

WAI: A MALAITAN LANGUAGE IN FIJI

Jeff Siegel

0. INTRODUCTION

One of the more recent migrations of speakers of Austronesian languages took place between 1864 and 1911, when approximately 27,000 people from island Melanesia and Micronesia came to Fiji as indentured plantation labourers. Although most of those who survived returned to their home islands at the end of their contracts, a large number did stay on in Fiji. Some of their descendants have been absorbed into Fijian society, but the majority are still a distinct group who, without land rights, live together in settlements around the country.

This paper is about these immigrant contract labourers and the languages they brought to Fiji. It focuses on one particular language, called "Wai" by its speakers, which has survived to this day, although now it is on the verge of extinction. Wai has not been investigated thoroughly, but some preliminary information is presented here which may be of interest from the perspective of language contact and mixing. It may also provide some insights to those trying to reconstruct what happened in the more distant past.¹

The paper starts with some background information about the origins of the Pacific islands labourers in Fiji and about their descendants. The next section deals with the languages spoken by the labourers - especially those from Malaita, the homeland of the Wai speakers. Then in the main section, Wai is described in comparison to the North Malaitan dialects from which it appears to be derived. Finally, the findings are discussed in the context of the general sociolinguistic areas of language mixing and language attrition.

1. BACKGROUND

1.1 The origins of Pacific islands labourers in Fiji

The Pacific labour trade (described in detail in Parnaby 1964; Scarr 1967, 1973; and Corris 1973) involved the recruitment of men and women from island Melanesia and Micronesia to work in Hawaii, Queensland, New Caledonia, Samoa, and Fiji. Labourers for Fiji were obtained to work for European owners of cotton, copra, and sugarcane plantations in rural areas or of business concerns in the urban centres of Levuka (the first capital) and Suva. Later imported labourers also worked for the colonial government (see Kuva [1974]:10).

From 1865 until the end of the labour trade in 1911, an estimated 27,027 islanders became contract labourers in Fiji. They were imported from the areas

Paul Geraghty, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *FOCAL II: papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, 435-463. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-94, 1986.

© Jeff Siegel

435

now known as Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, the New Guinea Islands region of Papua New Guinea, and Kiribati. Figures by year and area are given in Table 1-1 (from Siegel 1982). The employment of Pacific islanders reached its peak in the early 1880s. Up to this time, the main recruiting area was Vanuatu, but from the mid 1880s until the end of the trade, it was the Solomons. In the last dozen years, from 1900 to 1911, over 90 per cent were from the Solomons, and more than 80 per cent were from the island of Malaita. Numbers from the different islands of the Solomons, arranged according to current political divisions, are given for 12 year periods in Table 1-2, along with percentages of the total (from Siegel 1985b).

1.2 Pacific islands settlers

Many of the labourers whose contracts had expired chose to stay in Fiji rather than return home. Those who did stay on were often men who were living with Fijian women. This was especially true of those from the Solomons and Vanuatu because the labour force from these island groups included only a small percentage of women - 3.2 per cent for the Solomons and 8.2 per cent for Vanuatu, compared to 41.1 per cent for Kiribati (Siegel 1985b:51-53). Also, most of the female labourers were already married before being recruited (Kuva [1974]:15).

Some of the islanders who stayed on lived among the Fijians and became "almost indistinguishable from them in appearance and speech".² But most of them either re-engaged as plantation labourers or obtained jobs in urban areas as house servants, road builders, storemen, or dock workers (Corris 1973:87).

Labourers who had finished their contracts began living together in settlements near urban areas. One of the first of these settlements was Koro Ivi near Nailaga, outside Ba (CSO 1029/1887).³ Like most of the settlements, it had a mixed population, consisting of men from Epi and Pentecost in Vanuatu and women from Kiribati.

Many settlements were located in the Suva area. One was at Nasinu consisting of men from Pentecost and the Solomons (CSO 5135/1905). (This settlement is most probably the still existing one called Manikoso, supposedly a corruption of the name Pentecost.) Two other early settlements in the Kaunikuila (Flagstaff) area of Suva were named after islands in Vanuatu: Malekula (Malakula) and Sadro (Santo) (Rabukawaqa 1967:6). Large numbers of Islanders also lived in Toorak, Tamavua, Vunidilo (Samabula), and Caubati.⁴

Other settlements were organised by the Anglican Church, which first started working with Melanesian labourers in 1870 in Levuka. At the church's suggestion that the landless ex-labourers live in a Fijian-style village, Naviro was built above Vagadaci in 1886 (Kuva [1974]:17). In the 1920s it was moved to Wailailai, Fijian-owned land leased by the church for the Islanders. In 1946, it consisted of 15 small houses and 150 people, and was described by one visitor as "a tropical slum - an Anglican slum".⁵

In 1940 the Anglican Church bought 254 acres of land at Wailoku, just outside Suva, to provide one large, centralised settlement for Anglican Melanesians from the Suva area and also from Ovalau, Vanualevu, Taveuni, and Rabe.⁶ It was officially opened in August 1942, and called the Patteson Settlement. Also in the 1940s, the Solomon Islanders who lived on Taveuni and in south-east Vanualevu in settlements at Maravu, Laulevu, and Vunilagi were encouraged to settle on the church property of Natoavatu Estate, about 24 kilometres west of Savusavu. In 1951, the settlement there called Naviavia was formally recognised as the Campbell Settlement.⁷

Table 1-1: Origins of Pacific island labourers in Fiji

year	Vanuatu	Solomons	New Guinea Islands	Kiribati	Other or unknown	TOTAL
1864	--	--	--	--	--	--
1865	180	--	--	--	--	180
1866	301	--	--	--	--	301
1867	264	--	--	--	--	264
1868	381	--	--	135	--	516
1869	262	--	--	136	--	398
1870	1,348	212	--	224	--	1,784
1871	1,569	336	--	54	316	2,275
1872	1,023	--	--	427	116	1,566
1873	1,232	--	--	34	--	1,266
1874	607	--	--	85	--	692
1875	185	--	--	66	153	404
1876	247	140	--	84	--	471
1877	332	155	--	50	--	537
1878	1,058	202	--	236	--	1,496
1879	1,335	468	--	70	--	1,873
1880	911	1,382	--	68	--	2,361
1881	763	464	--	--	--	1,227
1882	1,022	502	467	102	--	2,093
1883	273	339	662	276	--	1,550
1884	128	585	489	64	--	1,266
1885	50	245	--	--	--	295
1886	145	131	--	1	--	277
1887	70	175	--	28	--	273
1888	71	209	--	--	--	280
1889	62	46	--	--	--	108
1890	35	116	--	40	--	191
1891	79	153	--	136	--	368
1892	58	153	--	1	--	212
1893	--	--	--	--	--	--
1894	--	--	--	14	--	14
1895	24	115	--	67	--	206
1896	19	98	--	--	--	117
1897	--	--	--	--	--	--
1898	--	102	--	--	--	102
1899	8	92	--	--	--	100
1900	--	--	--	--	--	--
1901	7	62	--	--	--	69
1902	--	--	--	--	--	--
1903	17	105	--	--	--	122
1904	3	93	--	--	--	96
1905	12	103	--	--	--	115
1906	55	184	--	--	--	239
1907	62	502	--	--	--	564
1908	--	210	--	--	--	210
1909	--	361	--	--	--	361
1910	--	78	--	--	--	78
1911	--	110	--	--	--	110
TOTAL	14,198	8,228	1,618	2,398	585	27,027

Table 1-2: Origins of Solomon Islands labourers: islands and provinces

	1864- 1875	%	1876- 1887	%	1888- 1899	%	1900- 1911	%	TOTAL	%
Duff			1	--					1	--
Tikopia			1	--					1	--
TOT: TEMOTU			2	-					2	--
Makira			540	3.9	50	2.9	38	1.9	628	2.3
Ulawa			10	0.1	9	0.5			19	0.1
Uki			2	--					2	--
Santa Ana			6	--					6	--
S. Catalina			5	--					5	--
TOT: MAKIRA			563	4.1	59	3.5	38	1.9	660	2.4
TOT: GUADALCANAL			892	6.5	184	10.8	138	7.0	1,214	4.5
Malaita			2,694	19.6	826	48.6	1,593	81.1	5,113	18.9
Dai			1	--			3	0.2	4	--
Ontong Java			32	0.2					32	0.1
TOT: MALAITA			2,727	19.9	826	48.6	1,596	81.3	5,149	19.0
Savo			12	0.1			2	0.1	14	0.1
Gela			69	0.5	2	0.1	15	0.8	86	0.3
Bellona			4	--					4	--
TOT: CENTRAL			85	6.2	2	0.1	17	0.9	104	0.4
TOT: ISABEL			90	0.7	13	0.8	18	0.9	1,211	0.4
New Georgia			3	--					3	--
Ronongo			5						5	--
Vella Lavella			2						2	--
Mono			24	0.2					24	0.1
Choiseul			27						27	0.1
TOT: WESTERN			61	0.4					61	0.2
OTHER/UNKNOWN	548	5.7	368	2.7			1	0.1	917	3.3
TOTAL	548	5.7	4,788	34.9	1,084	64.8	1,808	92.1	8,228	30.4

Notes: Figures for 1870-71 most probably included the North Solomons. The 1 Other arrived in 1907, born in Queensland: father from Malekula, mother from Ambae. Percentages are of the total number of Pacific islands labourers indentured.

