War,, many Australians and New Zealanders came to Fiji to start cotton plantations.

The first plantations

Initially, establishing a plantation was similar to setting up a sandalwood or bêche-de-mer station. After a suitable location was found, it was necessary to negotiate with the local chief for the purchase of the land and for laborers to clear it and build houses (see Forbes 1875; Ryder n.d.). The expenses for a newcomer to set up a cotton plantation in 1868 were published in the *Fiji Weekly News and Planters’ Journal* (described by Wall 1923:12). In addition to the expenses for land, laborers, tools, and a cotton gin, the cost for an interpreter was also listed. On the early plantations, the laborers were Fijians, and their language was used to run the plantations. In fact, contemporary writers point out that in order to be a successful planter, one had to know the

TABLE 1 **Origins of Pacific Island Labor in Fiji**

Year	Vanuatu	Solomons	New Guinea Islands	Kiribati	Other/ Unknown	Total
1864	0	0	0	0	0	0
1865	180	0	0	0	0	180
1866	301	0	0	0	0	301
1867	264	0	0	0	0	264
1868	381	0	0	135	0	516
1869	262	0	0	136	0	398
1870	1,348	212	0	224	0	1,784
1871	1,569	336	0	54	316	2,275
1872	1,023	0	0	427	116	1,566
1873	1,232	0	0	34	0	1,266
1874	607	0	0	85	0	692
1875	185	0	0	66	153	404
1876	247	140	0	84	0	471
1877	332	155	0	50	0	537
1878	1,058	202	0	236	0	1,496
1879	1,335	468	0	70	0	1,873
1880	911	1,382	0	68	0	2,361
1881	763	464	0	0	0	1,227
1882	1,022	502	467	102	0	2,093
1883	273	339	662	276	0	1,550
1884	128	585	489	64	0	1,266
1885	50	245	0	0	0	295
1886	145	131	0	1	0	277
1887	70	175	0	28	0	273
1888	71	209	0	0	0	280
1889	62	46	0	0	0	108
1890	35	116	0	40	0	191
1891	79	153	0	136	0	368
1892	58	153	0	1	0	212
1893	0	0	0	0	0	0
1894	0	0	0	14	0	14
1895	24	115	0	67	0	206
1896	19	98	0	0	0	117
1897	0	0	0	0	0	0
1898	0	102	0	0	0	102
1899	8	92	0	0	0	100
1900	0	0	0	0	0	0
1901	7	62	0	0	0	69
1902	0	0	0	0	0	0
1903	17	105	0	0	0	122
1904	3	93	0	0	0	96
1905	12	103	0	0	0	115

TABLE 1 **Continued**

Year	Vanuatu	Solomons	New Guinea Islands	Kiribati	Other/ Unknown	Total
1906	55	184	0	0	0	239
1907	62	502	0	0	0	564
1908	0	210	0	0	0	210
1909	0	361	0	0	0	361
1910	0	78	0	0	0	78
1911	0	110	0	0	0	110
Total	14,198	8,228	1,618	2,398	585	27,027

Note: Reprinted, with permission, from Siegel 1985.

language and customs of the Fijian laborers (for example, Pechey 1870:47; Britton 1870:14).

Imported labor

Although many Fijian laborers were available, the supply was not always steady, and the planters often found themselves short of labor. In addition, some plantation owners wanted laborers they could have more control over, with contracts longer than the twelve months the Fijians would accept. Other Pacific Islanders were already employed in Fiji in the early 1860s and were found to be good workers (Derrick 1950:169; Seemann 1862:413). Thus, in 1864 the first ship was commissioned to recruit laborers from other Pacific Islands, and Fiji joined Queensland, Samoa, and New Caledonia in the Pacific labor trade (described by Parnaby 1964; Corris 1973; and Starr 1973).

From 1865 to 1911 over 27,000 laborers were brought to Fiji from the areas now known as Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides and Banks Islands), the Solomon Islands, the New Guinea Islands region of Papua New Guinea, and Kiribati (formerly the Gilbert Islands). The numbers from each area are given in table 1. (See Siegel 1982, 1985.)

It should be noted here that these areas are referred to in the literature both by their former names and by other names, which. may be confusing to the reader. For example, it was common to refer to Pacific Islanders in general as "Polynesians." In addition, there were many historical misnomers in Fiji concerning the origins of the laborers. Kiribati was known as Tokelau (with various spellings) 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, laborers from Vanuatu were called "Tanna men" or "Sandwich men" (the old name for Efate), referring to the two islands from which most originated. Later, when most of the laborers came from the Solomons, all Melanesians were often classified as Solomon Islanders or *Kai Solomone.*

The language of labor recruiting

The Pacific labor trade came under a lot of public criticism because of several reported incidents of murder and abduction or "blackbirding." But one of the biggest criticisms of the labor trade was that language barriers made it nearly impossible for most recruits, even those who actually volunteered, to really understand the terms of their contracts. The linguistic diversity of areas in which the recruiters worked has been mentioned above. With so many languages, 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 where most of the recruiting took place in the early years of the Fiji trade. This was "Sandalwood English," which became the lingua franca during the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades in Vanuatu. 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 Sandalwood English, and it became the lingua franca of the labor trade as well. Used in the trade and on plantations, Sandalwood English developed further so that by the 1870s it could be considered early Melanesian Pidgin English (Clark 1979:39). At this time it became known around the Pacific as "Beach-la-mar."

