LANGUAGE CHANGE AND CULTURE CHANGE AMONG FIJI INDIANS

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1. INTRODUCTION

It is axiomatic that languages, like the cultures they are associated with, are always changing. The changes that occur can be roughly placed into two categories: internally motivated (change from within) and externally motivated (change resulting from outside influences).

Language change often goes hand in hand with culture change, and is also both internally motivated ('normal change' as studied in diachronic linguistics) and externally motivated (resulting from contact with other languages). Language change said to result from culture change is mostly studied in relation to the lexicon, but may also be apparent in grammar.

Although it is clear that rapid cultural change and linguistic change often co-occur, it is difficult to show that one is the cause of the other, as some have suggested. This is because some of the phenomena that bring about culture change, such as technological advances, migration and subjugation, are also responsible for new phases of language contact, which itself is a great initiator of linguistic change.

In this paper I examine some of the changes that took place in the culture and language of East Indians when they were transplanted to the faraway Fiji Islands. Then I discuss the possible relationships between these cultural and linguistic changes.

2. BACKGROUND

From 1879 to 1916 more than 60,000 indentured labourers from India were brought to Fiji by the British colonial government, mainly to work on the country's cotton, copra and sugarcane plantations. About 60% of them stayed on after their indenture and today Fiji Indians make up nearly half of the country's population of approximately 700,000.

The geographic origins and social characteristics of the approximately 45,000 recruits who were shipped out of the Calcutta depot have been described in detail by Lal (1980, 1983). According to his computer analysis of information given on the emigration passes, 46.5% were from the north-west Provinces, 29% from Oudh (these two areas were later combined to form the United Provinces, the modern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh), 10.5% from Bihar and 6.2% from the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh). The remaining 7.8% came from other areas of India and from neighbouring countries, such as Nepal. The districts which provided the largest numbers of Calcutta emigrants were Basti (supplying

14.1%), Gonda (7.9%) and Faizabad (5.1%). These and all the other districts providing 2% or more of the Calcutta emigrants are in present-day Uttar Pradesh, with the exception of Shahabad, which is in Bihar.

With regard to social background, religion and the hierarchical caste system were of course the most important features of North Indian culture. Mayer (1963:15) says of the labourers:

> Some 85% of emigrants were Hindus and members of castes. These were populations separated by the prohibition of intermarriage; they were also ranked in a complex hierarchy based on rules against eating together and sometimes even touching each other, as well as on exclusive hereditary occupations and different customs within the over-all Hindu way of life.

According to Lal (1983:68), "those who came to Fiji formed a fair cross section of rural Indian population". He goes on to say (p.70):

> Almost all the castes and sub-castes found in the United Provinces were represented in the indentured population migrating to Fiji...It is clear that for most castes, with the exception of Brahmans, there is a broad correlation between their numerical strength in the United Provinces and their contribution to the emigrating indentured population.

But Lal also notes (p.74), that the number of high caste Hindu migrants was much larger than has been previously thought.

Using figures for district of origin from Lal (1980) and from Grierson's massive *Linguistic Survey of India* (1903-27), I worked out a linguistic profile of the North Indian labourers (Siegel 1987:140-44). Approximately 94% were from the Hindi-speaking areas of India. (See Table 1 below). The regional dialects which had the most speakers were Avadhi (34.5%) and Bhojpuri (33.4%), both spoken in the eastern part of the Hindi dialect chain. With the percentages for other closely related dialects added, 76.5% of the Calcutta immigrants spoke eastern dialects of Hindi. The other 17.6% spoke dialects of Western Hindi or Rajasthani. Figures are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1: LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS OF CALCUTTA EMIGRANTS

language/dialect	estimated number	percentage
Bhojpuri:		
Western Bhojpuri	4,019	8.8
Sarwaria	7,341	16.2
Other Bhojpuri	3,816	8.4
TOTAL: BHOJPURI	15,176	33.4
Maithili	977	2.2
Magahi	1,715	3.8
TOTAL: BIHARI	17,868	39.3
Avadhi	14,949	32.9
Bagheli	743	1.6
Chattisgarhi	1,179	2.6
TOTAL: EASTERN HINDI	16,871	37.1
Kanauji	1,708	3.8
Braj	2,451	5.4
Bundeli	1,428	3.1
Bangaru	457	1.0
Khariboli	668	1.5
(Delhi)	191	0.4
TOTAL: WESTERN HINDI	6,903	15.2
TOTAL: RAJASTHANI	1,111	2.4
TOTAL: OTHER LANGUAGE AREAS	1,546	3.4
Overseas colonies or unknown	1,140	2.5
TOTAL	45,439	

In addition to the locally spoken Hindi dialects, another form of the language, usually called 'Hindustani', was used as a lingua franca. Based on the Khariboli dialect spoken in several districts of the United Provinces north-east of Delhi, it spread throughout the subcontinent as the language of wider communication of the Moghul Empire (Grierson 1916:44). During the indenture era, this Hindustani was spoken in urban centres not only in the 'Hindi' area of northern India but also outside in cities such as Bombay and Calcutta. Since a large proportion of the labourers were recruited in urban centres outside their own dialect areas (Lal 1983:65-67) it seems likely that they had some knowledge of this lingua franca.

A literary form of Hindustani, known as Urdu, became the official language of local administration under British rule. But because it contains a large number of words of Persian and Arabic origin and is written with the Perso-Arabic script, Urdu was associated with Islam and therefore not accepted by Hindus. Eventually another literary form was created, still based on spoken Hindustani, but using the Devanagari script and replacing Perso-Arabic loan words with Sanskrit ones. This literary language became known as

Hindi. Thus, Standard Hindi and Urdu are based on the same informal spoken language and differ only in written and formal styles (see Gumperz & Naim 1960).