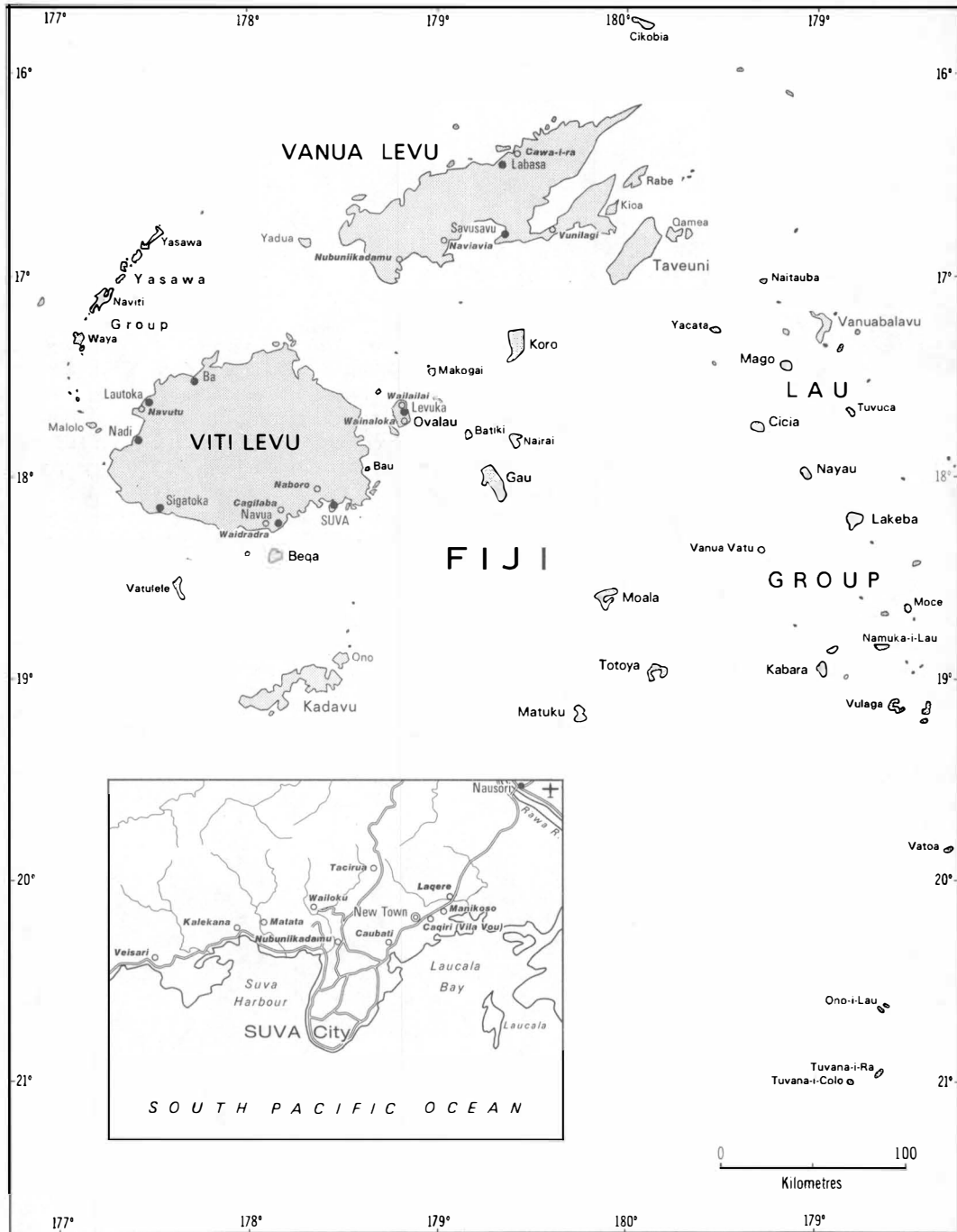
In 1952 a hurricane destroyed houses in many of the settlements around Suva, especially at Kaunikuila. The Anglican Church in cooperation with the Suva City Council established two new settlements, New Town at Nasinu and another at Lami (Kuva [1974]:18). The last new settlement was established in 1966 on a 465 acre block purchased by the church at Wainaloka, Ovalau, about 15 kilometres from Levuka.

1.3 Descendants of the labourers

According to the 1976 census, there were 6,822 "Other Pacific Islanders" in Fiji. In addition to the descendants of those who came as indentured labourers, these include free immigrants and their descendants from Tonga, Samoa, Kiribati, Tuvalu, and other islands. Nearly all the descendants of the labourers, however, are part Fijian, and many were probably included in the census with Fijians. Kuva ([1974]:19) gives the number of "Solomons" or *Kai Solomone* - as all descendants of Melanesian labourers are known in Fiji - as 8,000. He says that about 7,000 of these live in the four large church settlements mentioned above (Wailoku, New Town, Wainaloka, and Naviavia) and in other smaller settlements. Descendants of Kiribati labourers also live in some of the smaller settlements. A list of all the settlements is given in Table 1-3 with location, major island groups, principal religious affiliation, and approximate population (mainly from Rabukawaqa 1967). The locations are shown on Map 1. In addition, there are hundreds of descendants of Pacific islands labourers on Taveuni, formerly one of the major plantation areas.

During fieldwork in 1982 and 1983, I visited Taveuni and 15 of these settlements (marked with an asterisk in Table 1-3), and interviewed more than 30 descendants of the Pacific islands labourers. Most of these informants were older people who were of the first generation born in Fiji. Some of them are described in section 3.1.

I was also very fortunate to have been able to talk with the last surviving man of those actually recruited to come to Fiji during the labour trade. He was Jioji Abunio of Matata, Lami, originally from the Kwaikwaio area of Malaita. (He was also one of the original labourers interviewed by Kuva ([1974]).) Jioji died in December 1982.



Map 1: Pacific Islander settlements

Table 1-3: Pacific Islander settlements

NAME	LOCATION	MAIN GROUPS	CHURCH	POP.
VITILEVU: SUVA AREA				
* 1. Wailoku	NW of Suva	Sol	Anglican	600
* 2. Veisari	W of Lami	Kir	Protestant	200
* 3. Kalekana	Lami	Sol	?	?
* 4. Matata	Lami	Sol	Anglican	?
5. Tamavua-i-wai	Suva	Sol	Anglican	?
* 6. Tacirua	N of Suva	Sol	Methodist	?
* 7. Caubati	Nasinu	Sol	?	?
8. New Town	Nasinu	Sol, Van	Anglican	400
* 9. Caqiri (Vilavou)	Nasinu	Kir, Van	Catholic	100
10. Manikoso	Nasinu	Van	Anglican	140
11. Laqere	Nasinu	Sol, Van	Anglican	?
VITILEVU (OUTSIDE SUVA)				
*12. Navutu	Lautoka	Sol, Van	?	150
*13. Waidradra	Deuba	Sol	Anglican	150
*14. Cagilaba	Navua	Sol	Anglican	40
15. Naboro	Naboro	Kir	?	?
OVALAU				
*16. Wailailai	Levuka	Sol	Anglican	60
*17. Naisoqo	Levuka	Sol	Anglican	40
18. Korovou	Levuka	Sol, Van	?	?
19. Malekula	Levuka	Van	?	?
*20. Wainaloka	Lovoniiwai	Sol	Anglican	300
VANUALEVU				
21. Nubuniikadamu	Wainunu	Sol	Anglican	?
*22. Cawa-i-ra	Labasa	Sol	Methodist	60
*23. Naviavia	Wailevu West	Sol	Anglican	180
24. Vunilagi	Savusavu East	Sol	Anglican	?

2. LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE LABOURERS

Linguistic surveys of the Solomons and the other areas of the south-west Pacific (e.g. Tryon 1976; Wurm and Hattori 1981; Tryon and Hackman 1983) show that approximately 180 distinct languages are spoken in the islands from which the labourers originated. Only one group of islands, Kiribati, and a few of the smaller islands in other groups, have only a single language. The larger islands have several languages; for example, Santo and Malakula each have more than 25.

Since we know the islands of origin of the labourers, the number of speakers of each language who came to Fiji can easily be determined for the smaller islands. But for the larger islands it is impossible to estimate the number of labourers who spoke each language without knowing more precisely from which area of the island they originated. It is clear, however, that the language with the most speakers in Fiji was Gilbertese, spoken throughout the Kiribati group, which supplied 2,398 labourers. The next most important languages, especially in the later years of the labour trade, were almost certainly from Malaita, which provided 5,113 labourers, but from several distinct language areas. These are described in the following section.