The many contemporary books and articles written about the controversial labor trade contain references to "English" used for communication between recruiters and Pacific Islanders. But as mentioned above, 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 Melanesian Pidgin (Clark 1979:39-40). 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:

TABLE 2 **Comparative Features of MPE**

English Origin	Function, gloss	Tok Pisin Form
all (1)	3rd person plural pronoun	ol
all (2)	prenominal plural marker	ol
all same	prep.: "like," "the same as"	olsem
all together	prenominal quantifier: "all"	olgeta
along (1)	prep.: "with (comitative)"	–
along (2)	prep.: "to," "at," "from," "with"	long
been	past or anterior tense marker	bin
belong	prep. (genetive)	bilong
bullamacow	"bull," "cow," "cattle"	bulmakau
by and by	future tense marker	bai
catch	verb: "get," "obtain," "receive"	kisim
fellow (1)	suffix to prenominal modifiers	-pela
fellow (2)	plural suffix in personal pronouns	-pela
got	verb: "have"	gat
he	predicate marker	i
him	transitive suffix on verbs	-im
kaikai	verb: "eat"; noun: "food"	kaikai
kill	verb: "strike," "beat"	kilim
man bush	noun compounds (head + modifier)	+
piccaninny	"child"	pikinini
pigeon	"bird"	pisin
plenty	prenominal quantifier: "many," "much"	planti
savvy	verb: "know," "understand"	save
something	"thing"	samting
stop	verb: "be (at a place)"	stap
suppose	conjunction: "if"	sapos
too much	adverb: "very," "very much"	tumas
what name	"what," "which"	wanem
where	relative clause marker	we
you me	1st person inclusive pronoun	yumi

Source: Clark 1979: 10-18.

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

In this example the use of *fellow* as a suffix to a prenominal modifier in addition to other features previously mentioned identify it as Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE). These features are among the thirty listed by Clark (1979:10-11) in his comparative study of varieties of MPE, given here in table 2. (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):

> (6) 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 no work along a sugar, you savey, he work along o' bully-me-cow . . ."

This example includes additional features from Clark's list: *along* used as a locative preposition "to" or "at," *altogether* meaning "all," *savey* meaning "know," and *bully-me-cow* (bullamacow), "cattle."

Evidence exists to show that MPE was also used in recruiting 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" (Fiji Immigration Department: 1982). Here are some examples relating to early recruiting specifically for Fiji. The first ones are from testimony given in 1869 by recruits who arrived in Fiji on the schooner *Daphne* (GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468). Some potential recruits say:

> (7) No, no like go ship.

But the captain of the *Daphne,* Lemoin, replies:

> (8) 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 labor trade), says:

> (9) You no go long way, you stop Tanna, bye and bye you come back.

But once in Tanna, Lemoin says:

> (10) Plenty men here, you go Fiji.

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

(11) Well, what name you got?

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

(12) Learning that Taveuni was a place "close up salt water" he appeared to 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:—
>
> (13) *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 also 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* 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).

Fijian Spoken by Pacific Islands Laborers

After the arrival of large numbers of Pacific Islanders, there were two contenders for the plantation language in Fiji: Melanesian Pidgin English and Fijian. Fijian was already used on plantations with Fijian laborers before the importation of Pacific Islanders, and it was known

by the European planters and overseers. But MPE was the language of the labor trade, used for recruiting for Fiji, and was known by many of the laborers. Furthermore, varieties of MPE became the plantation languages in Queensland (Dutton 1980), Samoa (Mühlhäusler 1978), and New Caledonia (Hollyman 1976), where laborers of similar origins were imported. It was shown in Siegel 1982, however, that Fijian or Pidgin Fijian became the main plantation language in Fiji. This section reviews the evidence showing that varieties of Fijian rather than English were generally used by the Pacific Islanders in Fiji and by Europeans in communicating with them. The evidence comes from contemporary observations and reports of language use in three contexts: on the plantations, off the plantations (mainly in urban areas and in courts and magisterial inquiries), and back in the laborers' home islands.