At the opposite end of the scale there is what Khubchandani (1983:116) calls 'lowbrow' casual Hindustani: "It is evaluated as the substandard speech of uneducated urban speakers and is labelled 'Bazaar Hindustani'." The Hindustani lingua franca, then, is a continuum with Bazaar Hindustani (BH) at the basilectal end and the formal varieties, either Standard Hindi (SH) or Urdu, at the acrolectal end (see Polomé 1980:187). Since the great majority of the indentured labourers were uneducated, it is likely that the Hindustani they knew was at the basilectal end of the continuum.

In summary, the varieties of Hindi spoken by the northern Indian migrants to Fiji included many different geographical dialects as well as basilectal forms of the Hindustani lingua franca.

3. CULTURAL CHANGE

Cultural change among the indentured labourers began in the emigration depots in India and was intensified on the way to Fiji when people of different geographical areas, religions and castes found themselves literally in the same boat. In these crowded quarters, commensal restrictions, one of the pillars of the caste system, could not be maintained. Later, on the plantations where nearly all Indians were agricultural labourers, another pillar of the system, occupational distinctions, also could no longer exist.

As described by Gillion (1962:123): "The breaking down of caste distinctions was not in all cases sudden and it was by no means complete, but the change was nevertheless remarkable". Jayawardena (1971) describes in detail what he calls the 'disintegration' of the caste system, but Lal (1983) prefers to call it a process of 'fragmentation'. Nevertheless, it was clear that a loss of certain social customs and a levelling of traditional social differences were the most important changes that took place in the Indian culture in Fiji.

At the same time, however, as Lal (1983:33-35) points out, "a process of reconstruction was taking place in which new ideas, new values and new associations were being formed". Mayer (1961:5) puts it this way: "In some ways the social conditions of the indenture period can be seen as a 'breakdown' of those of the parent society. But after indenture the immigrants did not rebuild their old society. Instead, they were forced to build an entirely new one – the Fiji Indian – which was a response to conditions in Fiji, even though many of its ways were still Indian."

4. LINGUISTIC CHANGE

The fragmentation and reconstitution in Fiji Indian society was not only cultural but also linguistic. As there was a loss of certain social customs and a levelling of traditional social differences, there was a loss of certain lexical items and grammatical constructions and a levelling of linguistic differences in the Hindi spoken by the labourers. As a new society was being built, a new language was being developed – Fiji Hindi (sometimes called Fiji Hindustani) – unique to Fiji but similar in some ways to varieties of Hindi spoken in India (Siegel 1975; Moag 1977).

4.1 FRAGMENTATION AND LOSS

4.1.1 LEXICON

As would be expected, many of the lexical items referring to the intricacies of the caste system disappeared as the system itself broke down. Lal (1983:69) lists the names of 133 Hindu castes and sub-castes, which were given on the emigration passes of the original indentured labourers. A study done twenty-five years ago (Schwartz 1967) showed that only thirty-two such names remained in Fiji.

Also, many lexical items found in the Bihari and Eastern Hindi dialect areas of India for different aspects of material culture have been lost in Fiji, some suddenly and some gradually over the years. Similar lexical loss has been described by Mesthrie (1988) among the descendants of Indian indentured labourers in South Africa. In 1990-91 I conducted a small survey to see whether forty items selected from those discussed by Mesthrie were still used in Fiji, and if not, whether they were known at all. Fifty people, ranging in age from 15 to 101 and from both rural and urban areas, were asked orally if they recognised each of the words, and their responses for each were placed in one of six categories:

1. never heard the word
2. heard the word, but meaning unknown
3. heard the word, but with a different meaning
4. knows the word and meaning, but never uses it (used only by old people)
5. uses a similar word with the same meaning
6. knows and uses the word with the same meaning

The full list of words is given in the survey form in Appendix 1. Responses were tallied (N = number) for four age-groups: 60-101 (N=13), 40-59 (N=12), 30-39 (N=11) and 15-29 (N=14).

Some of the specific items still remain in Fiji and the words for them are still widely used by all age-groups:

tāwā	iron plate for cooking *roti*
cimṭā	tongs for arranging firewood
lāhgā	underskirt (female's)
dhotī	loincloth (male's)
jāghiyā	tight fitting shorts (now used for men's underwear)

Some terms, however, were not familiar to any of the interviewees and may indicate that the items did not survive in Fiji:

cilaun	sieve for catching fish (only nets are used)
karnā	vessel for boiling milk
jālā	water jar
parāī	special saucer for covering vessels

Other lexical items may have survived for a time, as mostly informants over 60 use or remember the terms:

ãgī	cloth-bottomed sieve for sifting flour
cakrī	small grinder for *dahl*
patilā	earthen cooking vessel

In some cases there seems to have been a loss of specific terms, with a generic term now generally being used or one formerly specific term being adopted as a generic term:

kantor	small box	(*dibbā* or *bākas* used)
sandūkh	container	
jhulā	blouse	(*kurtī* used)
colī	short blouse	
curidār	tight pants	(*paijāmā* used)
mohridar	pants loose at ankles	
hāḍā	large pot for boiling rice	
taslā	round vessel for boiling rice	(*hāḍī* used, formerly 'a small cooking pot')
dekcā	cooking pot used at weddings	

Except for *kantor* and *jhulā*, these terms were recognised by a few in each age-group and used by some over 60.

4.1.2 GRAMMAR

With regard to grammatical loss, usually known as 'reduction', we will look at two main areas: verb morphology and the pronoun system.