2.1 The languages of Malaita

2.1.1 The current language situation on Malaita

Simons (1980, 1982) distinguishes between 12 "languages" spoken on Malaita based on "the language groups most generally recognized by Malaitans and in previous literature" (1980:3). These are given in Table 2-1 along with population estimates from the 1976 census:

Table 2-1: Malaita languages (based on Simons 1980, 1982)

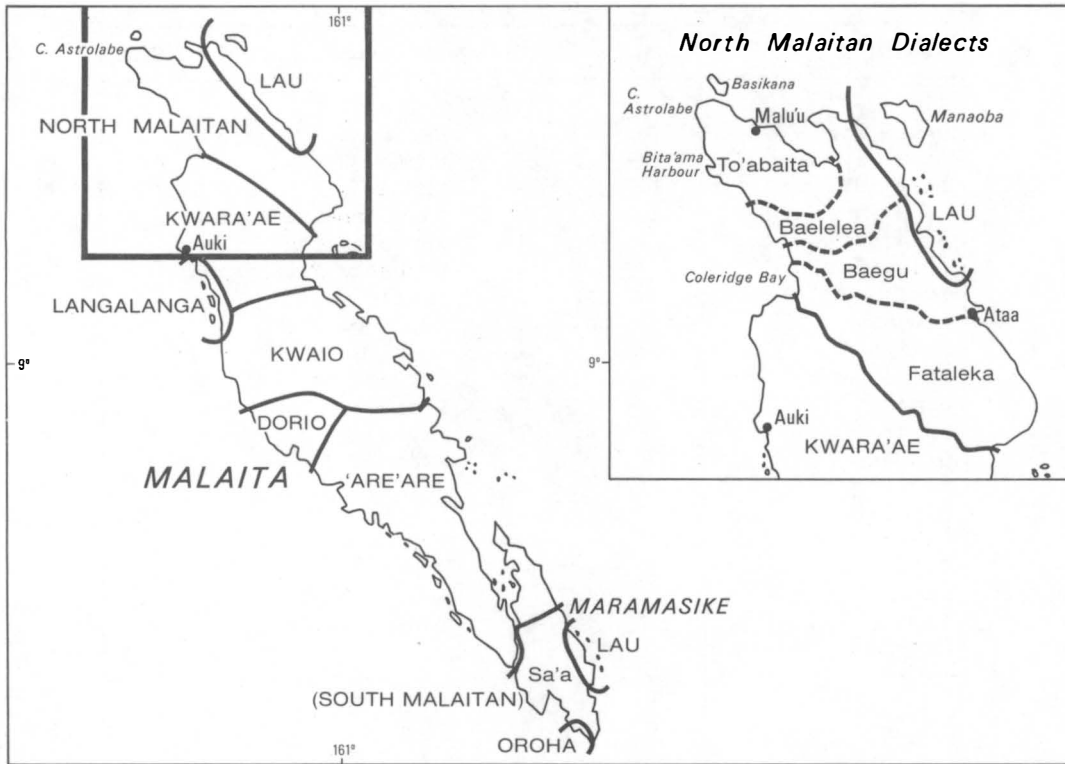
To'abaita	(TOB)	(5,226)
Baelelea	(BLE)	(4,252)
Baegu	(BGU)	(2,277)
Fataleka	(FTK)	(2,487)
Lau	(LAU)	(7,386)
Kwara'ae	(KWR)	(13,214)
Gula'alaa	(GUL)	(300)
Langalanga	(LNG)	(3,066)
Kwaio	(KWO)	(6,773)
Dorio	(DOR)	(571)
'Are'are	(ARE)	(7,225)
Sa'a	(SAA)	(4,445)

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

Simons (1980:3) also notes that if we recognise the distinct speech-culture groups that Malaitans themselves identify, there would be even more languages. The languages of small groups of this type have been called "communalects" in the Fiji context (Pawley and Sayaba 1971; Geraghty 1983) but the term could equally apply to Malaita.

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

Also in contrast to Simons, Tryon and Hackman group Sa'a along with the Ulawa and Uki Ni Masi dialects as South Malaitan. In addition, they use the name Kwai for Gula'alaa. Finally, they include another small language group, Oroha. The languages and major dialects of Malaita then, according to Tryon and Hackman (but using Simons' spelling), are shown on Map 2.



Map 2: Languages of Malaita

2.1.2 Malaitan languages brought to Fiji

As mentioned above, it is difficult to determine the numbers of speakers of the different languages brought to Fiji from a large island when it is not known exactly where on the island the labourers came from. However, there is some information available on more precise origins of at least some of the Malaita labourers. It comes from the contract lists and lists of returned labourers for a recruiting voyage of the *Rotuma* in 1899 and two voyages of the *Clansman* in 1908 and 1910, found in the journals of the government agents.⁸ These lists include the exact places where the labourers were recruited or returned. Matching the place with the language spoken in the area gives us some idea of the languages the labourers spoke. This information is summarised in Table 2-2.

According to this information, all the languages were probably represented with the exception of the most minor, Oroha. The North Malaitan dialects had the most speakers, especially Lau.⁹ The next largest group was Kwaio. These figures approximate the proportions of descendants of labourers from each language area found in Fiji today.

Table 2-2: Languages of some Malaitan labourers, 1899-1910

PLACE	RECRUITS	RETURNS	LANGUAGE/DIALECT	TOTAL
Sio Bay	19	20	NM/Lau	
Urası Cove	48	23	NM/Lau	
Ataa Cove	16	1	NM/Lau	
Port Adam	11	--	NM/Lau	163
Cape Astrolabe	20	--	NM/To'abaita	
Bita'ama Harbour	--	1	NM/To'abaita	
Coleridge Bay	--	4	NM/Baegu,Fataleka	
Kwai Bay	2	1	Kwai	3
Fiu Bay	--	1	Kwara'ae	
Auki	9	1	Kwara'ae	11
Alite Bay	5	14	Langalanga	19
Bina	--	1	Kwaio	
'Olomburi	31	1	Kwaio	73
Uru Bay	37	4	Kwaio	
Su'u Bay	13	4	Dori'o	
Baunani	1	--	Dori'o	18
Takataka Harbour	27	--	'Are'are	27
Sa'a	3	--	South Malaita	
Su'upeine	4	--	South Malaita	14
Mapo	8	--	South Malaita	
UNKNOWN	1	2		3

2.2 Use of imported languages

In Fiji the plantation language was Fijian or Pidgin Fijian (Siegel 1982), generally used by Europeans and Fijians to communicate with the imported Pacific islands labourers and by the linguistically diverse labourers among themselves as a lingua franca. However, there is evidence that many of them continued to speak their home languages within their own groups in Fiji. In fact, some labourers were able to survive without learning any kind of Fijian or English, as evidenced by court records which often mention one "unable to speak any but his own language" (e.g. CSO 1936/1883). This was possible because of the policy on the plantations of allowing labourers speaking the same language to live and work together (Forbes 1875:61-62; Gordon-Cumming 1882:333).

In urban areas also, the home languages were maintained to some extent. The following observation was made by Rev. R.H. Codrington during a visit to Fiji in 1893: "The great mass of the Melanesian Christians in Suva come from Malauta [sic] in the Solomon Islands; among themselves they talk their own tongue, in their intercourse with others they speak the current Fijian of the place ..."¹⁰

But although the settlers may have continued to use their own languages among themselves, they generally did not teach them to their children born in Fiji. Therefore, the children, who mostly had Fijian mothers, learned only Fijian (Kuva [1974]:14). According to informants, even when both parents were from the same island and spoke the same language, they still spoke to their children in Fijian. Thus, it was reported for one community in 1941: "The bulk of the older people can still speak their mother tongue ... but the younger people are to all intents and purposes Fijians".¹¹

It also appears that the older people stopped using their mother tongues after they had lived in Fiji for many years. As one report points out, "Fijian is their adopted tongue".¹² Of nine ex-labourers interviewed by Kuva ([1974]: 13) in the early 1970s:

Five said that they still knew and used their languages, two lost some of the vocabulary, one that he knew only a bit, and one said that he knew less of his own language than Fijian. However, all used Fijian daily in their homes.

Nearly all of the men and women I interviewed speak standard colloquial Fijian as their main language, and are indistinguishable from Fijians in their speech. Only Jioji Abunio (section 1.3) spoke Pidgin Fijian. A few of the first generation also know a little English, but not Melanesian Pidgin. One man, Pita Teqe, also speaks fluent Fiji Hindustani indistinguishable from that of the Fiji Indians.

The only ones who still speak their ancestral language in daily life are some of the descendants of Kiribati labourers who live in communities, such as Veisari, which include free immigrants from Kiribati. The descendants of labourers from Vanuatu have no memory of their parents speaking in their native languages, and none of them can speak even a word of any Vanuatu language. As one informant, Rosalia Mataro, says, "When our parents died, their language also died." The descendants of those from the Solomons, however, all remember the previous generation speaking to each other in their Solomons languages and some still know how to speak these languages.