Use of Fijian on plantations

Most contemporary writers observed that the imported laborers were expected to learn Fijian, and Europeans were expected to use Fijian in dealing with them. According to Anderson (1880:93-94), 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 appeared in the Fiji Times on 7 June 1871:

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

A letter from a plantation owner to the governor (CSO 1550/1887)[3] shows that even later in the plantation era, after more than 20,000 Pacific Islanders had come to Fiji, laborers were still expected to 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.

Use of Fijian off plantations

Not all Pacific Islanders worked on plantations. Some were allotted to the colonial government or other employers, mainly in Levuka or Suva. In addition, many time-expired laborers stayed on in Fiji and went to these urban areas, where they were hired as company laborers or household servants. (See, for example, Fiji Legislative Council 1897: no. 21.)

Information on languages used by these Pacific Islanders comes first 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 laborers 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 June 1880), and the idea of starting a Sunday school for the laborers 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* (1 [November 1924]: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."

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 laborer from Efate in an inquiry into abuses in the labor trade (GBPP 1868-1869, XLIII, 408). 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 Pacific Islanders knew only their native languages and not Fijian. This fact is evident in a request from the Attorney General's office for the general Criminal Sittings of the Supreme Court (CSO 2032/1891): "A competent Tokolau *[sic]* interpreter will be required as there are two cases on the calendar in which Tokolaus are concerned who are unable to speak a word of Fijian." These interpreters were nearly always *wantoks*[4] 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 (GBPP 1874, XLV, c. 983).

Regarding the European population, magistrates, missionaries, and plantation overseers were not the only ones who were expected to learn Fijian. This is illustrated in the following episode from the diary of John Hall James (Derrick 1963:84):

> 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.

Significantly, the laugh was not on the laborer who did not know English but on the white man who did not know Fijian. Another example also testifies to the fact that Europeans were expected to know Fijian, even though this knowledge was not universal (*FT* 19 Oct. 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).[5] 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 twenty pounds a year for passing the middle standard and fifty 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.

Use of Fijian by returned laborers

Perhaps the strongest evidence that Pacific Islands laborers 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 laborers speaking Fijian on several islands in Vanuatu: Epi (*FT* 7 Aug. 1880), Nguna (*FT* 9 Aug. 1871), Tongoa (*Fiji Gazette* 18 Dec. 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 Oct. 1878), and Ontong Java (*Australian Methodist Missionary Review* 12, no. 5 [1902]:4). 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 Fiji (WPHC 4, 215/1895 and 235/1895).[6]

Several writers from Fiji proudly point to the fact that Fiji's returned laborers spoke Fijian rather than the pidgin English learned by the Queensland returnees. 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 (*FT* 5 Oct. 1881), 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 returnees:

> 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 laborers but also used as a "general

interpreting medium" or lingua franca in the islands. For example, Schuchardt (1980 [1889]:28) reports an 1883 account by Fison:

> They took a barbaric Fijian [Pidgin Fijian], 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 7,000 laborers 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."

Conclusions

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

Melanesian Pidgin English in Fiji before 1888

Although Fijian was the main language used by the plantation laborers 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 labor trade, and the second half, after 1888, when a large percentage of the imported laborers had worked previously in other countries, especially Queensland, where a variety of MPE was the plantation language.

Since MPE was used in recruiting laborers for Fiji, it is obvious that some of these laborers in Fiji knew MPE and may have used it to communicate with Europeans. The following example (Romilly 1886:185) 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,
>
> (14) 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, and by returned laborers.

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 May 1873) reports that a "Sandwich [Efate] man" was hired as an overseer on a Taveuni plantation because he could speak English very well, but there is no indication that he used English in dealing with the laborers under his charge.

The few examples located of English spoken on Fiji plantations come from only two sources. Forbes accompanied forty Solomon Islands laborers on a boat to Taveuni and mentions (1875:43) that "two of them who could speak a little broken English, acted as interpreters for the rest." Later, on a Taveuni plantation, a Tanna laborer said to him (ibid.: 70):

(15) Big fellow tree that.

Partington (1883:58) visited a plantation in Wailevu, Vanualevu, where the "cook boy could speak a little English." Later he quotes him as follows (ibid.: 197):

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

These examples show plantation laborers 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.

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 July 1878) reports that thirty or forty foreign laborers 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 wooly-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.

(17) 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 (such as *de* for "the"), which makes one think Brewster may have mixed up his cotton fields.

Wawn (1893:122-123) gives a better example of MPE being used in Fiji. He describes twenty or so laborers, 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:

(18) "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 fingering 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, that *kaikai* is "to eat" in Fijian (ibid.: 331n).