VERB MORPHOLOGY:

The Indian dialects of Hindi and acrolectal Hindustani generally have a complex system of verbal suffixes which, in addition to marking aspect (imperfective or perfective) or modality (irrealis or realis), indicate person, number and gender. Fiji Hindi (FH), in contrast, has a much reduced system: first and second forms are the same, there is no gender distinction, and number distinction is found only in third person perfective. The FH verbal suffixes are shown in Table 2 below:[1]

TABLE 2: FIJI HINDI VERBAL SUFFIXES

	imperfective	perfective	irrealis (definite future)	(indefinite future)
1SG, 1PL	*-tā, -at*	*-ā*	*-egā*	*-ī*
2SG, 2PL	*-tā, -at*	*-ā*	*-egā*	*-ī*
3SG	*-e*	*-is*	*-ī*	*-ī*
3PL	*-e*	*-in*	*-ī*	*-ī*

The reduction that occurred in FH can be seen in Tables 3 to 5 which compare the FH verbal suffixes with those in the main Hindi dialects brought to Fiji (Bhojpuri, Avadhi and Braj), and with those in BH, showing even greater morphological simplicity. Information on these dialects is from Grierson (1903, 1904, 1916), Tiwari (1960) and Saksena (1971). Information on BH is from Chatterji (1972).

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[1] Abbreviations used are as follows: ACC = accusative; FUT = definite future; IMPF = imperfective; INF = infinitive; NEG = negative; NOM = nominative; OBL = oblique; PERF = perfective; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; SG = singular; 1,2,3 = first, second, third person.

TABLE 3: IMPERFECTIVE SUFFIXES

		Bhojpuri	Avadhi	Braj	BH	SH	FH
1SG	M	õ	at, it, tā	at(u)	tā	tā	tā, at
	F					tī	
1PL	M	ī	at, it, tā	at(u)	tā	te	tā, at
	F	yũ				tī	
2SG	M	e, as(i)	at, it, tā	at(u)	tā	tā	tā, at
	F	is				tī	
2PL	M	a(h)	at, it, tā	at(u)	tā	te	tā, at
	F	ū				tī	
3SG	M	e, a, o, as	at, it, tā	at(u)	tā	tā	e, at
	F					tī	
3PL	M	an(i)	at, it, tā	at(u)	tā	te	e, at
	F	in				tī	

TABLE 4: PERFECTIVE SUFFIXES (INTRANSITIVE)

		Bhojpuri	Avadhi	Braj	BH	FH
1SG	M	lõ lī	eũ, ā	(y)ay, o	ā	ā
	F		iũ			
1PL	M	lī, lĩ	ā, an, en	e	ā	ā
	F	lyu				
2SG	M	le, lâ, las	es, is, au	(y)au, o	ā	ā
	F	lī, lis	is(i)			
2PL	M	lâ(h)	eu, ū, eo	e	ā	ā
	F	lū	ĩ			
3SG	M	las, le(s)	is, es, ai	(y)au, o	ā, is	is, ā
	F	lī	ī, isi			
3PL	M	lan(i)	in, en, aĩ	e	ā, in	in, ā
	F	lin	ĩ, ini			

TABLE 5: DEFINITE FUTURE SUFFIXES

		Bhojpuri	Avadhi	Braj	BH	FH
1SG	M	*bõ, ab*	*bu, ab*	*ihaũ, ū̃gau*	*egā*	*egā*
	F			*ū̃gī*		
1PL	M	*ab, bī, iha*	*ab*	*ihaī, aīgai*	*egā, ẽge*	*egā*
	F	*ib, ibī*		*aīgī*		
2SG	M	*bē, ba*	*be, ihai*	*(a)ihai, (a)igau*	*egā*	*egā*
	F	*bī, bis*		*igī*		
2PL	M	*bâ(h)*	*bo, bau*	*(a)ihau, augai*	*egā, ẽge*	*egā*
	F	*bū*		*augī*		
3SG	M	*ī*	*ī, ihai, e*	*(a)ihau, agau*	*egā*	*ī*
	F			*agī*		
3PL	M	*ihe, ihen*	*ihaī, aī*	*(a)ihaī, aīgai*	*egā, ẽge*	*ī*
	F			*aīgī*		

PRONOUNS:

The FH pronoun system is shown in Table 6. It is also less complex than the pronoun systems of most Hindi dialects in that it does not have separate nominal and oblique forms. Furthermore, it has only familiar and polite second person pronouns rather than the three sets (intimate, familiar and polite) found in most other varieties of Hindi (except Bazaar Hindustani). This can be seen in Tables 7-9. It should be noted, however, that the polite second person pronoun *āp* has only restricted usage in FH, for example when speaking to a teacher or government official. It is not used by many uneducated speakers and is not generally used between strangers.