2.3 Solomons languages in Fiji today

The descendants of labourers from the Solomon Islands differentiate the main languages of their forefathers according to the names of their islands as they are known in Fiji: Malaita, Kalekana (Guadalcanal), Bugotu (Isabel), and Makila (Makira). All the *Kai Solomone* I interviewed trace their ancestry back to Malaita. The names they use for some of the language areas of Malaita are Langalanga, Marato, Koio, Vataleka, Bali, and Wai. Interviews revealed that Marata refers to 'Are'are (it is the 'Are'are word for Malaita), Koio is Kwaio,¹³ Vataleka is Fataleka and Kwara'ae, and Bali is To'abaita (actually the north-west coastal part of the To'abaita area). According to informants, the name "Wai" did not exist on Malaita. There in the local language the people were called *tō i asi* *people of the sea* or *coast dwellers*. This translated into Fijian as *kai wai*. In modern times, their language has become known as Lau.

The five villages in the Wailoku settlement are named after some of these Malaita language groups (Kuva [1974]:24): Wai, Marata, Koio, Vataleka, and Balibuka (supposedly Bali combined with Buka, referring to New Guinea islanders). It should be pointed out that only a few of the first generation and none of later generations know about the connection of the Fiji names with the language groups on Malaita.

In the past, the general pattern in the settlements was that each language-culture group used their own language in speaking to other groups if they did not use Fijian. Similar language use in intergroup contact in North Malaita has been described by Ross (1973:50): "When speakers of different dialects interact, each for convenience uses his own dialect but understands the other's." This

"passive bidialectalism" also occurred in the past, as described by Ivens (1930: 28-29), who also mentions linguistic accommodation as well as maintenance of linguistic boundaries:

When the men or, as happens at market, the women of two different peoples forgather, each person uses his or her own language, and the listener in each case understands ... many individual words of another's speech are known through practice, and a man, when speaking to another, will often make the necessary consonantal changes in his own words in order to agree with the practice of the other. However, in the main, each man talks his own language, and indeed people who dwell among those of another speech seldom seem to learn that speech, but continue to use their own tongue.

But the Fiji informants also say that Wai was used to some extent as a lingua franca in the settlements. (One compared it to Bauan.) In Wailoku it was reportedly spoken to some extent by people from the Vataleka and Koio villages. Many of the informants say that Wai was also used as a lingua franca back on Malaita.¹⁴ The Kai Wai were fishermen and traded fish for garden produce with other language groups. The Wai language was used for this trade, they say, because it was easy to understand and learn.

Only a very few speakers of Malaitan languages are left in Fiji. Some informants from the Koio group know a few words of their fathers' language, but none are fluent, although they say there are some fluent speakers left alive. There are also supposedly one or two speakers of Kwara'ae still living. But most of the first generation informants from the Wai group know at least a few words of the language, and a few know it well. These informants and the Wai language are described in the following section.

3. DESCRIPTION OF WAI

In the following description, Wai is compared with available information on the existing North Malaitan dialects. Word lists for the different varieties of North Malaitan are available in Tryon and Hackman 1983, but the only dialects which have been studied in detail are Lau and To'abaita. Short grammars of two varieties of Lau were written by Ivens (1921, 1929), and a dictionary was compiled by Fox (1974). A dictionary of To'abaita was written by Waterson in 1924 (referred to in Simons 1982). Lichtenberk's (1984) study of a subdialect of To'abaita (called To'aba'ita) is the most detailed description of a North Malaitan dialect. It may be relevant to other dialects, however, as according to Ross (1973:50), "all North Malaitan dialects share essentially the same grammar".

3.1 Informants

Although Wai is no longer used for everyday communication, six informants knew it well enough to record an extended discourse. Their backgrounds and how they learned the language are given here.

The first is Jone Gagalia of Wailoku. Both his parents were from Manaoba Island off Malaita, a Lau speaking area, and in contrast to others they generally spoke to him in their own language, which Jone says was Wai. He is by far the

most fluent of the informants. Jone's half brother, Pita Tege of Waidradra, says he was born in the Solomons and came to Fiji as a child with his mother, but he is nowhere near Jone in fluency.

Charlie Kelo, of Naviavia, learned Wai by listening to the old people talk because his parents spoke to him only in Fijian. His father was from the Fataleka area, and his mother was a part-European from Fiji. His wife, Eni Birena, learned Wai by listening to the conversation of her parents, who also spoke to her in Fijian even though they were both from the Wai area of Malaita.

Makitalena of Waidradra learned a bit of Wai from her father, who tried to teach her his language (her mother was Fijian), but he died when she was very young. Jone Mawia of Wailoku also learned Wai from his father, who came from the Suafa area (which he says is Wai). He relates that his father would slap him if he didn't speak it properly.

Tape recordings of the Wai informants were transcribed and analysed with the help of several informants from the different dialect areas of North Malaita.¹⁵ The general opinion of these informants is that Wai contains a mixture of vocabulary from the various NM dialects, especially Lau, To'abaita, Baelelea, and Baegu. They also mention the influence of Fijian. Those from Lau think that basically Wai sounds like the language spoken by inlanders (that is, the other NM dialects). However, those from non-Lau areas think the rhythm and intonation sound like Lau. They also think that some of the Wai speakers are not fluent and sound like they are just learning the language. This is not only because of hesitation, they say, but also because of leaving out certain words and speaking in what they say is a simple way. These two characteristics, mixture of dialectal features and relative formal simplicity, in addition to the observable influence of Fijian, make Wai different from any dialect currently spoken on Malaita.

3.2 Wai phonology

The phonology of Wai (see Table 3-1) is not identical with that of any particular dialect of North Malaitan (NM) and appears to be influenced by Fijian. But, for the most part, NM and Fijian phonologies (including dialects other than Bauan) are similar, and the overlapping areas are found in Wai. The vowels of Wai are the same as those of both NM and Fijian, including phonemic vowel length. The consonants also appear to be basically those found in both. Wai includes the labiovelar [kw], [ŋgw] (Fijian qw), and [ŋw] (Fijian gw), found not in Bauan but in Western Fijian and some eastern Vitilevu dialects (Geraghty 1983:42-47) as well as in some NM dialects. Also, some Wai speakers use /h/, also not in Bauan but in some Western Fijian dialects and in Lau (Malaita). The following Fijian consonants not found in NM are also not in Wai: c [č] and dr [ɲ].

The main differences between Wai and NM phonology appear to be the result of transfer (both positive and negative) from Fijian. First, NM /f/ (To'abaita [ɸ]) is realised as /v/ [β] for most speakers: e.g. vera (Lau fera) *village*, kavu (Lau kavo) *water*. Note, however, that Ivens (1929:324) mentions /f/ sometimes going to /v/ on Sulu Vou island where he studied Lau.

Second, voiced stops are usually prenasalised in Wai as in Fijian. In Lau, prenasalisation either does not occur or it is very slight. In To'abaita, it varies from strong in word-medial position to weak or nil in word-initial position (Lichtenberk 1984:3). Ivens (1929:323) notes, however, that [ŋg], [nd], and [mb] do not appear in Lau but that they are used in the "hill languages".

Third, some phonemes absent in Standard Fijian but present in NM are also absent in Wai. The NM glottal stop, especially in initial position, does not occur in the speech of most Wai speakers: e.g. ave (Lau 'afe) *wife*, iya (Lau T'a) *fish*. The voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ in To'abaita and Baelelea also does not occur in Wai. Instead, the Lau, Baegu, and Fataleka reflex /s/ or /h/ occurs.

Table 3-1: Wai phonology and orthography

CONSONANTS	bi-labial	labio-dental	apico-dental	apico-alveolar	alveo-palatal	dorso-velar	labio-velar	glottal
STOPS								
voiceless	p		t			k	kw	
voiced	(b)		(d)			(g)	(gw)	
prenasalised	mb		nd			ŋg	ŋgw	
NASALS	m		n			ŋ	ŋw	
FLAP/TRILL				r				
FRICATIVES								
voiceless	(f)	[ɸv f]	(θ)	s				h
voiced	v	[β]						
LATERAL				l				
GLIDES	w				y			
Note: Phonemes in parentheses are found in some NM dialects but not in Wai.								
VOWELS		front	central		back			
HIGH		i			u			
MID		e		o				
LOW			a					
Phonemic vowel length is marked 'ˉ', e.g. ā, ō.								

3.3 Lexicon and pronoun systems

3.3.1 Mixture of marked forms

Apparent dialect mixing in Wai can be observed mainly in the lexicon and in the pronoun system in the concurrent use of some marked NM lexical items. By marked items, I mean those that in North Malaita would identify the speaker as belonging to a particular language-culture group: either one or more of the main dialect areas or coastal versus bush. Other authors have made the distinction between the language spoken by the "coastal people" - those living on the small off-shore islands¹⁶ - and that spoken by the "hill" or "bush" people - those living inland. The coastal language is Lau, and the bush language comprises the other NM dialects. For example, Ivens (1929:323) points out that the language spoken at Ataa Cove (at the southern end of Lau lagoon) "has a closer affinity to the languages of the hill peoples of the mainland than has Lau proper". Fox (1974) also gives some "hill words" in his dictionary of Lau, such as maleu *sleep*.