Only a few of the records of magisterial inquiries and Supreme Court cases indicate that Pacific Islands laborers gave testimony in English or acted as interpreters through the medium of English. In one example, Pannekin, a Banks Islander who had been in Fiji three years, knew English, and through him newly arrived laborers were examined in a 1869 inquiry into the labor trade (GBPP 1871, XLVIII, 468). British Consul March writes in 1870: "Many of the natives thus brought before me at the expiration of their terms of service had learnt sufficient English to enable me to speak to them without the aid of an interpreter" (ibid.). 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 magistrate writes of a witness from Maewo (CSO 131/1887): "This man speaks very broken English, much I fail to understand."

Since all records of testimony were written in Standard English, it is difficult to determine what kind of English these Pacific Islanders were speaking. However, there are some isolated examples indicating that

their English had some MPE features. One instance is the testimony of a Tanna man in an inquiry into the labor trade (GBPP 1868-1869, XLIII, 408). 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 that also show some MPE features. A Malaita man is reported as saying:

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

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

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

The first example shows the use of *salt water* for "sea" and *stop* for "stay." 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.[7] This statement is attributed to a man from Santo:

(21) It was "big fellow water."

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

(22) Kafalislis take our cocoanut (steal him).

The first shows the use of *fellow* as a suffix on the prenominal modifier (here *big*). The second shows the use of *him* as a transitive suffix on the verb (here *steal*).

MPE spoken by returnees from Fiji

Compared to the number of reports of laborers who returned from Fiji knowing Fijian, there are very few reports of those knowing English (Clark 1979:62n). One report 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 returnees in Vanuatu who could speak English (Fiji Immigration Department 1880, 1884). The second specifies that the laborer, a Santo man, had worked for H. Cave and Company in Levuka.

The only sample of English from a returned Fiji laborer comes from Rannie (1912:172-173):

> 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
>
> (23) small fellow pigeon.

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

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, include sixteen of the thirty 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 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 laborers. Of course it may have been used at early stages among new laborers, 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.

Melanesian Pidgin English in Fiji after 1888

Before 1888 laborers speaking any kind of fluent English rnust have been a novelty, as shown by the following example from the *Fiji Gazette* (14 Dec. 1878), one of the first reports of the "intelligible English" spoken by a laborer 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,
>
> (24) 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,
>
> (25) Oh! very well, three pound here all same six pound in Queensland. . . ."

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

"Old hands"

From 1888 until the end of indenture, approximately 30 percent of all the laborers brought to Fiji had worked before in another country where a form of MPE was the plantation language. Most of these experienced laborers, 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. Table 3 shows the number of "old hands" who arrived each year, from 1888 to 1911, and the countries they worked in.

The influx of old hands reached its peak in 1907 with the arrival in Fiji of 437 ex-Queensland laborers. Of these, 351 came directly from Queensland by an arrangement between the two governments, deported as a result of the "White Australia" policy. Large numbers of ex-Queenslanders also arrived the folllowing two years, so that in three

TABLE 3 **"Old Hands," 1888-1911**

Year	Fiji	Queens-land	Samoa	New Caledonia	Other	Total
1888	46 (1)	11 (1)	1	4	0	61
1889	13	18	0	0	0	31
1890	35 (1)	15 (1)	10	2	8	69
1891	65 (3)	25 (3)	9	0	0	96
1892	18 (1)	38 (1)	6	2	0	63
1893	0	0	0	0	0	0
1894	3	1	0	0	0	4
1895	32	18 (1)	8 (1)	1	0	58
1896	17 (3)	17 (3)	3 (2)	2	0	35
1897	0	0	0	0	0	0
1898	9 (1)	12 (2)	10 (1)	3	0	32
1899	19	12	6	0	0	37
1900	0	0	0	0	0	0
1901	3	10	0	0	0	13
1902	0	0	0	0	0	0
1903	15	19	1	0	0	35
1904	29 (29)	29 (29)	0	0	0	29
1905	1	27	1	0	0	29
1906	6 (4)	55 (4)	1	5	0	63
1907	10	437	0	0	0	447
1908	9	97	0	0	0	106
1909	2	115	0	2	0	119
1910	2	16	0	0	0	18
1911	11 (1)	17 (1)	0	1	0	28
Total	345 (44)	989 (46)	56 (4)	22	8	1,373

Note: Reprinted, with permission, from Siegel 1985. Numbers in parentheses indicate arrivals who also worked in another country and are also included in that country's total.

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 laborers, 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 Vanualevu. Living in urban areas, they were able to form their own communities and continue using among themselves the language they had brought with them.