TABLE 6: FIJI HINDI PRONOUNS

		singular	plural
1	NOM	*ham*	*hamlog*
	POSS	*hamār*	*hamlogke*
2 familiar	NOM	*tum*	*tumlogke*
	POSS	*tumār*	*tumlog*
2 polite	NOM	*āp*	*āplog*
	POSS	*āpke*	*āplogke*
3 proximate	NOM	*ī*	*īlog*
	POSS	*iske*	*īlogke*
3 remote	NOM	*ū*	*ūlog*
	POSS	*uske*	*ūlogke*

TABLE 7: FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS

	Bhojpuri	Avadhi	Braj	BH	FH
1SG					
NOM	*mē, ham*	*maĩ*	*maĩ, ho*	*ham*	*ham*
OBL	*mohi, mo, hamrā*	*mo*	*mo, muj*	*ham*	*ham*
POSS	*mor, more, hamār, hamre*	*mor*	*merau*	*hamārā, hamār, mor*	*hamār*
1PL					
NOM	*hamni, haman, ham log(an), ham sab*	*ham*	*ham*	*ham log*	*hamlog*
OBL	[= NOM]	*ham, hamre*	*ham, hamaū*	*ham log (ō)*	*hamlog*
POSS	[NOM+*ke*]	*hamār*	*hamārau*	[OBL+*kā*]	*hamlogke*

TABLE 8: SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

	Bhojpuri	Avadhi	Braj	BH	FH
2SG INTIMATE OR CONTEMPTUOUS					
NOM	*tē, tū*	*taĩ, tū*	*tū, tai*	--	--
OBL	*tohi, to*	*to*	*to, tuj*	--	--
POSS	*tor, tore*	*tor, tuhar*	*terau*	--	--
2SG FAMILIAR					
NOM	*tũ*	*tum, tũ*	*tum*	*tum*	*tum*
OBL	*tohrā*	*tum, tumre*	*tum, tumhaū*	*tum*	*tum*
POSS	*tohār, tohre (ke)*	*tohār, tuhār*	*tumhārau, tihārau*	*tum(h)ārā, tor, tohār*	*tumār*
2PL					
NOM	*tohni, tūnhan, tũ log(an)*	*tum, tũ*	*tum*	*tum log*	*tumlog*
OBL	[= NOM]	*tum, tumre*	*tum, tumhaū*	*tum log(ō)*	*tumlog*
POSS	[NOM+*ke*]	*tohār, tuhār*	*tumhārau, tihārau*	[OBL+*kā*]	*tumlogke*
2 POLITE					
NOM	*rauwa, raurā, apne*	*āp(u)*	*āp*	*āp*	*āp*
OBL	[= NOM]	*āp(u)*	*āp*	*āp*	*āp*
POSS	*rāur, raure, apan*	*apkar*	*āp kau, āp ke, āp kī*	*āp kā*	*āpke*

TABLE 9: THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS

	Bhojpuri	Avadhi	Braj	BH	FH
3SG PROXIMATE					
NOM	*ī*	*ī*	*yah*	*ī, ie*	*ī*
OBL	*e*	*e, eh(i)*	*yā*	*is*	*is*
POSS	*ekar*	*ekar*	*yākau*	*iskā, ekar*	*iske*
3SG REMOTE					
NOM	*ū*	*ū*	*wah, wo*	*ū, uo*	*ū*
OBL	*o*	*o, oh(i)*	*wā*	*us*	*us*
POSS	*okar*	*okar*	*wākau*	*uskā, okar*	*uske*
3PL PROXIMATE					
NOM	*inhan,* *ī log*	*in*	*ye*	*ī log,* *ī sab*	*īlog*
OBL	[= NOM]	*in*	*in, inhaũ*	*in, in log*	*īlog*
POSS	[NOM+*ke*] *inkar*	*inkar*	*inkau*	*inkā,* *in log kā*	*īlogke*
3PL REMOTE					
NOM	*unhan,* *ū log*	*un*	*we*	*ū, ū log* *ū sab*	*ūlog*
OBL	[= NOM]	*un*	*un, unhaũ,* *win(i)*	*un, un log*	*ūlog*
POSS	[NOM+*ke*], *unkar*	*unkar*	*winikau*	*unkā,* *un log kā*	*ūlogke*

4.1.3 PIDGIN HINDUSTANI

Even greater lexical and grammatical fragmentation occurred in the development of Pidgin Hindustani in Fiji (Siegel 1990). The earliest form of this pidginised variety emerged as a result of contact between European overseers and northern Indian labourers on the large sugarcane plantations owned by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR). It was company policy that the European (mostly Australian) employees should speak 'Hindustani' to the labourers, but many of them learned it only imperfectly and spoke a pidginised form.

However, in 1903 another new phase of contact began. South Indian indentured labourers began arriving from the port of Madras. From that year until the end of indenture in 1916 more than 42% of the labourers were South Indians, the vast majority of whom did not speak any form of Hindi (Siegel 1987:134). It was the policy of the CSR to have interpreters on the plantations so that South Indian languages, such as Tamil and Telugu, could be used. But in reality, overseers expected the South Indians to pick up the plantation Hindustani quickly on their arrival and they too spoke a pidginised form (Siegel 1987:162). When these pidginised forms of Hindustani were used as a contact language among North Indians, Europeans, and South Indians (and also Fijians and other Pacific Islanders) on the plantations, a stable Pidgin Hindustani developed.

One of the salient linguistic features of this pidgin was drastic reduction of verb morphology to only one form, the imperative suffix -*o*. This became fused to the stem as a general verb ending used for all persons and tenses.

4.2 RECONSTITUTION: DIALECT CONTACT

We have just seen that in the linguistic fragmentation that occurred in Fiji, a multitude of linguistic alternatives were lost from among the Hindi dialects spoken by the indentured Indian labourers. However, as mentioned above, a new variety, Fiji Hindi, was constructed out of the rubble, using building blocks from many different sources. These sources became available as a result of the new patterns of linguistic contact established in Fiji. Firstly there was *dialect contact* between the various forms of Hindi which were brought from India. Secondly, there was *language contact* between Hindi and Fijian, the indigenous language of Fiji, and English, the colonial language. As a result, Fiji Hindi shows a mixture of features from these sources, especially in the lexicon and in some grammatical areas that we have been looking at, such as verb morphology and pronouns. First we will look at the elements of Fiji Hindi from a mixture of Indian sources and then at those from Fijian and English.