The names Baelelea, Baegu, and Fataleka themselves may be comprised of such marked items. For example, according to Ross (1973:50), the name Baelelea supposedly comes from its speakers' marked habit of reduplicating the word *lea go* to *lelea* (*bae* is *speak* or *say* in Lau and Baegu). The name Baegu is from its speakers' way of answering the greeting "Where are you going?" with *nao gu nothing*, implying "I do not wish to say". And the name Fataleka is composed of the descriptive use of two marked Fataleka forms: *fata speak, say* and *leka go* (Ivens 1930:24; Ross 1973:50).

Marked items may also include words that are known by a group but cannot be used by them because of word tabooing, and therefore, these items are marked as belonging to other groups. Word tabooing in Malaitan languages has been described in detail by Keesing and Fifi'i (1969) and Simons (1982). It is taboo to say the name of a dead ancestor and to use any common words which are components of the name. Tabooed words are replaced by new forms using a variety of methods (Keesing and Fifi'i 1969:166-168) including borrowing, semantic shift, phonological modification, or simply adopting an already available alternative form. In addition to the forms resulting from word tabooing, some languages have alternative honorific forms and forms used to refer to women (Simons 1982:218n). Therefore, speakers of Malaitan languages have passive knowledge of several synonymous forms for many lexical items, even though some may not be actively used for cultural reasons.

In Wai, sometimes only one marked form appears. For example, NM informants noted that the demonstrative *this* is *nē* or *ne'e* in bush areas and *na* in coastal areas (Lau). Another example is bush *kūfia drink (it)* versus coastal *gwoufia*. In Wai only the bush alternative is found for these items:

- (1) nau tō i vera nē
1S stay LOC village this
I live in this village.
- (2) arai nē kū-vi-a kwakwanga uri-a na koito
old.man this drink-TR-OM kava like-OM DEF dog
This old man drinks kava like a dog.

On the other hand, some marked coastal forms also exist in Wai, such as items with *h* like *haitamana know*.

There are also examples in Wai of items marking a particular "bush language" group, such as BGU *andea make, do* and the proper article *sa*, and also the TOB intensifier *bo'o*:¹⁷

- (3) o ande-a tā
2S do-3S what
What will you do?
- (4) hata-na arai sa jek k.
name-3S.POS ratu PRP J. K.
His name was Ratu Jack K. ("Ratu" is explained in section 3.3.2)
- (5) diana mamana bō
good true INT
really good!

Some lexical items in Wai mark two or three groups of NM, excluding others, for example: BLE, BGU, FTK *sēki here*; LAU, BLE, BGU *lea go*; and LAU, TOB *tā what*.

While the examples above represent the consistent use of one of several possible marked items, there are also instances of two items in use concurrently. Some of these are LAU, BLE, BGU bae along with TOB *ŋata talk* and BLE, BGU, FTK *ŋgā* along with LAU *tē mother*. Most often different speakers use only one of the alternatives as in the following examples (from two different speakers):

- (6) a. *ŋgā kamelu mae nā*
mother LXP die PFT
Our mother has died.
- b. *tē nau nia mae sui nā*
mother 1S 3S die COMP PFT
My mother has died.

However there are instances in which two marked items may be used by the same speaker, even in one utterance:

- (7) *molu ŋata diana, molu bae*
2P talk good 2P talk
You talk well, you talk.

Wai not: There is wide variation among speakers in negative constructions. Four speakers use only one of two marked negative verbs (NEGV), either LAU, BLE *laŋi* or BGU, VTL *nao* (sometimes shortened to *na*), usually followed by the negative particle (NEG) *si* and often without the 3S subject marker *e*:

- (8) *maka kia laŋi si lea lau*
father 1IP NEGV NEG go again
Our father didn't go back again.
- (9) *kera nao si haitamana*
3P NEGV NEG know
They didn't know.

One informant used only the negative accomplished mode subject marker as in To'abaita (see Lichtenberk 1984:7):

- (10) *maka kia ke-si riki-a vera kia*
father 1IP 3P.SM-NEG see-OM village 1IP
Our fathers didn't see our village.

One informant used both constructions (as in Lau):

- (11) a. *malevo laŋi si baita*
money NEGV NEG big
The money (pay) isn't a lot.
- b. *mi-si voli-a te-si dō diana*
LXP-NEG buy-OM one-NEG thing good
We don't buy anything good.

To see if *Wai* can be attributed to any particular dialect, forms for 50 lexical items which show variation in NM are compared in Table 3-2 below (mainly from the word lists in Tryon and Hackman 1983). Word lists, of course, cannot be expected to provide complete information, especially in light of the degree of synonymy in Malaitan languages because of word tabooing. Nevertheless,

Table 3-2: 50 lexical items in North Malaitan and Wai

	LAU	TOB	BLE	BGU	FTK	WAI
<i>blood</i>	'abu	'ambu	'ambu	'ambu	'ambu	'ambu
<i>bone</i>	ogi/suli	oki	oki	oki	suli	oki
<i>egg</i>	falake	falake	θāluna	farake	falaka	valake
<i>grease</i>	ragufa	raraŋa	raraŋa	raraŋa	ndūla	ranguva
<i>head</i>	kete/gwou	gwau	ŋgwau	ŋgwau	gwau	ŋgou
<i>mouth</i>	faka	foko	faka	ŋindu	ŋindu	vaka
<i>nose</i>	ŋoŋora	ŋgwalusa	ŋoŋora	ŋoŋora	ŋoŋora	ŋoŋora
<i>bird</i>	manu	θa'aro	θa'aro	saro	nō/θārō	manu
<i>dog</i>	kui	kui/kuri	koito	ŋgiri	kui/kukui	kui/koito
<i>leaf</i>	'aba	rea	'amba	'amba	'amba	amba
<i>bread-fruit</i>	baleo/rauai	mbale'o/kekene	kekene/rau'ai	rau'ai/kekene	rau'ai/kekene	rauai
<i>man</i>	wane	ŋwane	ŋwane	ŋwane	ŋwane	(ŋ)wane
<i>woman</i>	geni	kini	kēni	keni	keni	keni/geni
<i>child</i>	wela	ŋwela	ŋwela	ŋwele	ŋwele	(ŋ)wela
<i>father</i>	mā	maka	maka	mā	mā	mā/maka
<i>mother</i>	tē	θaina	ŋgā	ŋgā	ŋgā	tē/ŋgā
<i>name</i>	sata/hata	θata	θata	sata	sata	hata/ata
<i>earth</i>	gano	ŋgano	θaengano	saengano	gano	ŋgano
<i>garden</i>	raku	o'ole	raoa/ole	ole	ole	rawa
<i>meat</i>	mariko	mariko	maroko	fasio	fasi	mariko
<i>stone</i>	fou	fau	fau	fau	fau	vou
<i>village</i>	fera	fanua/toa	fera	fera	ferē	vera
<i>sky</i>	salo	θalo/mamaŋā	lofonaθalo	mamaŋā	maŋa	salo
<i>wind</i>	ōru	θauθau	θauθau	komburu	sasaulē	oru
<i>day</i>	dani	ndani	ndani	sato	asoā	daŋi
<i>this</i>	na	ne/ne'e	nē	nē/neki	rune'e	nē
<i>what</i>	tā	ta	tāe	tē	tē	ta
<i>where</i>	fai/fei	fai/fei	fai	fai	fai	vei/fei
<i>who</i>	tei	tei	tai	tī	tī	tei
<i>yes</i>	iuka	iu	iuka	iuka	iuka	io
<i>no</i>	laŋi	'e a'i	laŋi	nao	nao	laŋi/nao
<i>here</i>	sēgi	kune'e	sēki/nē	seki	seki	seki
<i>left</i>	mouli	mauli	moli	moli	maluli	mauli
<i>fear</i>	mou	ma'u	mau	mau	mau	mou
<i>good</i>	diana	le'a	ndiana	diana	lea	diana
<i>cold</i>	gwagwari	ŋgwangwari	ŋgwangwari	ŋgwari	gwari	ŋgwangwari
<i>old man</i>	waro	arai	ŋwaro	ŋwaro/arai	waro	arai
<i>rotten</i>	fura/dura	fura	ndura	ndura	dūla	vura
<i>heavy</i>	gulu	kulua	kulu	kulu	kulu	ŋgulu
<i>play</i>	lalaba	θaθo	θaθo	saso	saketo	lalamba
<i>go</i>	lea	lae	lea	lea	leka	lea
<i>know</i>	haitamana	θaito'omana	θaitamana	saitamana	saiana	saitamana/haitamana
<i>drink</i>	gwou	ku'u	kū	kū	kū	kou/kū
<i>eat</i>	faŋa	faŋa	faŋa	faŋa/ani	ania	vaŋa/ania
<i>laugh</i>	waela	waela	ŋwaela	ŋwaela	ga'a	ŋwaila
<i>sit</i>	gwouru	ono	ŋgoru	ŋgoru	--	ŋgoru
<i>sleep</i>	teo	mbTŋa	maleu	maleu	malīu	maleu/teo
<i>do</i>	ilia	'ufi/ilia	ilia	andea	sisia	andea
<i>speak</i>	bae	ŋata	bae	bae	fata	ŋata/bae
<i>also</i>	laugo	laubo	laubo	laugo	laugo	laugo/laungo

comparing Wai with the different dialects may give us at least some idea of its linguistic affiliations. In making the comparisons, I have first taken into account the regular phonological differences which result from transfer from Fijian, such as *f* to *v* and loss of glottal stop.