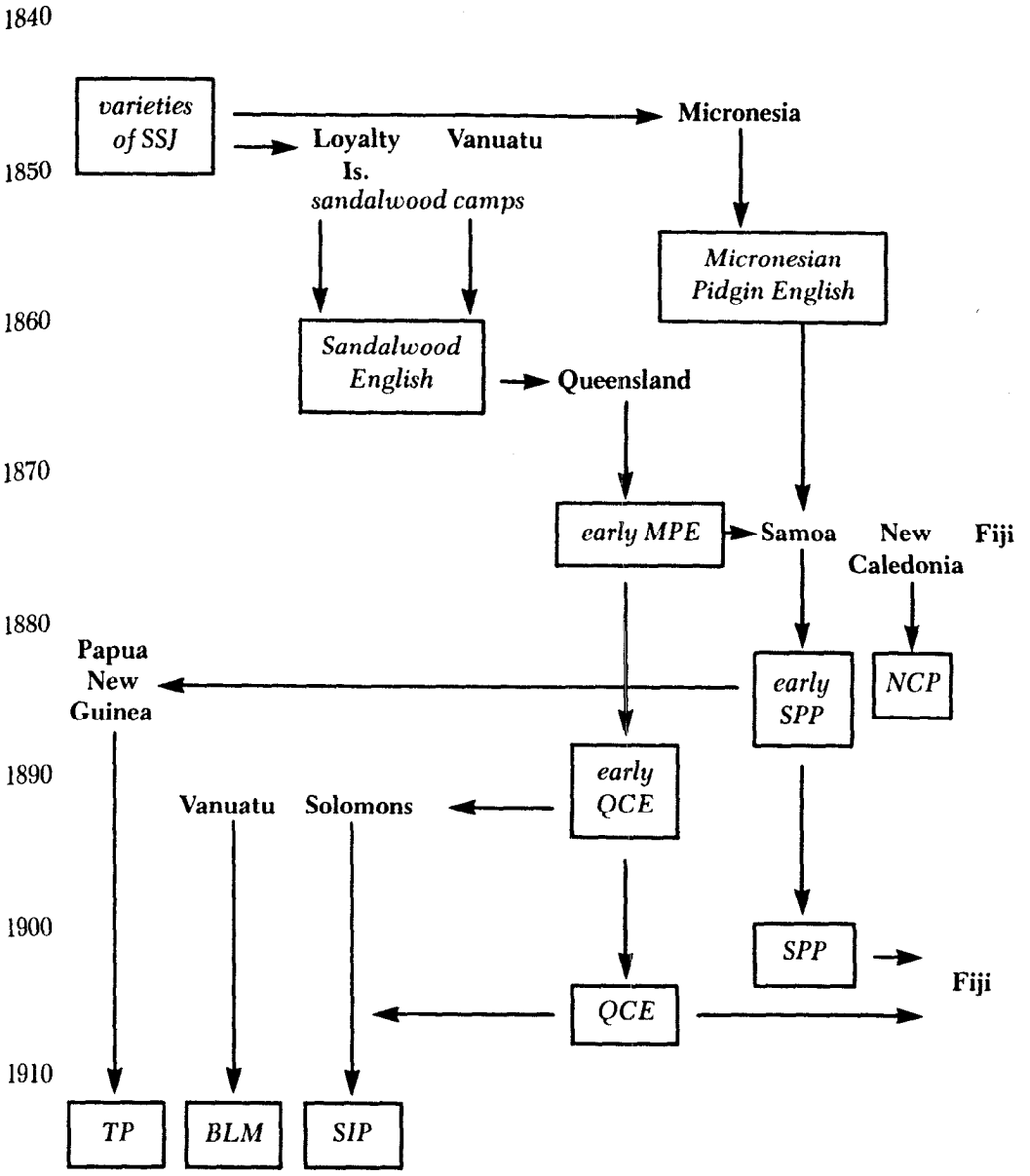

FIGURE 1. The development of plantation varieties of MPE. See page 99 for a list of abbreviations.

Queensland Canefields English in Fiji

Most of the old hands from Queensland had worked in the sugarcane 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 laborers 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 1).

Different varieties of the South Seas Jargon (SSJ) that 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 laborers for Queensland took place in areas where Sandalwood English was known, it became the language of the labor trade. And as it was known by many of the laborers, 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 labor trade.

During the labor 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 (Mühlhäusler 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 laborers 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).[8]

As both of these varieties were taken home by repatriated laborers, their use spread as languages of wider communication in the island groups that 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 that today differentiate the modern versions of the transported varieties from their plantation pidgin ancestors (see Mühlhäusler 1983). These modern, expanded pidgins are: Tok Pisin (TP) in Papua New Guinea, based mainly on early SPP (Mühl-

häusler 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 laborers, 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 1900s and tells how a Solomon Islands policeman directed him to the government offices:

(26) 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:

(27) Disfeller belly belong me he too sore.

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

> 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 July 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:

(28) 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 im 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 Parlerment make im good law belong man. White man stop Parlerment 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: Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea), Bislama (Vanuatu), and Solomon Islands Pidgin. Another feature is *little bit* meaning "a little" which is found in Bislama and Solomon Islands Pidgin.