4.2.1 LEXICON

A large number of lexical items in FH are chracteristic of both Eastern Hindi and Bihari dialects. Some examples are:

bār	hair	*ā̃khī*	eye
kerā	banana	*agor-*	wait
machrī	fish	*bīg-*	throw
khassī	goat	*hal-*	go inside
goṛ	leg, foot	*sut-*	sleep
ghām	sunlight	*gardā*	dust
bistuiyā	lizard	*cauwā*	cattle
maṭṭī	soil	*kamtī*	less

Other lexical items belong to the Hindustani lingua franca or to some Western Hindi dialects, such as Khariboli, from which it originated. Some examples are:

aurat	woman	*ciṛiyā*	bird
acchā	good	*peṛ*	tree
kuttā	dog	*kharid-*	buy
ādmī	man	*choṭā*	small

These FH lexical items are found in the entire range of the Hindustani continuum, but others are found mainly at the basilectal end, and are more typical of Bazaar Hindustani, for example:

mā̃g-	want
khalās	finished
nagij	near
muluk	place of origin
is/us māfīk	like this/that

Many of the words of Hindi/Hindustani origin have shifted meaning in FH. Some examples are:

FH	FH meaning	original meaning
julūm	beautiful, fantastic	tyranny, difficulty
ek dam	completely	suddenly, quickly
fokaṭiyā	useless	bankrupt
ṭītā	spicy hot	bitter
kamānī	small spear (for prawns)	wire, spring
pallā	door	shutter

4.2.2 GRAMMAR

VERB MORPHOLOGY:

Tables 3-5 above also show that the FH verbal suffixes have several origins. The source of the first and second person imperfective suffixes seems to be Avadhi or the Hindustani continuum. But the alternative -*at* suffix (usually used in periphrastic past tense constructions) is also sometimes found in Braj. Another variation found in FH can also be attributed to Avadhi – the suffix -*it*, now going out of use and considered rustic. The source of third person imperfective suffix -*e*, however, clearly appears to be Bhojpuri.

The third person perfective suffixes (for transitive verbs), -*is* for the singular and -*in* for the plural, again seem to be derived from Avadhi. However, these also may have been reinforced by BH. The first and second person perfective suffix -*ā* is more likely attributable to Hindustani, especially in the second person where it is not found in the regional dialects.

With regard to the FH definite future suffixes, the third person -*ī* is found in both Avadhi and Bhojpuri. In contrast, the first and second person -*egā* occurs only in BH, and therefore it appears to to be the most likely source.

PRONOUNS:

The FH pronoun system can also be attributed to a combination of different dialects, as shown in Tables 7-9. The first person singular *ham* and the possessive *hamār* are general features of the Bihari area (Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili). The second person singular familiar *tum* and formal *āp* are found in Eastern Hindi and in some Western Hindi dialects. The third person singular proximate *ī* and remote *ū* are characteristic of both the Bihari and Eastern Hindi areas. The FH periphrastic plural pronouns (singular pronoun plus *log* 'people') are characteristic of Magahi, but are also found in some subdialects of Bhojpuri as well as in SH. Again, however, some of these and other features may have come into FH via the Hindustani lingua franca. For example, the second person familiar possessive *tumār* is not found in any dialect, and is most likely derived from BH *tumārā*.

4.3 RECONSTITUTION: LANGUAGE CONTACT

Many of the changes that took place in Indian culture in Fiji were the result of contact with new cultures and the new environment. This is reflected linguistically mainly in the many words in FH originating from the languages of the cultures with which the labourers came in contact: Fijian and English. But it is also evident in certain areas of grammar.

4.3.1 LEXICON

About one third of the Indian immigrants worked on small European-owned plantations with Fijian and other Pacific Islands labourers. Here the plantation language was Fijian or Pidgin Fijian (Siegel 1982). From this contact, many Fijian words for cultural and environmental concepts or unfamiliar flora and fauna came into FH. It must be remembered that nearly all the early immigrants came from temperate inland areas of India, so much was unfamiliar in tropical island Fiji. As a result, many FH words for marine life and local plants, as well as for other aspects of Fijian culture, are derived from the Fijian language. (A complete list is given in Siegel 1987:272-277.) Some examples are:

kāivītī	Fijian
moto	spear
ūbī	yam
dālo	taro
koro	Fijian village
lokā	waves
meke	Fijian dance
sūlū	sarong
besī	hardwood tree
dākuā	kauri tree
wālū	kingfish or mackerel
kuītā	octopus, squid

Fijian loan words were also used as phrasal verbs with proverb *kar-* 'do':

kerekerekar-	ask for the possession of another
lobo kar-	bake in a pit oven
sevūsevū kar-	make a customary presentation of kava

Perhaps the custom of kava drinking was adopted from the Fijians at this time. This is an important aspect of the new 'Fiji Indian' culture. (See, for example, Mayer 1961:70). Its importance is reflected in the many associated words from Fijian now found in FH:

nengonā	kava (< Fijian *na yaqona*)
bilo	coconut shell bowl for drinking kava
kānikāni	scales and roughness of skin caused by excessive kava drinking
kasou	very drunk
kosā	dregs of kava
lewenā	kava stem
wākā	kava root
tākī	command to serve *yaqona*