The comparison shows that 29 Wai forms also occur in LAU, 21 in TOB, 27 in BLE, 23 in BGU, and 14 in FTK. In some cases only one dialect has forms corresponding with those of Wai, while in other cases all dialects have corresponding forms. Mostly, however, correspondences occur in different combinations of two or more dialects. The frequencies of the different combinations are illustrated in Table 3-3 for the four most important dialects. This table shows a complex pattern, with items attributable to nearly every possible combination of dialects. Lau appears to be the most important, although not by much. However, if the presence of prenasalised voiced stops in Wai is attributed to transfer from Fijian rather than to the bush dialects, then the contribution of Lau is even more significant, with an additional seven items.

Table 3-3: Combinations of occurrence for Wai items in NM

LAU	TOB	BLE	BGU	frequency
+				6
	+			3
		+		1
			+	2
+	+			6
+		+		2
+			+	1
	+	+		1
	+		+	0
		+	+	4
+	+	+		2
+		+	+	8
+	+		+	0
	+	+	+	5
+	+	+	+	4
				5
29	21	27	24	50

The Wai pronouns present a different picture. The independent or free pronouns (by far the most frequently used in Wai) are shown in comparison to NM dialects (based on Simons 1980) in Table 3-4. Only three of the 11 Wai pronouns can be attributed to Lau. In contrast, six occur in TOB, nine in BLE, ten in BGU, and eight in FTK. In fact, none of the Wai independent plural pronouns appear to be derived from Lau. It may be argued that again there is the influence of transfer: since the voiced velar stop *g* does not occur in Fijian without prenasalisation, it may have come into Wai as the voiceless stop *k*. But even if this argument is accepted, that still leaves four out of eight plural pronouns which appear to be derived from dialects other than Lau if the vowels are compared.

Table 3-4: North Malaitan and Wai independent pronouns

	LAU	TOB	BLE	BGU	FTK	WAI
1S	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau	nau
2S	'oe	'oe	'oe	'oe	'oe	oe
3S	nia	nia	nia	nia	nia	nia
1ID	goro	koro	koro	koro	koro	koro
1IT	golu	kulu	kolu	kolu	kulu	kolu
1IP	gia	kia	--	kia	kia	kia
1XD	gemere	kamere'a	kamere	kamiri	karo	
1XT	gemelu	kamili'a	kameli	kamelu/kameli	kalu	kamelu
1XP	gami	kami	--	kani	kani	
2D	gomoro	kamoro'a	kamoro	kamuru	kamoro	kamoro
2T	gomolu	kamulu'a	kamulu	kamolu	kamulu	kamulu/kamolu
2P	gamu	kamu	--	kamu	kamu	
3D	daro	kero'a	keroa	kerua	keroa	kerua
3T	dalū	kilū'a	--	--	--	--
3P	gera	kera	kera	kera	kera	kera

3.3.2 Semantic and functional extension

The influence of Fijian has brought about the innovative use of some NM forms in Wai. First, a semantic extension has occurred for a few NM lexical items to fit Fijian culture. Most common is Wai kwakwanga *kava* (Fijian *yaqona*). According to NM informants there is no *kava* drinking on Malaita, and kwakwanga is a plant with leaves similar to those of the *kava* plant found in Fiji. Another is the Wai use of *arai* NM *married man*, *elder* as an honorific title corresponding to Fijian *rātū* (see example (4) above). Also, NM *mouri* or *mauri to be alive* is used in Wai as a greeting corresponding to Fijian *bula*.

Second, a functional shift has occurred for Wai *mai*. In NM *mai* functions only as a directional marker indicating action towards the speaker or the point of reference (see Lichtenberk 1984:18). In Wai, it takes on the additional role, as in Fijian, of a marker of general or distant location (Geraghty 1976: Schütz 1983:354) as in this example:

- (12) e laŋi tō mai luma
 3S.SM NEG stay LOC house
 (It) is not in the house.

3.3.3 Formal simplicity

Wai appears to be linguistically less complex than any of the NM dialects in derivational and inflectional morphology.¹⁸ Although the degree of simplicity varies between speakers, they most often use only one of several available NM grammatical strategies. For example, four out of six speakers use only the negative verb rather than negative SM pronouns (examples (8) to (11) above). All but one speaker use the independent pronouns rather than the subject marking (SM) pronouns in affirmative sentences in which the subject has a human referent.

The co-occurrence of the independent rather than the SM pronoun with the subject NP, as in the following Wai example, is not acceptable to NM informants (see also example (6b)):

- (13) ave nau nia geni i bugotu
wife 1S 3S *woman* LOC B.
My wife is a Bugotu woman.

Although the basic pattern in NM includes the subject marking pronouns as an obligatory part of the verb phrase, they may be omitted stylistically in some dialects (Simons 1980:7), such as in To'abaita when the referent of the subject can be recovered from the context (Lichtenberk 1984:13). However, NM informants thought that Wai speakers' elimination of subject markers was excessive. For example, in correcting the transcript of one Wai speaker, a NM informant inserted the subject marker ku:

- (14) nau [ku] tō i vera nē i viti
 1S [1S.SM] *stay* LOC *village* *this* LOC *Fiji*
I stay in this village in Fiji.

NM dialects have two classes of possession: alienable and inalienable. Like Fijian, inalienable possession is marked by adding a possessive suffix to the head noun. But unlike Fijian, alienable possession is marked simply by placing the independent pronoun after the head noun (Simons 1980:7). For some kinship terms such as *father*, there are two different items, one alienable, one inalienable, for example, TOB θāma-ku and maka nau *my father* (Lichtenberk 1984:54). Wai speakers consistently use the alienable alternatives. One speaker uses the alienable construction where the inalienable one is required in NM:

- (15) ata nau arai sa jon
name 1S *ratu* PRP J.
My name is John.

Another speaker overgeneralises the use of the third person singular inalienable possessive suffix:

- (16) vinda-li-a amba-na
clap-TR-OM hand-3S.POS
Clap your hands. (Literally: Clap his hands.)

Wai speakers also leave out the locative marker i:

- (17) vera nē faŋa diana uri-a faŋa vera kia
village this food good like-OM food village 1IP
Is food in this village good like in our village?

The following examples show reduced derivational morphology in that the nominaliser -la or -lā is not used in Wai where it would be expected in NM:

- (18) a. ma nau na si haitamana bae[-la] nē
and 1S NEGV NEG *know* *talk[-NOM]* *this*
And I don't know this language.
 b. dami[-la] e laŋi
chew.betelnut[-NOM] 3S.SM NEGV
There's no betelnut chewing.

3.4 Discussion

On the basis of preliminary data, it is difficult to ascribe Wai to any one North Malaitan dialect. It appears to be characterised by a mixture of lexical forms which currently differentiate the different dialects, and by the influence of Fijian, especially in phonology. It is generally less complex than any of the NM dialects, resulting in some constructions which are ungrammatical according to NM speakers.

4. SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS AFFECTING WAI

4.1 Isolation from Malaita

Without more data on the linguistic situation in Malaita during the Fiji labour trade, it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions about the linguistic or sociolinguistic factors which led to the differences between Wai and the modern NM dialects. It is possible that some of the features described above represent the state of one or more NM dialects at the time they were brought to Fiji. As Fiji was cut off from the Solomons at the end of the Fiji labour trade in 1911, linguistic changes could have taken place on Malaita but not in Fiji.

For example, if the word tabooing responsible for some of the marked lexical items in NM occurred in a particular area after 1911, it is highly unlikely that it would be reflected in Fiji. It may be that some marked lexical forms indicating modern NM dialect boundaries were not marked at the time NM speakers came to Fiji.

If this were true, we might be able to discount that mixing of lexical items occurred among the Fiji immigrants. But it still would not explain some of the other characteristics of Wai. Furthermore, there is no reason for the *Kai Solomone* to be different from other immigrant communities in which dialect mixing has been reported.