By 1909 at least some Europeans in Fiji had begun 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 laborers 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 (1927:193-194), another traveler in Fiji, describes a visit to a Solomon 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":

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

Lizzie describes her voyage to Fiji:

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

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

MPE spoken by Fijians and Indians

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

(31) 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, who reports a 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 (1910:152), "What is that noise?":

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

The second author is Beatrice Grimshaw, who traveled around Fiji in 1905 accompanied by Gideon, a Fijian who was her personal servant and interpreter. In her account, both she and Gideon communicate in English with some MPE features. For example, she reports him as saying (1906:54):

(33) 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 (ibid.:56):

(34) "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 (ibid.:98):

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

I have found only one reference to an Indian speaking English with MPE features. It comes from Basil Thomson (1894:52), who describes Ramdas, an Indian constable who translates Hindustani into English in the courts:

The wily old Ramdas, constable and priest, came softly to the bench and whispered into its ear

(36) 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,

(37) 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.

Conclusions

Large numbers of laborers 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, it appears that it did not become established as a means of communication with Pacific Islanders already living in Fiji. This is shown in the following section.

Pidgin English in Fiji Today

Several more recent sources comment on MPE's absence in Fiji in comparison to neighboring countries. For example, the following incident, related by John A. Fraser (1954:96), 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 Eliasi: "Bring one fellow stick long me two times, thick all same this arm belonga me!"

Eliasi 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.

However, at least two authors reported that MPE existed in Fiji 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 that "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.

Does MPE still exist in Fiji?

In August 1982 I went to Fiji "in search of beach-la-mar" (borrowing Clark's [1979] title). During six months' field work, I interviewed over thirty descendants of Pacific Islands laborers, who live in various *"Kai Solomone"* settlements around Fiji (see Kuva [1974] and Siegel 1984). I also had the privilege of talking to Jioji Abunio, originally from Malaita in the Solomons, before his death in December 1982. He was the only man still living of those who had been recruited and brought to Fiji during the labor trade. But 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 2). 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 daily 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 laborers 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 Europeans who had been to the Solomons or Queensland.

Thus, as shown in figure 1, 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 laborers who had worked in Queensland or Samoa, but as they all have since died, MPE in Fiji has died along with them.

Basilectal Fiji English

A colloquial variety of English is currently spoken in Fiji, mainly as an intercommunal language. It is called "Fiji Pidgin English" by Geraghty (1977, 1984), "Colloquial Fiji English" by Moag and 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?

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 four to twelve 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 clear.)

• 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 [r̃], 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:

(38) Tonight I'm going to one party.

Plenty is the prenominal quantifier:

(39) 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:

(40) I can't give you us two's money because us two poor.

Second, *gang* is used as a plural marker with personal pronouns:

(41) No, but us gang take it for a joke.

(42) What you gang doing?

(43) 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:

(44) When Jone look up in the tree, fella saw the thing between the leg.

(45) 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:

(46) 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):

(47) 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:

(48) He been swear. [He swore.]

Second, *full* is a preverbal intensifier:

(49) The boy just full shouted.

Third, got is used for "have":

(50) Us gang got the video. [We have a video.]

The Fijian initiation or politeness marker *mada* is often found in the VP:

(51) Wait *mada!*

• 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).

Is BFE related to APE? 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 thirty comparative features of MPE (table 2), 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.

Is BFE a pidgin? Geraghty (1977:2) defines a pidgin as "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 that "almost every aspect of Fiji Pidgin but the forms of the lexical items strongly resembles Fijian" (ibid.:4).

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:[9]

(52) e yaco mai e dua na vūlagi
3S arrive DIR 3S one DEF visitor

"A visitor arrived."

In addition, the use of *full* as a preverbal intensifier parallels the use of *rui* in Fijian:

(53) 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 *sega sara* (negative + intensifier).

On the other hand, much of BFE grammar is English rather than Fijian: consistent SVO word order, *'s* possessive marking and English possessive pronouns, s 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 toward 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, and no stable form of pidgin English exists in Fiji today.[10]

Why Pidgin English Never Developed in Fiji

There remains the question of why no variety of pidgin English developed in Fiji when the sociolinguistic setting, especially on the plantations, was apparently similar to that of other Pacific areas where pidgin English did develop: that is, in Queensland, Samoa, New Caledonia, and Hawaii. In order to answer this question, several contributing factors are discussed here.