A much larger proportion of the FH lexicon, however, comes from English. The majority of the Indian labourers worked on the larger sugarcane plantations run by the CSR. Although the language used to run these plantations was Hindustani or Pidgin Hindustani, many English words having to do with previously unfamiliar aspects of plantation life came into FH during the indenture period. Some of these were:

astabal	stable
breik	brake
esṭeṭ	estate
geŋ	work gang

girmiṭ	indenture (< 'agreement')
isṭimā	steamer (ship)
kicin	kitchen
kantāp	sugarcane flower (< 'cane top')
wil	legal document (< 'will')
māriṭ	civil marriage
kulubāl	crowbar
kulambar	overseer (< 'call number')
lāin	barracks (< 'lines')
masīn	machine
mil	mill
pāiamān	fireman (on locomotive)
sabal	shovel
sukhlāi	replacing dead plants with new (< 'supply')

Other English words for new material items also came into FH early in its development (see Siegel 1987:278-279):

kek	cake	*brā*	bra
lolī	lolly	*sīgleṭ*	singlet
biskiṭ	biscuit	*nepkin*	napkin (diaper)
breḍ	bread	*ṭaul*	towel
jem	jam	*keṭin*	curtin
gilās	drinking glass	*ges*	gas
kap	tea cup	*lorī*	truck
sosā	saucer	*glu*	glue
pleṭ	plate	*rīf*	reef
keṭlī	kettle	*koral*	coral
ṭin	tin (can)	*ṭoc*	torch (electric)
aiyan	clothes iron	*bāskil*	bicycle
baṭan	button	*mīṭiŋ*	meeting
būṭ	boot	*toileṭ*	toilet
farāk	dress (< 'frock')	*huṭel*	hotel (pub)

At the same time, some English words replaced existing Hindi words for what were most probably familiar items. The reason for this is unknown, unless the items found in Fiji were somehow different from those found in India. Some examples are:

FH	English origin	Hindi equivalent
āpul	apple	*seb*
boṭ	boat	*nāo*
buk	book	*pustak/kitāb*
gāḍen	garden	*bagīcā*
girās	grass	*ghās*
hāmā	hammer	*hathorī*
nīlā	nail	*khil*
pen	pen	*kalam*
pīnaṭ	peanut	*mũgphalī*
rūm	room	*kamrā*
ṭaun	town	*šahar*

noṭ	north	*uttar*
sāuṭ	south	*dakšin*
īsṭ	east	*purab*
wesṭ	west	*pašcim*

As with Fijian loan words, English verbs came into FH as phrasal verbs with the pro-verb *kar-* 'do':

boil kar-	boil
cek kar-	check
ṭesṭ kar-	taste
ripoṭ kar-	sign
sāin kar-	sign
mis kar-	miss

The Hindi equivalents of the above English loan words are seldom, if ever, heard in everyday FH. The same is true of the loan words in the following categories:

(a) those showing semantic shift, for example:

FH	English origin	FH meaning
geṭ	gate	paddock
moṭar	motor	car
sirias	serious	very ill

(b) those showing semantic restriction, for example:

FH	English origin	FH meaning
grāūḍ	ground	playground
ṭīcā	teacher	female teacher
māsṭā	master	male teacher

(c) those showing semantic expansion, for example:

FH	English origin	FH meaning
buk	book	book, magazine, pamphlet
frẽḍ	friend	friend, sexual partner (if opposite sex)
pāip	pipe	pipe, tap
mācis	matches	matches, cigarette lighter

In addition, the domains of post-indenture technology, such as automobiles, radios and television, and more recently computers and videos, contain nearly all words of English origin without Hindi equivalents.

However, there is another category of English loan words in FH for which there are commonly heard synonyms of Hindi origin. Some of these came into FH during the indenture era. Examples are:

English loan	Hindi synonym	meaning
gormenṭ	*sarkar*	government
bul	*bail*	bull
ekar	*bighā*	acre
fulāwā	*hal/har*	plough

lef	*bāyã*	left
rāit	*dāyã*	right
ṭāim	*samay/bār*	time

Other English loan words which also have not replaced their FH synonyms have come into FH more recently in another phase of cultural change – widespread education in English which has occurred since World War II (Siegel 1989). They are found more often in urban varieties of FH and partially result from the increase in the use of English, rather than Pidgin Fijian or Pidgin Hindustani, as the lingua franca among different ethnic groups in Fiji.

Loan word	English origin	Fiji Hindi synonym
īsī	easy	*sahaj*
rāiṭ	correct	*ṭhīk*
smāṭ	smart	*hoshiyār*
reḍī	ready	*taiyār*
lak	luck	*takdīr*
fanī	funny	*mazākiyā*
ovā	over, finished	*khalās*
dẽjā	danger(ous)	*khatārnāk*
leizī	lazy	*sūstī*
cīp	cheap	*sastā*
dīp	deep	*gaharā*
āilan	island	*dīp*
envelop	envelope	*lifāfā*
femas	famous	*nāmī*
leṭā	letter	*ciṭṭhī*
baibī	baby	*beccā*
bodī	body	*šarīr*
sāiz	size	*nāp*
sop	soap	*sābun*
ṭāyā	tire	*pahiyā*
vinigā	vinegar	*sirkā*
hevī	heavy	*gaṛhū*
leiṭ	late	*derī*
wāif	wife	*aurat* ('woman')

Two lexical domains where English loan words have been gradually replacing FH words of Hindi origin are numbers and colours. Hindi numbers over 12 are rarely heard and the following colour terms are in concurrent usage:

reḍ	red	*lāl*
blū	blue	*nīlā*
grīn	green	*hariyar*
yelo	yellow	*pīlā/pīyar*
wāiṭ	white	*ujjar*
blek	black	*kariyā*

Again, many of the recent English loan words have come into FH as phrasal verbs, used concurrently with their FH synonyms:

Loan word	English origin	Fiji Hindi synonym
pei kar-	pay	*paisā de-*
pul kar-	pull	*ghic-*
weiṭkar-	wait	*agor-*
ṭrāī kar-	try	*košis kar-*
yūz kar-	use	*prayog kar-*
bleim kar-	blame	*doš lagā-*
saspek kar-	suspect	*sādeh kar-*
cēj kar-	change	*badal-*
ges kar-	guess	*andāzlagā-*
fāinḍāuṭ kar-	find out	*pattālagā-*
promis kar-	promise	*wādā kar-*
fiks kar-	fix	*banā-*
demej kar-	damage	*nuksān kar-*
fos kar-	force	*majbūr kar-*
frāi kar-	fry	*bhūj-*
cīṭ kar-	cheat	*beīmānī kar-*
ṭic kar-	teach	*paṛhā-*
sṭāṭ kar-	start	*šurū kar-*
help kar-	help	*madad kar-*
kis kar-	kiss	*cūm-*
miks kar-	mix	*milā-*
lāik kar-	like	*acchālag-*
lav kar-	love	*pyār kar-*

One interesting phenomenon is that several English loan words have two forms – an older one from when the word was first borrowed, probably during the indenture era, and a newer one, closer to English in pronunciation. Some examples are:

older from	newer form	English origin
saṭ	*šeṭ*	shirt
ṭibil	*ṭeibal*	table
burūs	*braš*	brush
simiṭ	*sament*	cement
sakis (< 'circus')	*filam*	film, cinema

4.3.2 GRAMMAR

The new patterns of culture and language contact in Fiji also led to some linguistic changes in areas other than the lexicon. FH has some morphological and syntactic features not found in any variety of Hindi in India. The most likely origin of these constructions is the Pidgin Hindustani which arose on the plantations and is still spoken as a contact language between Fiji Indians, Fijians and Chinese. A morphological feature of FH most probably derived from Pidgin Hindustani is the *-o* infinitive verb ending used in a variety of constructions. Firstly, it is used as a suffix for gerunds, as in this example (from Pillai 1988):

(1) *Hamār   kām   jhurā   lakṛī   lā-o   kū̃ã   me se   pānī bhar-o.*
     my   work   dry   wood   bring-INF well in from water fill-INF
     My work's to bring firewood, get water from the well.

This suffix is also frequently used in the infinitive in clausal objects following certain verbs (sometimes called auxiliary verbs), namely: *mã̄g* 'want', *jān-* 'know', and *sak-* 'can, be able'. In such constructions, these verbs also end in *-o* as in the following example:

(2) *Nahī̃ mã̄g-o   sun-o   to   ham nahī batā-egā.*
     NEG   want-INF   hear-INF then 1SG NEG   tell-FUT
     If you don't want to listen, then I won't talk about it.

(3) *Tum āj   sak-o   ā-o?*   (Moag 1977:115)
     2SG today can-INF   come-INF
     Can you come today?

Furthermore, the *-o* suffix is sometimes used with these same verbs when the clausal object uses a different infinitive suffix:

(4) *Ājkal   kuch kām banā-e   mã̄g-o   to   paisā de-ke   paṛ-e.*
     nowadays some work make-INF want-INF then money give-IMPF have.to-
                                                                   IMPF

     Nowadays, if you want to get anything, it costs money.

Finally, the *-o* suffix is used with these verbs even if there is no clausal object, as in these examples from Siegel (1987:197):

(5) a. *Ham   naī   jān-o.*
        1SG   NEG   know-INF
        I don't know.

     b. *Tum sak-o?*
        2SG can-INF
        Can you do it?

     c. *Kauncī mã̄g-o?*
        what   want-INF
        What do you want?

As the *-o* suffix is not used in these ways in any variety of Hindi/Hindustani in India, it appears to be derived from the Pidgin Hindustani spoken in Fiji in which *-o* is the generalised ending for almost all verbs.

Some features of FH syntax as well are not found in any variety of Hindi/Hindustani in India. Firstly, in Indian dialects of Hindi, the grammatical object generally precedes the verb, but in FH it frequently follows the verb, especially if it is a clausal object. Examples are found throughout Pillai (1988) and three are reproduced here:

(6) *Ab aise   koi   sak-e   khetī   kar-e?*
     now this.way anyone can-IMPF   faring do-INF
     Can anyone be a farmer this way?

(7) *Ham mã̃g-ta   ekdam Kenaḍā cal   de.*
    1SG   want-IMPF   quickly Canada move give+INF
    I want to go straight to Canada.

(8) *Wakil bol-e   ki tume   ab cāh-ī   tribunal ke   pās*
    lawyer say-IMPF that 2SG+ACC now have to-FT tribunal POSS near
    apīl   kar-e.
    appeal do-INF
    The lawyer says that now you'll have to appeal to the tribunal.

This feature may be the result of the influence of either English or Pidgin Hindustani, both of which have this word order.

It is also a unique feature of FH that *sak-* can function as an independent verb as in examples (3) and (5a) above. The source of this feature also may be Pidgin Hindustani.

5. DISCUSSION

The relationship between the lexicon of a language and the culture of its speakers has always been recognised as being relatively straightforward. So we would expect certain lexical changes, such as extensive borrowing, to occur as a result of changes in culture. The lexicon of Fiji Hindi clearly reflects some of the changes that have occurred in Indian society in Fiji.