4.2 Dialect mixing

Two processes have been described in the literature which refer to the result of contact between linguistic subsystems such as regional dialects. One is "dialect levelling", defined by Dillard (1972:300) as "the process of eliminating prominent stereotypable features of difference between dialects". Another is "dialect mixing", defined by Samarin (1971:133) as an "amalgamation" of several regional varieties of the same language, characterised linguistically by the incorporation of features from these varieties. Although some writers equate the two processes, they are different in their possible end results. In levelling, the original dialects in contact remain and become more like one another, but in dialect mixing a new, mixed variety can emerge which is used as a *lingua franca* among speakers of the original varieties.

The term "koine" has been used to label such a resultant variety. It comes from the Greek word *koinē* *common* referring to the language which became the *lingua franca* of the eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period. It was based mainly on the Attic dialect, but contained features of several other regional dialects of Greek, such as Ionic. However, it was less complex than any of the contributing dialects (Thomson 1960:34-36). Since that time, the term "koine" has been applied to many other dialects which became regional *lingua*

francas: for example, the ancestor of modern Arabic dialects (Ferguson 1959:616), Hindi (Hartmann and Stork 1973:121), Standard Yoruba (Bamgboṣe 1966:2). This type is called a "regional koine" (see Siegel 1985c).

More recently, the term has been extended to refer to the result of dialect mixing within immigrant communities: for example, Trinidad Bhojpuri (Mohan 1976, 1978), Guyanese Bhojpuri (Gambhir 1981), Fiji Hindustani (Siegel 1975:136), Italian-American (Haller 1981:184), and Israeli Hebrew (based on different literary dialects) (Blanc 1968). This type is called an "immigrant koine". The mixture and formal simplicity observed in Wai along with its sociolinguistic history suggests at first glance that it may be an example of an immigrant koine.

The term "koineisation" has been recently coined to refer to the process of dialect mixing (Blanc 1968; Samarin 1971). Koineisation usually takes place only under certain social conditions. Proximinal contact between linguistic subsystems will not necessarily bring it about, for example, if the desire still exists to maintain linguistic boundaries, as can be seen in North Malaita. As Dillard (1972:300) points out, what is required is "some new phase of contact, such as in migration". Koineisation then can result from what Domingue (1981:150) calls "the need for unification among speakers of different dialects in a new environment".

Once koineisation begins, there is a developmental continuum for koines analogous to that for pidgins and creoles. The first stage is the "pre-koine". It is similar to a pre-pidgin continuum or jargon in that individual strategies are used to modify one's own language or in trying to speak another's, and a socially accepted norm has not yet emerged. These strategies will often result in output characterised by mixture and relative formal simplicity. When a social norm does emerge as the result of informal standardisation, the next stage is reached: the "stable koine". Use of a stable koine may be eventually extended to other areas besides intergroup communication. For example, it may become a literary or standard language, as the original Greek Koine did. This extension of use is accompanied by linguistic expansion, such as in an increased lexicon or more stylistic options. This is the "expanded koine" stage. Finally, the koine may become the first language of a social group, or a "nativised koine". These stages and the processes which lead to them are illustrated as follows:

Stages in koine development

PROCESS	STAGE
koineisation	pre-koine
stabilisation	stable koine
expansion	expanded koine
nativisation	nativised koine

Wai developed under some of the social conditions in which koineisation typically takes place, and its linguistic features of formal simplicity and mixture are also typical of koines. But the variation among Wai speakers indicates that in general it did not get past the pre-koine stage of development. Certain areas of Wai grammar, however, such as the independent pronoun system, do show that at least some stabilisation had taken place. If the *Kai Solomone* had not adopted the Fijian language and culture, Wai might have been further stabilised and developed into a nativised koine, like the Fiji Hindustani of the Fiji Indians (Siegel 1975, 1983; Moag 1979).

4.2.1 Language attrition

Although koineisation leads to a variety which is less complex than any of the contributing varieties, most writers point out that the formal simplicity resulting from koineisation is much less drastic than that resulting from pidginisation (Nida and Fehderau 1970; Samarin 1971; Mohan 1976). Therefore, koines are never "structurally discontinuous from their linguistic parents" (Gambhir 1981:185). However, the fact that many Wai sentences are unacceptable to NM speakers because of their lack of certain grammatical features indicates that the degree of simplicity in Wai may be too excessive to be the result of only koineisation. Other processes must be considered, and it may be that the Wai spoken by the informants does not necessarily represent the language spoken by their parents.

The first possibility is that this lack of complexity indicates pidginisation itself, the result of incomplete language learning. In fact, the overgeneralised use of the 3S inalienable possessive suffix, the use of the independent rather than SM pronouns, and the lack of locative marking are also characteristics of Pidgin Fijian (Siegel 1982). Only one of the informants learned Wai as his first language along with Fijian; all the others learned it later. (This would explain the phonological transfer from Fijian.) But without adequate opportunity to use the language, it may never have been learned completely. The reason for this restricted use was that Wai was being displaced by Fijian; in other words, it was (and still is) a dying language.

In her studies of language death, or language attrition over successive generations, Dorian (1973, 1982, 1983) describes how parents may speak the dying language to each other but not to their children. She says that in immigrant communities, for example, the utility of the mother tongue is seen to be reduced and, therefore, it is often deliberately not transmitted to the children (1982: 46-47). Children in this situation, if they do learn any of their parents' language, become one type of what Dorian calls "semi-speakers" - imperfect speakers of a dying language. It may be that all but one of the Fiji informants are semi-speakers of Wai because of inadequate input during childhood and few opportunities to use the language later. Some of the linguistic features resulting from the process of language death or language attrition, described by several authors (Dorian 1973, 1981, 1983; Hill 1978; Andersen 1982), are similar to those of Wai, such as reduction and regularisation of morphology.

Another explanation for the degree of simplicity is that the Wai informants may have acquired the language thoroughly as children but attrition occurred from lack of use (Andersen 1982:85) - especially after most of the NM native speakers had died. All the Wai speakers said that they had not used the language for many years, and some said they had trouble remembering some of the words. Also, some of the NM informants had the impression that at least one speaker started off speaking as if he was just learning the language, but later in the discourse sounded more fluent. Examples (14) and (16) above illustrate reduced and regularised morphology in Wai. But the same speaker comes up with the following more acceptable sentences later in the same discourse:

(19) vinda-li-a amba-molu
clap-TR-OM hand-2P.POS
Clap your hands.

(20) nau ku kū-vi-a kwakwanga nē
 1S 1S.SM *drink-TR-OM kava this*
I drank this kava.

Thus, it could be that for this speaker the attrition was only temporary and the language came back to him as he started to use it.

4.3 Summary

Several sociolinguistic factors could have led to the characteristics of Wai as described above. First, emigration probably disrupted cultural traditions, and the need for solidarity in a new environment broke down boundaries between language-culture groups. This resulted in the active use of some of the more widely known lexical items that may have been in the passive repertoire of speakers of some dialects or communalects. Thus, the apparent lexical mixing in the language of the Wai informants may be attributed to the process of koineisation which has been described for other immigrant communities.

The morphological reduction and regularisation, however, are more likely the result of other sociolinguistic processes. These may be individual language attrition from lack of use, or community level language attrition (language death) resulting in incomplete language learning in individuals.

ABBREVIATIONS

ART	article	NOM	nominaliser
BGU	Baegu	OM	object marker
BLE	Baelelea	P	plural
COMP	completive	PERF	perfective
DIR	directional	POS	possessive marker
FTK	Fataleka	S	singular
I	inclusive	SM	subject marker
INT	intensifier	T	trial or paucal
LOC	locative	TOB	To'abaita
NEG	negative particle	TR	transitive marker
NEGV	negative verb	X	exclusive
NM	North Malaitan		

NOTES

1. This paper came out of a larger study, "Plantation languages in Fiji", sponsored by the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University. Some of the linguistic data were collected with the help of Darrell Tryon. I would like to thank the following people for their assistance in the field: Tevita Nawadra, Paul Geraghty, the staff of the National Archives of Fiji, the Tutu community, Fr Luke Oli, Fr Ilai Lakavutu, and Aduru Kuva. Also thanks for comments on an earlier draft to Walter Seiler, Roger Keesing, Don Laycock, Lois Carrington, Christine Jourdan, and Frank Lichtenberk.