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 laborers 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 plantations was a significant factor, however, the question of why laborers in Samoa spoke a variety of MPE instead of Samoan still remains. 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 is that what becomes the plantation language is the language the European planters and overseers use to communicate with the imported laborers, not necessarily the one they use to communicate among themselves or with the indigenous population. And it is the plantation language that is adopted by the laborers as their own common language. In Queensland there was no indigenous language of wider communication that was generally used, and the planters and overseers were English speakers. So there was no choice but to use English on the plantations. In 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 laborers (Mühlhäusler 1978:74), supposedly because the laborers already knew pidgin English on their arrival. Therefore, in both Queensland and Samoa, varieties of MPE were the plantation languages, and the laborers 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, laborers spoke French among themselves and pidgin French developed. The two pidgins, English and French, coexisted 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 laborers but also with some of the English-speaking planters of the British-French condominium (Tryon 1979:75).

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

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 above, 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 beche-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 n.d.; Day n.d.). 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."

Hawaiian was also learned by imported plantation laborers, first the Chinese, and later Japanese, Filipinos, and other groups (Bickerton and Wilson n.d.), 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 laborers 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?

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 laborers that Hawaii experienced. Table 4 shows that there was no rapid increase in the number of imported Pacific Islands laborers, so that the number of new laborers was always less than the number of old ones. This fact, plus the large number of reengaged laborers, or "old hands," with experience in Fiji, insured the continuance of the linguistic status quo—that is, the use of Fijian on the plantations.

In Hawaii, however, after the passage 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 laborers, "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 are shown in table 5.

A comparison of tables 5 and 6 also shows other population differences between Fiji and Hawaii. The number of Fijians was greater than the number of Hawaiians, and the decrease in 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.

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 above. Because of this policy, many Europeans could speak Fijian well. In Hawaii, however, the situation was different: "Except for missionary and Part-Hawaiian families, few foreigners learned Hawaiian fluently and well" (Reinecke 1969:34).

Education. Another difference between Fiji and Hawaii concerns the language used for education. Like their Fiji counterparts, the first mis-

TABLE 4 **Resident Pacific Islands Laborers and Reengagements**

			REENGAGEMENTS		
				OUTSIDE FIJI	
YEAR	IN FIJI 1 JAN.	NEW ARRIVALS	IN FIJI	In Fiji before	In other country before
1875	5,291	404	20		
1876	4,567	471	189		
1877	3,087	537	382		
1878	2,258	1,496	350		
1879	2,897	1,873	277		
1880	4,116	2,361	302		
1881	5,885	1,227	435		
1882	5,979	2,093	689		
1883	5,883	1,550	1,083		
1884	5,669	1,266	1,087		
1885	5,256	295	806		
1886	3,998	277	703		
1887	2,774	273	630		
1888	2,053	280	404	46	16
1889	2,064	108	76	13	18
1890	2,071	191	30	35	35
1891	2,298	368	131	65	34
1892	2,488	212	91	18	46
1893	2,486	0	87	0	0
1894	2,412	14	74	3	1
1895	2,226	206	67	32	27
1896	2,243	117	55	17	22
1897	2,310	0	0	0	0
1898	2,278	102	1	9	25
1899	2,074	100	1	19	18
1900	1,960	0	3	0	0
1901	1,922	69	1	3	10
1902	1,963	0	3	0	0
1903	1,885	122		15	20
1904	1,967	96		29	29
1905	1,959	115		1	28
1906	2,022	239		6	61
1907	2,162	564		10	437
1908	2,621	210		9	97
1909	2,736	361		2	117
1910	3,004	78		2	16
1911	2,900	110		11	18

TABLE 4 **Continued**

YEAR	IN FIJI 1 JAN.	NEW ARRIVALS	REENGAGEMENTS		
				OUTSIDE FIJI	
			IN FIJI	In Fiji before	In other country before
1912	2,749	0		0	0
1913	2,507	0		0	0
1914	2,504	0		0	0
1915	2,301	0		0	0

Sources: Fiji Legislative Council 1875-1915; Shlomowitz 1986. See also table 3.

TABLE 5 **Population of Hawaii at Various Census Dates**

Year	Hawaiians	Europeans	Other Groups[a] (laborers)	Total
1860	66,984	1,600	700	69,800
1866	57,125	2,200	1,200	62,959
1872	49,044	2,520	2,462	56,897
1878	44,088	3,262	6,531	57,985
1884	40,014	6,612	28,337	80,578
1890	34,436	6,220	42,081	89,990
1896	31,019	7,247	61,214	109,020
1900	29,799	8,547	105,150	154,001
1910	26,041	14,867	137,474	191,909
1920	23,723	19,708	193,796	255,912
1934	21,796	45,888	276,134	378,948

Source: Based on table 1 in Reinecke 1969:42.

[a]Figures include laborers and their descendants from China, Japan, Portugal, Korea, the Philippines, and Spain.

sionaries 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).