However, many linguists have also tried to show that certain grammatical changes are direct consequences of changes in society. For example, in a classic study, Brown and Gilman (1968) describe the change from the non-reciprocal to the reciprocal use of polite and familiar pronouns in several European languages during the last 100 years. They conclude (p.263) that non-reciprocal use is "associated with a relatively static society in which power is distributed by birthright and is not subject to much redistribution" and maintain that the change to more reciprocal use corresponded to an increased "social mobility and an equalitarian ideology". With regard to English Leith (1983:108) also notes that reciprocal pronouns are more likely to be used when "social relations become more fluid". He describes (p.109) how the reciprocal use of *you* and the eventual loss of *thou* began with the rise of the middle class in sixteenth century England:

> It has been suggested that this was motivated by an egalitarian ethic. More likely was it a reflex of middle class insecurity. In sixteenth-century urban society...social relations were not fixed...there was no means of knowing who was entitled to *you* and who to *thou*. The best solution was to stick to *you*, which would not offend.

With regard to FH, then, it might be tempting to say that the loss of the intimate or contemptuous second person pronoun and the general reciprocal use of the familiar *tum* may be the consequence of the breaking down of caste distinctions and the general social levelling that occurred in Fiji. However, I feel it would be inaccurate to claim such specific correlations between language change and culture change when more general linguistic processes can also account for the changes.

Firstly, before we can make any claims about the causes of grammatical change, we have to be sure that the changes are not internal ones which would have occurred anyway without

any outside interference. For example, Brown and Gilman (1968:265) note that the disappearance of *thou* may have been part of "a general trend in English toward simplified verbal inflection". Thus, a change may simply be a natural or 'normal' one as studied in diachronic linguistics.

Another point of view might be that the general trend towards simplified verbal inflection in English was not 'natural' but rather motivated by language contact between English and French. This brings me to the second point: that language contact is often the source of grammatical as well as lexical change. For example, Bavin (1989) describes the contact between Warlpiri and English in Australia as having led to the reduction of morphological complexity in Warlpiri as well as borrowing of lexical items from English. So, contact between Hindi and English in Fiji could have been responsible for the reduction in the FH pronoun system rather than changes within Indian society.

Pidginisation is, of course, the extreme result of language contact, and also leads to morphological reduction and lexical mixing. I have shown above how Pidgin Hindustani may have influenced some aspects of FH grammar and there is no reason to dismiss its influence in the pronoun system as well.

Koineisation is yet another linguistic process which was obviously involved in the development of FH (Siegel 1985, 1987; Trudgill 1986). In contrast to borrowing and pidginisation, both involving contact between different languages, koineisation involves contact between dialects of the same language and therefore leads to internally rather than externally motivated change. The process of koineisation includes not only dialect mixing and levelling but also simplification (here meaning reduction of forms and increased regularity). So the reduction of the FH pronoun system, for example, could also have been the result of dialect contact in Fiji rather than any specific cultrual change.

It is obvious, however, that various dialects can be in contact for long periods of time without koineisation occurring. What is necessary is some large-scale political, economic or demographic change in society which causes increased interaction among speakers of different dialects and decreased inclination to maintain linguistic boundaries. This may lead to the development of a 'koine' or compromise dialect. For example, the original Greek Koine (from which the terms koine and koineisation are derived) arose with the increased economic and social interaction between speakers of different Greek dialects that accompanied the spread of panhellenic culture (Thomson 1960:34). Also, Arabic koine developed with the spread of Islam (Ferguson 1959).

In addition to koineisation leading to the development of 'regional koines', it may also lead to 'immigrant koines' such as FH. Migration of speakers of different dialects to the same location also brings about increased interaction and, as described by Domingue (1981:150), "the need for unification among speakers of different dialects in a new environment".

To conclude, general large-scale political, economic or demographic changes in society, such as subjugation or mass migration, may lead to specific changes in culture and language. The co-occurrence of the linguistic and cultural changes, then, can be explained by a common catalyst rather than by any causal relationship between them.

APPENDIX

SURVEY

Name:_____ From: _____

Occupation: _____ Age: _____ Level of school finished: _____

1. never heard the word, doesn't know the meaning
2. heard the word, but doesn't know the meaning
3. heard the word, but with a different meaning (give the meaning)
4. heard the word, knows the meaning, but never uses the word (only old people say it)
5. uses a similar word with the same meaning (write the word)
6. knows and uses the word with the same meaning

ãgī	cloth-bottomed sieve for sifting flour		
chilaun	sieve for catching fish		
jãtā	hand-grinding mill for grain		
cakrī	small grinder for *dahl*		
pīṛhā	stool (chair with no back)		
maciyā	stool or table to keep pots on		
rātal	large scale (for weighing things)		
tarāju	small scale (for weighing things)		
lāṭhī	long stick		
ḍāḍā	short walking-stick		
suṭkun	thin stick for whipping		
thẽghunī	walking-stick used by lame people		
ḍibbā	small container		
sandūkh	container, box		
kantor	small box		
taslā	round vessel for boiling rice		
hāḍā	large pot for boiling rice		
dekcā	cooking pot used at weddings		
tāwā	iron plate for cooking *roti*		
kalchūl	large spoon for serving		
loṭā	brass globe-shaped drinking vessel		
cimṭā	tongs for arranging firewood		

sorāhī	pot for keeping water		
gagrī	vessel used for drawing water		
dīyā	small vessel used as lamp		
patilā	earthen cooking vessel		
karnā	vessel for boiling milk		
jālā	water vessel		
parāī	saucer for covering other vessels		
pagṛī	turban		
dhotī	loincloth		
lāgoṭī	small loincloth for boys		
curidār	tight pants		
mohridār	pants loose at the ankles		
jāghiyā	tight-fitting shorts		
lāhgā	underskirt		
oṛhnī	veil, cloth worn over the head		
jhulā	blouse		
colī	short blouse		
ghanghrī	type of petticoat		

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