2. Report on Polynesian Immigration for 1884.
3. References to the official correspondence of the Fiji Colonial Secretary's Office are abbreviated CSO, followed by the minute paper number/year.
4. *Church Gazette* (Diocese of Polynesia) no.11 (1927:8).
5. Letter from W.E. Moren of Auckland, New Zealand to Mr Long, August 1946 (Church of England records, National Archives of Fiji).
6. *Anglican Church Gazette: Golden Jubilee issue* (1958):27.
7. *Anglican Church Gazette: Golden Jubilee issue* (1958):27.
8. Journals number 64, 65, and 66, F. Otway and W.R. Bell, National Archives of Fiji.
9. The figures can only be approximate because after the mid 1880s, most recruits were 'bush people' who spoke dialects other than Lau. These people came down to the coast (i.e. to Lau-speaking areas) in order to sign up when a recruiting ship arrived (Corris 1973:32-36).
10. *Anglican Church Gazette* (October 1893):161.
11. *Church Gazette* no.66 (April 1941):10.
12. *Church Gazette* no.1 (Diocese of Polynesia), November 1924:13.
13. Roger Keesing (personal communication, 19/7/84) points out that "Koio" is the North Malaitan rendering of Kwaio.
14. This has been verified by Pierre Maranda (personal communication, 17/5/84), who says that at least Kwara'ae people have used Lau. However, Roger Keesing and Christine Jourdan disagree (personal communication, 19/7/84).
15. In September 1982 I worked with Barnabas Lauia, a Lau speaker, and in July 1983 with Manuel Maesua, a Baelelea speaker. Both were then students at the University of the South Pacific. In November 1982 Darrell Tryon and I went to the Marist Brothers Training Centre at Tutu, Taveuni, where we worked with Brother Paul Maefiti (To'abaita), Brother Peter Sukuomea (Baegu), and Brother Timothy Beliga (Baegu), who were all also familiar with Lau. Also, in June 1983, I worked with three North Malaitan students at the Papua New Guinea University of Technology in Lae: Bentley D. Collin (Lau), Enaly Fifira (To'abaita), and Frank Lobo (Baegu).
16. Only since European contact have villages been established on the coast of the mainland. Before, for strategic reasons, they were either on small natural or man-made islands or inland.
17. Abbreviations used here are as in Table 2-1: BGU (Baegu), BLE (Baelelea), FTK (Fataleka), and TOB (To'abaita).
18. The notions of complexity/simplicity in languages are not well understood. I use the terms in a quantitative rather than a qualitative sense; that is, an aspect of one variety is less complex than that of another if it has fewer components and fewer rules, or if it is more consistent. It is not necessarily easier to process psychologically.

REFERENCES

- ANDERSEN, Roger W.
 1982 Determining the linguistic attributes of language attrition. In Lambert and Freed, eds 1982:83-118.
- ANGLICAN CHURCH OF FIJI
 1924- *The Church Gazette*. Suva (published prior to 1924).
- BAMGBOSE, Ayọ
 1966 *A grammar of Yoruba*. West African Monograph Series No.5. London: Cambridge University Press.
- BLANC, Haim
 1968 The Israeli Koine as an emergent national standard. In Joshua Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson and Jyotirindra Das Gupta, eds *Language problems of developing nations*, 237-251. New York: John Wiley.
- CORRIS, Peter
 1973 *Passage, port and plantation: history of Solomon Islands labour migration 1870-1914*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- DILLARD, J.L.
 1972 *Black English: its history and usage in the United States*. New York: Random House.
- DOMINGUE, Nicole
 1981 Internal change in a transplanted language. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 4/2:151-159.
- DORIAN, Nancy C.
 1973 Grammatical change in a dying language. *Language* 49/2:413-438.
 1981 *Language death: the life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
 1982 Language loss and maintenance in language contact situations. In Lambert and Freed, eds 1982:44-59.
 1983 Natural second language acquisition from the perspective of the study of language death. In Roger W. Andersen, ed. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, 158-167. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- FERGUSON, Charles A.
 1959 The Arabic Koine. *Language* 35/4:616-630.
 1981 Foreigner talk as the name of a simplified register. *International journal of the sociology of language* 28:9-18.
- FIJI: Legislative Council
 1886 Report on Polynesian Immigration for 1884. Fiji Legislative Council Paper no.23 of 1886.
- FORBES, Litton
 1875 *Two years in Fiji*. London: Longmans, Green.

FOX, Charles E.

1974 *Lau dictionary, with English index.* PL, C-25.

GAMBHIR, Surendra Kumar

1981 *The East India speech community in Guyana: a sociolinguistic study with special reference to koine formation.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

G

n.d. *General Register of Polynesian Labourers Introduced to Fiji (three volumes).* National Archives of Fiji.

Geraghty, Paul

1976 *Fijian prepositions.* *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 85/4:507-520.

1983 *The history of the Fijian languages.* *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication* 19. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

GORDON-CUMMING, C.F.

1882 *At home in Fiji.* New York: A.C. Armstrong.

HALLER, Hermann W.

1981 *Between Standard Italian and creole: an interim report.* *Word* 32/3: 181-192.

HARTMANN, R.R.I.C. and F.C. STORK

1973 *Dictionary of language and linguistics.* London: Applied Science Publishers.

HILL, Jane H.

1978 *Language death, language contact, and language evolution.* In William C. McCormack and Stephen A. Wurm, eds *Approaches to language: anthropological issues*, 45-78. The Hague: Mouton.

IVENS, Walter G.

1921 *Grammar and vocabulary of the Lau language, Solomon Islands.* Washington: Carnegie Institution.

1929 *A grammar of the Lau language, northeast coast of Big Mala, Solomon Islands.* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 5: 323-343.

1930 *The island builders of the Pacific.* London: Seeley, Service.

KEESING, Roger M. and Jonathan FIFI'I

1969 *Kwaio word tabooing in its cultural context.* *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 78/2:154-177.

KUVA, Aduru

[1974] *The Solomons community in Fiji.* Suva: South Pacific Social Sciences Association.

LAMBERT, Richard D. and Barbara F. FREED, eds

1982 *The loss of language skills.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

LICHTENBERK, Frantisek

- 1984 *To'aba'ita language of Malaita, Solomon Islands. Working papers in anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, Maori studies no.65.*
Auckland: University of Auckland.

MOAG, Rodney F.

- 1979 The linguistic adaptations of the Fiji Indians. In Vijay Mishra, ed. *Rama's banishment*, 112-138. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

MOHAN, Peggy

- 1976 To coin a koine theory. Paper for the Conference on New Directions in Creole Studies, University of Guyana.
1978 Trinidad Bhojpuri: a morphological study. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter

- 1974 *Pidginization and simplification of language. PL, B-26.*
forth- Patterns of contact, mixture, creation and nativization: their
coming contributions to a general theory of language. In C.-J. Bailey and R. Harris, eds *Developmental mechanisms of language*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

MURDOCK, George Peter

- 1964 Genetic classification of the Austronesian languages: a key to Oceanic culture history. *Ethnology* 3:117-126.

NIDA, Eugene A. and Harold W. FEHDERAU

- 1970 Indigenous pidgins and koines. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 32/2:146-155.

PARNABY, Owen W.

- 1956 The regulation of indentured labour to Fiji. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 65/1:55-65.
1964 *Britain and the labour trade in the Southwest Pacific*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

PAWLEY, Andrew and Timoci SAYABA

- 1971 Fiji dialect divisions: eastern and western Fijian. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 80:405-448.

RABUKAWAQA, Josua

- 1968 Survey of settlements in the Suva district (interim report). National Archives of Fiji.

ROSS, Harold M.

- 1973 *Baegu: social and ecological organization in Malaita, Solomon Islands. Illinois Studies in Anthropology no.8.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

RUSSELL, T.

- 1950 The Fataleka of Malaita. *Oceania* 21/1:1-13.

SAMARIN, William J.

- 1971 Salient and substantive pidginization. In Dell Hymes, ed. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, 117-140. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SCARR, Deryck

- 1967 *Fragments of empire; a history of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- 1973 Recruits and recruiters: a portrait of the labour trade. In J.W. Davidson and Deryck Scarr, eds *Pacific island portraits*, 225-251. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

SCHÜTZ, Albert J.

- 1983 The Fijian language. (draft) University of Hawaii.

SIEGEL, Jeff

- 1975 Fiji Hindustani. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics* 7/3:127-144.
- 1982 Plantation Pidgin Fijian. *Oceanic Linguistics* 21/1-2:1-72.
- 1983 Koineization and the development of Fiji Hindustani. MS. Australian National University.
- 1985a Plantation languages in Fiji. Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.
- 1985b Origins of Pacific Islanders in Fiji. *Journal of Pacific History* 20:32-42.
- 1985c Koines and koineization. *Language in Society* 14/3.

SIMONS, Gary F.

- 1980 Morphological reconstruction and change in the pronoun systems of the Malaitan languages. Paper presented at the 3rd New Zealand Linguistics Conference, Auckland.
- 1982 Word taboo and comparative Austronesian linguistics. In Amran Halim, Lois Carrington, and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.3: *Accent on variety*. PL, C-76:157-226.

THOMSON, George

- 1960 *The Greek language*. Cambridge: W. Heffer.

TRYON, D.T.

- 1976 *New Hebrides languages: an internal classification*. PL, C-50.

TRYON, D.T. and B.D. HACKMAN

- 1983 *Solomon Islands languages: an internal classification*. PL, C-72.

WURM, Stephen A. and Shirô HATTORI

- 1981 *Linguistic atlas of the Pacific area, part 1: New Guinea area, Oceania, Australia*. Canberra: The Australian Academy of the Humanities in collaboration with the Japan Academy; PL, C-66.