TABLE 6 **Population of Fiji at Various Census Dates**

Year	Fijians	Europeans	Other Groups[a] (laborers)	Total
1860	?	200	0	?
1866	?	400	481	?
1871	?	2,500	3,000	?
1881	114,748	2,671	6,688	127,486
1891	105,800	2,036	9,735	121,180
1901	94,397	2,459	19,055	120,224
1911	87,096	3,707	43,044	139,541
1921	84,475	3,878	62,198	157,266
1936	97,651	4,028	87,355	198,379

Sources: For Europeans in 1860-1871, see Derrick 1950:146, 156, 195; for Pacific Islanders in 1871, Derrick 1950:169; 1881-1921, *Report on the Census of the Population of Fiji, 1976* (Suva: Government Printers, 1978).

[a]Figures include both Pacific Islands and Indian laborers and their descendants.

But after the missionaries learned Hawaiian, it was this language, rather than English, that 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 (ibid.:45):

> The attitude . . . was thoroughly unselfish in that it aimed at the material advancement of 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 fifty-nine students in three isolated schools received instruction in Hawaiian (ibid.:49). Reinecke (ibid.:50) describes the official attitude in an education report:

> The supplanting of the Hawaiian language, not only in the schools 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 (Fiji Legislative Council 1910:16).

> 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 (*Anglican Church Gazette,* Oct. 1893, p. 161), by the 1900s instruction was all given in Fijian. This is evident in the following statement (*Church Gazette* 4 [Aug. 1926]:7):

> 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. . . .

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 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 adds: "For some reason or other, the more English language and English manners the savage learns, so much the more objectionable does he become" (1880:93, 158).

The testimony given to the 1909 Education Commission by D. J. Solomon (Fiji Legislative Council 1910:49), chairman of the Levuka School Board, is also typical. He said 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 (ibid.: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."

European attitudes toward pidgin English

One of the minority favoring instruction in English, D. Wilkinson, testified before the 1909 Education Commission (ibid.: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 toward any type of pidgin English (as mentioned above in connection with returned laborers). For example, Anderson, shown above to be opposed to "natives" learning English, is equally fanatical in his dislike of those who speak MPE. He describes the Pacific Island laborersin Fiji as being "much better than those broken-English speaking 'boys' who worked in Queensland," and asks, "Why is it that the broken-English speaking Tanna and other men in the South sea are such a proverbial bad lot?" (1880:39, 40-41). 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 labor 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 Mar. 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 Mar. 1907)

Summary

The following factors, then, led to Fijian rather than any form of pidgin English being used in Fiji: (1) the availability of an indigenous language of wider communication, Standard Fijian; (2) the establishment of the use of this Fijian in early dealings between Europeans and Fijians; (3) the extension of the use of Fijian to the running of the plantations and to dealing with other Pacific Islanders; (4) the continuing vitality of Fijian language and culture; and (5). the European prejudice against non-whites speaking English, especially pidgin English.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASP	aspect
BFE	Basilectal Fiji English
BLM	Bislama
CSO	Fiji Colonial Secretary's Office correspondence
DEF	definite article
DIR	directional
FT	*Fiji Times*
GBPP	Great Britain Parliamentary Papers
INT	intensifier
MAN	manner
MPE	Melanesian Pidgin English
NCP	New Caledonian Pidgin English
OM	object marker
QCE	Queensland Canefields English
SC	Fiji Supreme Court criminal case
SIP	Solomon Islands Pidgin
SPP	Samoan Plantation Pidgin
2D	second person dual subject marker
SSJ	South Seas jargon
3S	third person singular subject marker
TP	Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin)
WPHC	Western Pacific High Commission

NOTES

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1. I am following the current preferred spelling for various Fiji place names, as used in *Domodomo,* the Fiji Museum quarterly: thus, Vitilevu (formerly Viti Levu), Vanualevu (Vanua Levu), and Rabe (Rabi).

2. See Clark 1979:31 for more detailed comments on this quotation.

3. References to official correspondence of the Fiji Colonial Secretary's office (found in the National Archives of Fiji) are abbreviated CSO, followed by the minute paper number/year. Supreme Court criminal sessions are abbreviated SC, followed by the case number/year.

4. *Wantok* is a useful term from MPE meaning "speaker of the same language."

5. 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 1 (CSO 819/1900).

6. Thanks to Doug Munro for informing me of these reports.

7. This inquiry took place in 1873, before Fiji became a colony, and is reported in the papers of the British Consul of Fiji and Tonga (CSO series 12, General Correspondence, National Archives of Fiji F 4/12-14).

8. Another subsystem of MPE, Torres Strait Pidgin, developed in the Torres Strait Islands, but it was in connection with the beche-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.)

9. But as shown in Schütz 1985:328-330, Fijian *e dua* is not congruent with English "a"; it is a marker of generality in discourse rather than of grammatical indefiniteness.

10. Geraghty (personal communication, 27 July 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. I feel that the term "creoloid" (Platt 1975, 1978) would be more appropriate for BFE.

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